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THE
BRITISH AND FOREIGN
REVIEW;

OR,
EUROPEAN QUARTERLY JOURNAL.

“ In primisque hominis est propria veri inquisitio atque investigatio.”
CICERO, DE OFF.

VOL. XII.

1841.



LONDON:
RICHARD AND JOHN EDWARD TAYLOR,
RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET.

MDCCCXLI.

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N° XXIII.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN REVIEW.

ARTICLE I.

1. *Shurnal Ministerstwa wytrennich diel.* (*Journal of the Ministry of the Interior.*) St. Petersburg, 1840.
2. *Shurnal Manufactur i Torgovli.* (*Journal of Manufactures and Commerce.*) St. Petersburg, 1840.
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THE opening and closing up of new lines of communication between Europe and the sunny East, have ever been marked with the convulsive throes inseparable from the awakening of new, and the decay of old political and material interests. Nor can it excite wonder, that the eyes of all nations should be turned with anxious attention to the steps now taking to restore the almost forgotten, although most natural, channel of intercourse between these two quarters of the globe. Have we not all in our turns hung with the curiosity of wondering childhood, and of admiring manhood, upon the recitals of the marvellous power of regeneration possessed by the lands situated between the Persian Gulf

and the Levant? Has it not seemed as if the sole aim and object of acquiring power and influence in Europe, was to enable the wielder of it to secure to his country a station in that favoured portion of the globe? The culminating point of the power and splendour of Greece, is that in which the vigour of Europe was banded, under a youthful leader of boundless ambition, to seize upon this envied prize. When the West and the East were alike subjugated by the iron bravery and methodized system of extension which made the Roman arms irresistible, and thus the rulers of that empire had the choice between the East and the West, they did not hesitate in which to fix their seat of empire. Scarcely had Christianity, at a later period, healed the wounds and restored the strength of the exhausted nations of Europe, after the oppression of the dark ages, when the talismanic war-cry "to the East" set them once more in motion; and to have borne a lance in those "holy" wars, entitled the warrior on his return to favour in this world, and the promise of rewards hereafter. The Frankish and the Norman knight, the Venetian, Genoese and Tuscan merchant, the Italian or Provençal monk, all seemed to have but one object in view; and impatient for a paradise which was to be won by arms, by barter, or by doctrine, each girded up his loins for the journey and the fray, and gladly staked his small possessions in our cloudy climes for an anticipated prize in the great lottery of Eastern conquest and dominion.

And could it well be otherwise? Did not the possession of power, as well as the enjoyment of all earthly delights, seem linked inseparably to these favoured lands? Were not the rulers of Babylon and Nineveh, of Susa and Ecbatana, of Persepolis, Seleucia, Antioch and Alexandria, of Bassorá, Bagdad, Cairo and Constantinople, successively the lords of the destinies of nations, who seemed appointed to hold the scales of weal and woe for mankind at large? Did not the profusion of nature combine, in those lands, with the productive faculty of art, to create a splendour, from whose reality our poorer western bards were happy to steal descriptions wherewith to deck their realms of fancy?

The discovery of a new road to the East about three centuries and a half ago, was the most important event in the

history of our communications with Asia, on which the welfare of so many nations depends. It operated in a twofold manner upon both Europe and Asia. The transformation of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans into two mighty channels of connexion between the East and the West, was an undertaking upon so gigantic a scale, as to absorb all the energies of man for a long period, and to divert them from the objects which previously had almost exclusively engaged them. Thus while new arts, new energies, new worlds, were called into existence, the old scenes of action were abandoned to neglect. Turkish and Persian dynasties rose and fell, a powerful kingdom was blotted by misguided ambition from the map of the world, and Europe was supposed to be but little interested in these events, as the sun of the West was thought to be the brilliant guide which we had to follow, and the ocean gave more than sufficient occupation to the resources of the nations of the West.

The history of the territories subjected to the Sultan, and the Shah of Persia, during the last two centuries and a half, affords a memorable lesson which deserves to be carefully pondered and taken to heart. We see these lands, which, in ages far inferior to our own in the means of knowledge and enterprise, attained an unrivalled pitch of power and wealth, from which laws and sciences issued forth to other lands—now poor, decayed and helpless; a prey to every robber, within or without, who covets their possession. Ignorance, pestilence and every evil but famine, seem to have fixed their abode in those far-famed districts, and their existence as independent nations has long rather been owing to the absence of a conqueror, than to any energy they are able to display in their own defence. And yet the same sun shines, and the streams flow full and rapid as in antiquity and in the middle ages. Nature has not lost her power. Has man then retrograded in knowledge or enterprise? Assuredly not. The cause of this decay, and of the impotence of these countries, cannot be sought within the lands themselves, for they still possess all the advantages they ever enjoyed; nor is their present sunken state in any way to be compared to the condition to which they were reduced, before and during the previous revolutions by which they were regenerated. The loss they have sustained

lay in *the aid of other countries*, which was diverted to the new sphere of enterprise opened by the passage round the Cape, and the discovery of America. The co-operation of Europe and Asia, which formerly helped to make them rich and powerful, has been absorbed by America, Southern Africa and Australia. The coasts and islands of the Atlantic swarm with colonies, cities and harbours which European skill and enterprise called into life, and which the profusion of the tropical soils has supplied with abundance. The sailors and merchants who once sought the ports of Egypt, Syria and Tauris on the western, and Suez, Ormus and Bassora on the eastern coasts of the countries which we have been considering, have preferred the surer and scarcely less tedious channel of the ocean, and not only capital and skill, but the arts and sciences and learning of the age have followed in their train.

To us this page of history displays a moral of the highest kind, and which cannot be sufficiently impressed upon the mind. The most powerful state has only to isolate itself and to stand alone—to reject the aid of neighbouring nations in commerce, the arts and the common occupations of life, and it will immediately exhibit symptoms of decay. Nay, more: we may safely assert, that what are called new and rising countries, will improve with a rapidity exactly proportioned to the aid which they receive from their neighbours.

The same causes which occasioned the neglect and consequent decay of the Turkish and Persian empires, have operated, although less powerfully, upon the third grand thoroughfare to the East—the road through the empire of Russia. The fluctuation of prosperity and decline which the territories along this northern line have experienced, will be found remarkably to confirm the experience which we have endeavoured to draw from the history of their more southerly neighbours; and their present condition and future prospects are no less worthy of consideration than those of the countries of the Levant.

If we trace the rise and progress of the Russian cities, we shall find that their history, in all its material points, perfectly coincides with those of the Persian and Turkish towns. Whatever tended to swell or diminish the flow of trade,

brought infallibly wealth or ruin to the emporium of the day. But as the Russian road to the East possessed neither the attractions nor the facilities of the southern route, it is not surprising that in early times its fortunes only occasionally attract the notice of the historian.

The name of "Russian" road is not improperly applied to the northern line of communication, because the first authentic information which we possess concerning those parts shows them to have been occupied by Russians, and the Byzantine historians were able to describe them in the ninth century from the accounts they gave of themselves on their visit to Constantinople. The sudden appearance of a northern flotilla on this occasion in the Bosphorus, is not a little remarkable; and as the event followed soon after the voluntary submission of the Slavonians of Novgorod, or Russians, to the "Waräger" or "Northmen," it probably gave rise to the report that the Germans first taught the art of navigation to their Slavonic subjects. Against this supposition M. Bulgareff protests with all the ardour of Slavonic patriotism, in manifestations of which his work, which is an interesting, though loosely digested compilation, abounds. It is, however, highly probable, that without this first authenticated impulse from a Germanic ruler, the Slavonic vessels, which, according to all accounts, resembled canoes with raised sides (*μονοξύλα*), would have remained tranquilly on the broad waters of their native streams, and would scarcely, for centuries, have braved the stormy Euxine and the sounding Hellespont. Of the nature and extent of the early internal navigation on the streams of the North of Europe, some idea can be drawn from the accounts of the Norwegian and Anglo-Saxon writers, who have left us descriptions of voyages in the Baltic and to the White Sea. Their Holmgard, the Cholmogor of the Slavonians, was an emporium not inferior to Archangel, at a later date; and King Harald Harfagr is stated to have sent thither for his robes of gold stuff, which, as they could scarcely be the produce of the forests of Biarmia (Perm), may be assumed to afford conclusive evidence of a trading communication between Central Asia and Europe, by that which was afterwards the most frequented route in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Oleg, and his successors

in their visits to the Bosphorus, probably made use of the means afterwards practised in the interior of the country, to transport boats from one river to another, and in order to pass the dangerous falls which still close the lower part of the Dnieper ; and the story of the chroniclers, who relate that this valiant seaman spread his sails, and crossed the dry land with a favourable wind, by no means, as M. Bulgarin gravely remarks, precludes the use of oxen and rollers on the occasion. By the help of such means, the navigation of the Volga was connected, by the Bulgarians, with that of the Don ; and their city, Bolgary (properly Volgary), on the Volga, was for a considerable time the emporium of the trade between the Caspian and Black Seas, while the disturbed state of the countries that lay between these inland oceans was unfavourable to commercial communication.

But the rule of the house of Rurik was attended, in another quarter, with no less important consequences to Russia, than the opening of a direct communication with the far-famed Greek capital. The connexion between the Scandinavian and Germanic empires was rendered more easy and direct. The subjection of Great Russia, or the countries situated between the Western Dwina and the Upper Volga, to one ruler, enabled the inhabitants to travel securely from one stream to the other ; and thus the "*Wolok*," or intervening space of land between the navigable points of the streams that diverged to the East and to the West from this common centre, became the key to the trade between Asia and the North of Europe, and ultimately the seat of wealth and power for its inhabitants. The trade of Europe was conducted by the Germanic, Slavonic and Scandinavian inhabitants of the Baltic coasts as far as Novgorod on the northern frontier of the Russian territory, and this emporium increased rapidly in wealth and influence in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Excited by this prosperity, the princes of the house of Rurik began to think of extending their dominions ; and, following the golden line traced by the traders towards the East, the first object which they coveted was the command of the navigation of the Volga, which the Bulgarians had so long enjoyed. In the contest which ensued, the military talents of the Norman leaders had the superiority ; and

the foundation of Nishnei Novgorod, in the twelfth century, at the confluence of the navigable Oka with the Volga, marks the epoch of the destruction of Bolgary, or Briachimow, the Bulgarian capital and centre of trade. The new city, however, proved no substitute for the ancient mart, and the year 1217 is marked as the period when the last Norwegian vessel visited Holmgard on the northern Dwina. The passage through the White Sea became so totally forgotten in the course of the two following centuries, that it was only discovered by dint of strenuous and fortuitous exertion on the part of the companions of Sir Hugh Willoughby in 1554, who went in search of a north-eastern passage to India. Thus the foundation of Nishnei Novgorod marks the destruction of one grand line of trade which had long continued to enrich and civilize the North.

The system of dividing nations like portions of a household inheritance, which occasioned so many misfortunes to the western countries of Europe, proved a constant source of weakness to the house of Rurik. Wladimir the Great, who died in 1015, had left a principality to each of his sons. Thus the principalities of Polotzk or Pleskow, Novgorod, Riäsan, Wladimir, Jaroslaw, Sousdal, Kiew, and finally Moskwa, or, as we call it, Moscow, appeared upon the scene, of which one occasionally asserted the supremacy over the others, but usually all consumed their strength in fruitless and incessant bickerings. Uninteresting as it would be to follow the details of these petty histories, there is one characteristic trait which pervades them too striking to be passed over. The situation of the capital town of each little state marks the spot where the navigation commenced on some one of the rivers which communicate with the great outlets to the east or to the west, with the Volga, the Baltic, or the Black Sea. Thus Pleskow lies at the southern extremity of Lake Peipus, whence the land-transport to Novgorod is short. Novgorod itself communicates with the northern portion of the continent by means of the Wolchow, and lakes Ladoga and Onega. Jaroslaw on the Volga, Riäsan on the Oka, and Kiew on the Dniepr, form a circle with the above-named cities, in the centre of which lay the heights in which are the sources of all the rivers which then served as the channels of trade.

A tendency towards the centre of this circle may be remarked in the cities subsequently founded : Smolensk on the Dniepr, Witepsk on the Duna, Kaluga on the Oka, and Twer at the confluence of the Twerza with the Volga, which lie much nearer to each other and to the centre, evince the increase of traffic, and show that the necessity or advantage of approximating the principal staples of trade was more strongly felt. Moscow, which was not founded until the end of the twelfth century, occupies the very centre of this thoroughfare between Europe and Asia. In this line of trade we have the key to the origin of the Hanseatic league, which met the eastern caravans at Novgorod, and conveyed the wares purchased at that emporium by the route of the Baltic to the nations of Western Europe. That, in the subsequent period, the internal troubles occasioned by the conquests of the Turks in Asia, which interrupted, or at least threw many impediments in the way of the transport of goods through Persia, Syria and Asia Minor, must have been all in favour of the northern trader, is self-evident; and had the experienced Bulgarians, instead of being reduced to the condition of half-useful subjects, still subsisted as a powerful and enlightened trading nation, the line, which would thus have extended into the heart of Asia, might have been consolidated, and Europe saved from much of the misery which she was afterwards doomed to suffer.

As it was, Novgorod, having shaken off the yoke of the degenerate Russian dukes, became a kind of northern Babylon, the mistress of the communication between two quarters of the globe. But the course of events had prepared a separation of the destinies of the northern and southern states, into which we must enter somewhat at large.

From the experience of the present day, we can explain the cause of one constantly repeated phenomenon of the history of the states on the Mediterranean—their anxiety to colonize Tauris, and to acquire the mastery of the Black Sea. The object of attraction in this quarter is neither the fur trade nor the amber of the North, nor does it lie in the spices or gold of the East, which may all be had by other and more agreeable routes. The merchants of antiquity, of the middle ages, and of our own times, sought the most important of all

freights, which are there to be found on terms of almost unrivalled facility—supplies of grain.

The district of Europe which, with one exception, produces the greatest amount of grain at the least expense to the cultivator, is the flat extent of country stretching along the rivers Bog and Dniester, from near Nikolaiew to the fall of the Carpathians in the eastern circles of Galicia. This tract of country, in length about 250, and varying in breadth from 60 to 150 miles, lies thus between the rivers Dniester and Dniepr, being cut off from contact with the Black Sea by the girdle of sandy land which, as is well known, surrounds the coast. Where this girdle terminates, and probably at no great distance from Nikolaiew, lay the Greek colony Albia, which name having the same signification with the Slavonic root "*Bóg*," it seems not unlikely that one of the two was derived from the other. The exception to which we have alluded is the district of Lower Hungary, to which we have called our readers' attention on several occasions in preceding numbers. Like the level of the Theiss in Hungary, the soil of Podolia is composed of the sediment of a recent ocean, in which a large proportion of vegetable substance predominates, and which being saturated with salt, needs no artificial manure to enable it to produce a succession of the richest crops. Interesting details concerning the management of the land and its capability of production, have been communicated by Mr. Jacobs in his '*Tracts on the Corn Trade*,' but nothing is there said respecting the extent of the country which possesses such unusual fertility. The surrounding countries, Wolhynia, Ukraine and Moldavia, are fine lands, the quality of which is far beyond the average of the soils of the western parts of Europe; but the immense superiority of Podolia, in this respect, has at all times given it a pre-eminence, which, like the common lot of beauty, was seldom a desirable one.

An acquaintance with these countries gives the solution to many a difficult problem in history. We find all the nations which enter Europe as conquerors, first settled upon the northern shores of the Black Sea. To acquire the lordship of this golden fleece, they must have proved themselves the most valiant; and they yield the prize, when enfeebled by en-

joyment, to hardier and more enduring competitors. The Goths, who according to Swedish historians entered the continent from Scandinavia, made this point the goal of their expedition. They gave way before other nations, which pass in rapid succession until the consolidated civilization of Christian Europe formed a bulwark which could not be over-sprung, and the tradition of the value of these districts seems to have been lost after the expedition of the Moguls in the thirteenth century.

Had the Turks early directed the force of their conquering armies against this portion of Europe, it is impossible to say what would have been the result for the other nations of the West. Fortunately, the productive soils of Moldavia and Wallachia sufficed to enable them to attain their grand end, the destruction of the Greek empire ; and when, at a later period, they aspired to subjugate these fertile tracts, they encountered a no less warlike enemy, the Poles, to whom Europe has since badly repaid the obligation. It will be remembered by our readers, that the same Poles who defeated these attempts of the Turks towards the north, likewise prevented them from fixing their dominion in the heart of Europe by coming to the relief of Vienna, when the conquest of Hungary had nearly secured them supremacy in Germany. From this we may learn that the fate of a great portion of Europe then depended upon the use to which the produce of these wonderfully fertile districts was applied. It was fortunate that each had a rival.

The trade in corn, although so bulky an article, is subject to such subtle variations, that the causes which induce cities and even nations to draw their supplies from great distances, are often difficult to trace. From time immemorial, however, numerous states were dependent on the produce of the land round the Euxine. We have the authority of Demosthenes for the fact, that in his time the Athenians drew more than half their consumption of grain from that quarter. In the time of the Romans the trade was still in the hands of the Greeks, who had more talent for commerce than their hardy masters. In the middle ages, the struggle for superiority between Genoa and Venice had, for its main object, the traffic with the Black Sea ; and the chief inducement for the

latter power to take part in the crusade which ended with the siege of Constantinople, was the hope of being enabled to close the Hellespont against her rival. There can be no doubt, that the wealth which flowed into those lands by the trade with Constantinople and other parts, enabled the independent tribes which occupied the countries near the mouths of the Dniester, Dniepr and Don, to maintain their freedom; and their subjection, at a later date, to Turkey was not much more than nominal. These tribes occupied the sandy steppes along the coast, and had, too, the navigation of the sea in their hands, on which they acted either as carriers or as pirates, according as trade was lively and profitable, or interrupted and uncertain.

The possession of Podolia, therefore, was the great allure-ment to all conquerors in those parts. The Moguls, in their invasion of Europe in the thirteenth century, seem to have directed their chief attention to this southern portion of Russia; for in the north, although they almost annihilated the power of the Russian princes, they yet let off the flourishing city of Novgorod on easy terms. Podolia, Wolhynia and Ukraine, were at that period subject to the princes of Galicia* and Kiew, who became tributaries to the invaders. In the reaction which followed the retreat of the Tartars from Europe, the princes of Lithuania overran these fertile districts, which, as usual, formed the channel of the tide of conquest, and for three centuries and a half they formed the most important appendage of the united crowns of Poland and Lithuania. We may here cursorily remark, that if our view of the strength which the possession of these provinces confers be correct, it is evident that the re-establishment of Poland as an independent nation must involve the restoration of these provinces to that kingdom. The acquisition of them by Russia in the partition raised her to the rank of a first-rate European power; and as long as she retains possession of them, it would be ridiculous to imagine that any second-rate power could resist her.

But to return to the North: the destruction of the power of the Russian princes enabled the trading city of Novgorod to

* *Halics*, from the salt mines and springs.

establish its independence. It would have been well for its citizens if they could have avoided the faults common to trading corporations. But the spirit of monopoly, the deadliest foe to national prosperity, crept in amongst them ; and the fall of Novgorod, like that of Venice, Genoa, and so many more illustrious commonwealths, can solely be ascribed to that besetting sin of traders. The conduct of the Muscovite Czars to this city, however, shows their utter ignorance of the value of a commercial emporium ; and when Ivan the Terrible destroyed the privileges of the Hanseatic merchants in that ancient city, and transported its inhabitants to Moscow, far from acquiring additional power by his conquest, he only closed up the most precious opening by which the setting sun of civilization could have penetrated into his dominions. The trade which was carried on from that period by the western nations with difficulty, and without organized means, through Narva and Livonia, was no longer the grand interchange of the industry of two quarters of the globe, but sank into a petty traffic incapable of fostering the spirit of enterprise, and which scarcely sufficed to link the name of Russia or Muscovy with the enlightened nations of the West.

The prosperity of the Hanseatic league, which had stood the test of the rivalry of the Mediterranean republics and the Mogul invasion, sank under this interruption of its communication with the East ; and the final blow to its wealth and power was given by the discovery of Vasco di Gama. Ignorant of the true source of power and influence, the Muscovite Czars* directed their sole attention to extending their dominion over the internal wildernesses of Upper Asia ; and in the beginning of the sixteenth century, when their nominal sway stretched from Pleskow to Kasan, or across twenty degrees of longitude, they had not so much influence in Europe as the Swiss cantons, or the city of Lübeck. Still the remembrance of the former state of things was preserved ; and the Russians, shut up in this vast pent-house, sighed for an opening, which at last presented itself in a quarter where it

* Storch relates, that the Czar Basil in 1520 rejected the proposal of the Venetians, who were jealous of the Portuguese, to open a communication with India through Russia, to which end Paolo Centurione had been sent as ambassador to Moscow.

was least expected, and restored them once more to the wished-for connexion with Europe.

This was the state of things when Richard Chancellor, who commanded one of the ships of the expedition of Sir Hugh Willoughby, discovered in 1554 the long-forgotten passage by the White Sea into the mouth of the northern Dwina. The monks of a monastery on the river's bank told the navigators that they were subjects of the Muscovite Czar, and a trade in furs and other northern productions, which was soon established there, gave rise to the long prosperous city of Archangel. The spirit of adventure, roused by the success of the discoverers of America, was fanned by this event. The company of merchant adventurers, out of which the Russian company afterwards grew, was formed, and in 1569 a treaty of commerce was signed between the Czar Ivan Wasiliewitsch and Randolph, the ambassador of Queen Elizabeth, by which the free passage through Russia to Persia was guaranteed to all English merchants.

Some of the stipulations of this treaty are curious enough. The Czar was the first merchant in his state, and an immense magazine was erected at Moscow, in which all wares were deposited which were transported from the East to the West, or *vice versâ*. The magazine was named the "Czar's Treasury," and the minister of finances, or treasurer, there inspected and valued the wares deposited, took the duty imposed on each in kind or in money, as might be more convenient, and purchased, at the arbitrary price fixed by the crown, those goods of which it reserved the monopoly. If Mehemet Ali had been allowed his way at Alexandria, we should probably have seen there a pretty close picture of the Russian trade in the fifteenth century. From this obligation to deposit all wares in the imperial treasury for taxation and selection, the English merchants were exempted by the treaty, as far as coarse goods were concerned; only silks, jewels and other precious objects were still obliged to go round by Moscow for inspection. The English merchants further undertook to carry the goods which the Czar desired to export, and to send him such wares as he ordered in return, upon receiving a year's notice, that they might prepare the number of ships requisite for this commission trade. One clause of the

treaty, however, prohibited the members of the company from entering into similar agreements with any Russian subject.

On these conditions, the monopoly of the trade, by way of Archangel, was granted to the English, who were allowed to coin their own money, to work mines, and to be judged by their own laws within the empire; but the trade by way of Narva with the Baltic was reserved, and was left open to all other nations, as it had previously been. The internal trade in that direction was in the hands of the Russians.

Mr. Coxe ascribes Ivan's readiness to grant these concessions, to a secret plan which the Czar had formed of taking refuge in England, in the event of a revolt amongst his subjects, who hated him for his cruelty*. He is said likewise to have entertained the project of marrying the Lady Anne Hastings, daughter to the Earl of Huntingdon. That private motives had their weight on this occasion is highly probable, from Ivan's previous treatment of the Hansa and people of Novgorod, who might have been just as useful to him as the English. It is evident, however, that the state of things at that time in Russia was similar to the internal condition of Turkey in our own times, and that no reasonable merchant would adventure his capital in so distant a land without extraordinary guarantees. This treaty must therefore be regarded as an acknowledgment by the Russian potentate that it was desirable to have the aid of English capital, in order to establish an extensive foreign and internal commerce for his state.

We cannot quit this part of our subject without referring to a peculiarity in trading connexions opened by the English nation in every quarter of the globe. The establishment of a new line of trade can only be secure when effected by English settlers in the foreign land. The irregular manner of doing business in countries unused to commercial routine, is the greatest difficulty with which the merchant at home has to cope, and can only be overcome by the adoption of the system which suits the English market, and which can only

* This is no doubt true, but it should be added that Elisabeth demanded for herself a similar refuge in Russia, in case of need.

be departed from with great loss. The great facilities afforded by a well-regulated system of sale upon the credit of a name, are such as to make any other mode of trade impracticable where this is once introduced ; and in all commercial treaties concluded with foreign powers, stipulations favouring the settlement of persons qualified to introduce this routine ought never to be omitted, as without this part of the arrangement the whole project becomes nugatory in practice*. These stipulations for the protection, and, in the first instance, for the encouragement of commercial adventurers desirous of settling in the country, were highly prudent, as the event evinced. The same necessity was, doubtless, felt by the trading companies of the middle ages, but at that time it was difficult to prevent immunities from degenerating into monopolies.

Before the close of the reign of Ivan, the English merchants were, however, no longer in exclusive possession of the Archangel trade, and their freedom from duties was also abridged. Still the expeditions, although attended with great risk, continued ; and the victorious arms of Ivan having opened the mouth of the Volga, the English merchants penetrated by way of Urgenz to Buchara, whither a caravan was forwarded in 1559. Journeys were made by way of Russia to Persia in 1560, 1563, 1568 and 1569. The predatory attacks of the Cossacks and Tartars on these caravans did not prevent their being, on the whole, profitable, and Ivan determined to take steps to secure his authority in those parts. With the force which he collected for that purpose he afterwards overran a portion of Siberia. The English adventurers have, however, the merit of opening the long-closed trade across the Caspian. In imitation of their ships, the Russians constructed vessels for the navigation of the Volga and the Caspian, which has since continued without interruption.

By the conquest of Narva Ivan further opened the Baltic to his subjects, so that before the close of this reign, Russia, which at its commencement had seen itself nearly cut off from

* These stipulations are missed in the late treaty with Austria, an omission which has made that document only useful as a political manifestation. Not an additional barrel of wine, or hundred weight of steel, has been exported in consequence of its conclusion.

all communication with foreign powers, became accessible from three sides, and was able to carry on a direct trade with other nations across the Caspian, the White Sea and the Baltic. M. Storch describes the English factory at Moscow as a handsome stone building, erected by the Czar specially for the accommodation of our countrymen, who were the peculiar objects of his protection. Three other large establishments in the interior likewise belonged to them; one at Cholmogor, the ancient Holmgard, near the mouth of the Dwina; one at Wologda, where the navigation of the Suchona, which communicates with the Dwina, terminates; and a third at Jaroslaw on the Volga, where the goods shipped for Persia were re-embarked, and those destined for Moscow were forwarded up the Twerza or by land. The trade was in this manner continued by English adventurers, who enjoyed alternately its complete or partial monopoly, until the Czar Alexis, indignant, it is said, at the execution of King Charles I., expelled them suddenly from his territories in 1648. Cromwell restored the connexion between the two countries, but could not obtain a renewal of the monopoly, or of the permission to have factories in the interior. The consequence was, that as the trade was neither so regular nor so profitable as before, the English gradually withdrew from it, and in 1659 it is remarked that but one English vessel visited Archangel, while the Dutch sent twenty-two ships to that port. The most rapid increase in the trade of Archangel, however, took place during the first years of the reign of the great Peter, at whose accession to the throne the number of vessels annually trading thither amounted to between forty and fifty, but increased to 149 by the year 1702.

An annual festival in Russia commemorates the first attempt of this monarch to construct a vessel on the model of one which the English merchants had brought to navigate the Caspian. From the moment that he turned his attention to this subject, his exertions to make his people a seafaring nation were unremitting; but he perceived that other things were likewise indispensable to his success in this undertaking. The siege of Azow opened a passage to the Black Sea; and shortly after, an embassy, with a flotilla sent to Constantinople, filled that capital with sinister forebodings, which have since

been too faithfully realized. The foundation of St. Petersburg was, however, the event which operated the greatest revolution in the east of Europe. The genius of this emperor has, for the last hundred years, been the guide of his country, and nearly all that has been effected by succeeding emperors is but the fulfilment of projects he had entertained, and whose utility he had pointed out.

But grand and penetrating as Peter's views in general were, his policy could not shake off the curse of destruction which has ever attached to the energetic ebullitions of Russian will. As, under Ivan, the extension of the political, and even commercial relations of Russia with other countries, was clouded by the destruction of Novgorod, so Peter could only raise his new capital at the expense of Archangel, which he almost ruined. To gratify a whim of the monarch, all the merchants of any consideration were obliged, at short notice, to quit Archangel and settle at Petersburg; so little idea of the true springs upon which trade reposes had the Czar acquired in his travels. Scarcely had Peter opened a road for trade towards the west, when his attention was directed to the south and east. The report of gold-sand in the bed of the Oxus was understood, not in the light of an allegory by the court of St. Petersburg, but excited what may fairly be termed a rapacious thirst after a territory, which, singularly enough, the Russians have up to the present day been unable to acquire.

The Khan of Khiwa had sought a commercial connexion with the Russians, and from his ambassadors a confirmation of the report that gold abounded in the sands of the Oxus was extracted. This led to the first unlucky expedition against Khiwa, under the command of Prince Bekewicz, who was treacherously murdered by the Turcomans at a conference which he had accepted.

The full subjection of Siberia in this reign brought Russia into immediate contact with another powerful neighbour—China. The first embassy to Peking took place in 1715, and one of its members, Lawrence Lange, remained for some years at that capital under the title of Russian consul-general. The jealousy of the Chinese, however, soon after expelled him, but the government had seen enough of their new friends

to feel the necessity of coming to a clear understanding with them. The Chinese Emperor Jung-Tchin demanded a rectification of the frontier-line between the two empires, and the limit was fixed by two commissions, who met on the frontier in 1794 and 1768. Another, and not the least remarkable of the expeditions sent out by Peter the Great, had for its immediate object the occupation of Yarkend, in Little Bucharía, the river near which town was, like the Oxus, reported to be rich in gold-sand. An ulterior part of the project may have been the desire to open a trading road to India by this route. The expedition, which was conducted by Lieutenant-colonel Buchholz, was unsuccessful. It ascended the Irtysh until the river grew too shallow to be navigated ; but it gave the Russians, notwithstanding the serious opposition offered by the Tartar hordes who roved in those parts, a claim to the country as far as the foot of the Altai mountains, in which the dream of gold-sands, so long entertained by them, has since been realized. We shall see too that some progress has been made towards realizing the project of a trade with India in that direction.

But of all the undertakings of Peter the Great, that which is, perhaps, at the present day the most interesting, as its consequences are the most apparent, was the attempt to carry the frontier of his empire into the heart of Persia, and to acquire possession of the western shore of the Caspian. In this idea we see the prevailing spirit of all conquerors, which we have on so many occasions been obliged to point out, and their inability to distinguish between subjection and utility.

After the failure of the expedition against Khiwa, Wolninski, who was afterwards minister under the Empress Anna, and who had spent some time at the court of Hussein Shah, returned with a description of the interior troubles of Persia, and pointed out the facility with which the western coast of the Caspian could be secured by Russia. Instead of the gold of the Oxus, the Persian province of Gilan offered the almost exclusive production of silk, which then was the most valuable object of wholesale trade. The Russians were, according to all accounts, already allowed to settle and carry on trade at Rescht, the capital of Gilan, and a port on the Caspian. The Persian monarchs, equally in want of money

and desirous of trade, had every inclination to form connexions of a commercial nature with Russia. But nothing less than the actual possession of the goose would satisfy the Czar ; the golden eggs he looked upon as toys for children. Accordingly, in 1722, he assembled a force which has been variously estimated at from 40,000 to 106,000 men, and, leaving Moscow, sailed down the Volga to Astrachan, where his fleet had assembled. Nothing of course could resist this overwhelming force, which carried everything before it, and the frontier of Russia was temporarily advanced to the Khizil Ozien river and the mountain-limit of Khorazzan. The Persian ambassador, sent to deprecate the fury of the modern Alexander, consented to the cession of Dhagestan, Shirwan, Azerbijan and Mazanderan.

The pretext for this attack upon a friendly power had been found in a predatory excursion made by the Lesghians, a tribe of Caucasian mountaineers, against Rescht. They had plundered the city, and with it the Russian magazine. Shah Hussein had been summoned to indemnify the owners, a demand which by no means accorded with eastern notions, and which was unfair, as the strangers did not pay him for protection.

We may here allude to the spirit of all undertakings on the part of European nations against the people of the East, and this expedition is but the forerunner of countless attempts which have been repeated since by all the trading nations of Europe. If the object be the conquest, whether immediate or remote, of the country attacked, there can be no better plan than by a series of inroads, even of a desultory nature, to shake the authority of the established government, and disclose its weakness to its internal and external enemies. This is the secret of the success of all Tartar conquerors, whose unexpected attacks, which cannot be always met with energy by the Persian monarchs, lessen the credit of the government, from whom the subjects demand nothing but protection.

This attack of Peter unquestionably prepared the way for the subsequent conquests of Russia in this quarter ; at the time the acquisitions which he made were but of momentary duration. Rescht, the emporium of trade on the south-west

coast of the Caspian, was to be sacrificed, with as little remorse as Novgorod and Archangel, to the future greatness of a new Russian port, to be erected at the mouth of the Kur. It must have been a scene worthy of the pencil of Dighton or H. B., when the great Emperor stood in council with his ministers at Moscow, inspecting the map which his sailors had got up of the Caspian, and hesitating between the various points which, according to its indentures, he deemed favourable for the erection of a city. But cities are not built like card houses, although their destruction is sometimes as sudden and as thoughtlessly effected. Thamas Shah, who succeeded his father Hussein, concentrated the scattered forces of Persia, and assumed so formidable an attitude, that the Russians thought it wiser to retire into Shirwan; and Nadir Shah, who dethroned Thamas, adopted, in 1736, the common oriental method of announcing his accession to the throne by an embassy of 16,000 men and 20 pieces of cannon. It required some diplomatic skill to persuade the Persian ambassador to dispense with this imposing retinue, and to leave his guns and infantry at Astrachan while he travelled to Moscow.

The temporary occupation of the northern provinces of Persia by the Russians was, however, not unattended with serious results for the civilization and happiness of that portion of the globe. The descriptions of eye-witnesses paint the provinces of Shirwan, Gilan and Azerbaijan as one continued garden. Fields of wheat, rice and other grain, were intersected by groves of mulberry- and other fruit-trees. The cities were surrounded with stone walls of such wonderful structure, that tradition ascribed their erection to the army of Alexander the Great. The fields were rendered fruitful by a beautiful and extensive system of irrigation, which may be called the soul of agriculture in a warm climate. And yet the use which a Russian viceroy was able to make of these fine provinces may be estimated from the assertion of their own historians, that the tribute collected did not suffice to defray the cost of the occupying troops. We should like to know the amount of this tribute, and the nature of the expenses which it did not cover. Perhaps, however, the truth is revealed in the trait recorded of a Russian general, whose ad-

miration of the beautiful walnut-trees, which grew in abundance with other fruits, excited him seriously to recommend to his government to supply the army *with butt-ends of muskets* from so favourable a source, without delay.

But this Persian expedition is remarkable for another interesting feature, well deserving of serious attention. It affords a memorable instance of the effect of European interference in matters of Eastern politics, and one from which an useful lesson may be drawn.

The Turks were the first power who took alarm at the progress of Russia; and the Porte, notwithstanding its hatred of the Persians, resolved to declare war against Russia, in order to prevent the total subjection of Persia. The Divan was, however, persuaded to another course by the French ambassador at Constantinople, Marquis de Bonnac, who persuaded the Turks rather to share the spoil, in consequence of which Persian Armenia, Irak and Azerbaijan were occupied by the Turkish armies. The object of the French, who were then all-powerful at Constantinople, appears to have been to obtain a passage for their traders to these much-coveted shores of the Caspian. An English intervention also took place under an unusual but not uninteresting form.

Peter had scarcely obtained possession of this extended tract of country, when he perceived that he had, in one respect, miscalculated his resources. He had opened a new line of trade, but Russia had not merchants sufficient to carry on trade in so many new directions as he desired. Among other expedients, he thought of renewing the English trading company, and applied in London to commercial houses, offering them advantages if they would make the experiment of a transit-trade through his dominions to Persia and India. The remembrance of the fluctuating nature of Russian proposals was too fresh in the minds of London traders, and it was with difficulty that they were persuaded to make trial of the route suggested. The representations of an Englishman named Elton, who held a commission in the Russian service, and who was of a sanguine and adventurous character, at length prevailed. Shipments were made to St. Petersburg, and transported under leads to Astrachan, to be embarked upon the Caspian. Elton built a ship at Astrachan, with

which he traded to Astrabad, and a factory was also erected at Rescht.

The privileges, however, which the Russian government had granted to traders did not exempt them from the usual vexations of the custom-house officers and other authorities, and Elton, it seems, could not long agree with these clogs to all improvement in trade. Disgusted at their rapacity, for which he found no redress, he left the Russian service and entered into that of Thamas Khuli Khan, afterwards the celebrated Nadir Shah, and by his counsels and assistance contributed not a little to the rapid progress of that chieftain's conquests. The consequence of this act of treachery, as the Russians termed it, was, that the Empress Elizabeth annulled the privileges of the English company, and the troubles which prevailed in Persia after the death of Nadir Shah, prevented the English traders from deriving much advantage from the friendly disposition of the Persian monarch. The experience here gained, however, ought not to be lost upon us, for the state of those countries is in no material way changed at the present day. We see that *one English officer, with a certain command of money*, by throwing his influence into the rising scale of a clever Turcoman chief, was able to annihilate the conquests of an army of 100,000 Russians. Whether an army of Englishmen of 10,000 men, with 50 pieces of cannon, could have effected the same object, we are very much inclined to doubt.

The extension of the commercial and political relations of Russia with the Asiatic powers, which took place under the succeeding reign, was the consequence of the pursuance of the grand lines of policy traced out by Peter the Great. It is not our intention to go into the details of every succeeding negotiation; a short enumeration of the most remarkable settlements will point out the gradual consolidation of the groundwork upon which the Asiatic trade of Russia at present is based.

The bad success of the expedition commanded by Prince Bekewicz did not deter the government from again attempting to penetrate into the districts to the south of the Aral Sea. A second expedition, sent in 1731, ended no less unfortunately than the preceding one, when an unexpected occur-

rence offered something like a substitute for this favourite project. The horde of Tartars, known by the name of the little Kirgises, offered a voluntary submission to Russia, and their Khan sent his son to Petersburg to invite the Empress to found a city within the territory which they inhabited, which might become a place of trade. The offer, as might be expected, was not rejected, and the town of Orenburg was founded on the east side of the Ural mountains, at the confluence of the Or with the Jaik or Ural. As soon as the report of the establishment of a place of trade in that quarter spread through Central Asia, caravans directed their course towards the new station, the first of which having arrived before any accommodation was prepared, the Russians sent it on to Kasan. A Russian caravan, which some time after attempted to penetrate to Dashkend, in the Chinese dominions, was plundered by the Kirgises of the great horde, and the attempt was not renewed.

Orenburg was founded in 1734, and in 1743 the fortress of Troisk was erected, further to the north-east, upon the frontier of Tartary. From 1750 downwards the passage of caravans became regular to this place from Kaschgar and Dashkend. It has, however, throughout been a singular trait of this line of trade, that no Russian caravans can travel with safety into the Mogul or other central territories of Asia. The trade is altogether carried on by the Asiatic nations, who make their compositions with the robber-knights of the desert. In this circumstance we have the key to the great and natural anxiety of Russia to obtain such an outpost as Khiwa, whence it could keep the roving tribes in awe. The value of Herat to Persia is, for the same reason, equally evident.

We have already mentioned the embassy sent by Peter the Great to Pekin. M. Ermann, whose work contains many interesting particulars concerning Asiatic Russia, thus details the events which preceded that mission. After relating the failure of the first attempt to send an embassy in the years 1655—1658, which seems to have miscarried through the stupid arrogance of the ambassador, he continues :

“ For the last-named reason (the encroachments of the Russians on the Mandschou territory), a second Russian embassy, which set out with letters and presents for Pekin in 1675, met with no better success : the affairs of

the two nations, however, soon after assumed a different aspect, from the subjects of each having come into immediate contact with each other on the Amur, in the Chinese province of Dauria (the frontier). Some exiles had made their escape from Jenisseisk, headed by a Polish captain named Chabarow, and settled far beyond the present Russian frontier, on the Amur, in latitude 52°9' north and 20 degrees to the eastward of Irkutak, where they built the palisaded village of Albasin, amongst the hordes of the Tunguses. They lived there several years in complete independence, and then, exactly as Jermak had done, *offered their conquest* to the court of Moscow, as a reparation for some murders and other offences which they had committed. The country recommended itself by its great fertility, and a Woiwod was immediately sent thither with a garrison of 100 men. These independent corsairs, however, had previously invaded their Daurian neighbours, and caused them to ask the aid of the Mandschou court. A Chinese army of 4000 to 5000 men, with 15 European cannons, advanced to Albasin in 1684, burnt all the buildings, but allowed the 100 Russians to retreat unmolested to Nerchinsk. The crops were still upon the ground, and offered so strong a temptation to the defeated garrison, that they only waited for the withdrawal of the Chinese troops to return, contrary to their pledged word, to Albasin, which they, in the following year, rebuilt and garrisoned with 1500 Cossacks and *promuischlenie* (adventurers), and which they strengthened with walls of earth.

"The Chinese learned what had happened, and, no less persevering than the Siberians, were in the field by the following July with 3000 horsemen, 5000 infantry, and 40 pieces of cannon. After a defence of several months the garrison was reduced by hunger to submit, and several of the soldiers were carried to Pekin as hostages. This more considerable rupture between the two countries, in which the Jesuits from Europe had a share, occasioned them to know more about each other, and led to a formal treaty, concluded at Nerchinsk in 1689, between the Russian ambassador, Fedor Golownin, and Chinese officers and Jesuits on the other. By this treaty it was settled that the valley of the Amur should remain altogether, and for ever, a portion of the Chinese empire, but that a free caravan passage should be allowed in the dominions of both emperors to the subjects of the other."

By this treaty the Russians remained in possession of the valuable mines of Nerchinsk, which are worked by exiles; but they lost the advantageous *débouché* of the Amur, of which they perhaps did not, at that period, know the value. The Chinese, however, seem to have set a high esteem upon maintaining the sovereignty over both banks of this river, for they sailed up it with a considerable flotilla, in order to give weight to their negotiations at Nerchinsk. The Amur is a splendid river, navigable for perhaps 1200 miles from its source upwards, and would form, as we shall see, a most

desirable continuation of the Siberian internal navigation; and we are inclined to think with the learned editor of the excellent German periodical* quoted at the head of our article, that this reproduction of the foundation of Albasin, which Klaproth, in his *Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie*, did not think it worth his while to notice, is not without an object. The Amur, whose name is intimately connected with the melancholy history of La Pérouse, has remained closed for European navigators. The districts on its northern bank are inhabited by nomadic tribes, who, according to M. Ritter, are the remnant or the successors of a thriving tribe who once carried on agriculture with success in the valley, but who withdrew to the right bank by order of the Chinese Emperor when the Russians commenced their attempts upon this district.

Before the Chinese government would allow the exercise of the right to send caravans to Peking, they insisted upon a strict recognition of the frontier; the immense work of drawing which, and securing it by the erection of guard-houses at certain distances from each other, was accomplished in 1727 for the portion lying to the westward of Kiachta, but not until 1768 for that situated between Kiachta and the sea. The two treaties are given by Klaproth, together with an enumeration of the points along the whole line at which land-marks were set up; and they may be found in his Memoirs.

Kiachta was by these treaties fixed upon as the principal point of contact between the two empires, and its situation is admirably calculated for a commercial station. At a short distance inland, the water communication with both the west and the east of Northern Asia commences. Sawa Wladislawisch Count Ragusinsky, the ambassador who had charge of the fixation of the frontier in 1727, erected therefore the fortress of Troisko Sawsk on an eminence, near which the Russian commercial station of Kiachta and the Chinese town of Mai-mai-tchen have since been built in almost immediate contact with each other.

* Such of our readers as cannot follow the detailed statistical notices published by the Russian government, will find the essence of them regularly extracted in the *Ausland*, which appears as a companion to the *Allgemeine Zeitung* at Augsburg, and is ably conducted.

The privilege of sending caravans to Peking was for a long time reserved as a monopoly of the crown, but was wisely abandoned by Catherine II. in 1762, after several attempts had shown that, owing to the delays and jealous vexations of the Chinese, no profit could be derived from them.

Before entering upon a description of the nature and extent of the trade at present carried on with the nations of Asia, it will be useful to give a short sketch of the wonderfully extensive inland navigation, to which we before alluded as centring in one point in the neighbourhood of Kiachta.

Our readers will remember the importance which early attached to the "Wolok," or intervening space between the highest navigable points of the rivers falling into the Baltic, the Caspian and the Black Seas. We have seen that in this space a number of towns agglomerated in Great Russia, which owed their importance to their being the resting-place of trade in its passage from Europe to Asia, and that finally the capital of the empire occupied the centre of the circle which these cities described. Three similar interruptions, occasioned by the heights which separate the regions of the grand rivers, and but three, intervene between Petersburg and the heights which border the sea of Ochotsk, that is to say, in a distance of 110 degrees of longitude. With the exception of these three intervals, which are of no great length, the whole of the immense Russian empire is traversed by a net of navigable rivers, which admit of a certain and cheap communication for mercantile wares from the heart of Europe to the remotest extremity of Asia. The principal towns throughout Siberia will be found, in the same manner, to mark the keys of the navigation of the rivers on which they are situated. The passage of a "Wolok" or of a mountain-chain is sure to be indicated by two towns.

The advantages to be drawn from these facilities for communication were early seized by the penetrating genius of Peter the Great. All the efforts that have been made to improve this splendid gift of nature were originally traced out by that sovereign. We subjoin a concise description of them, extracted from M. Bulgarin's work, and from the essay of M. Arseniew, published in the Journal of the Ministry of the Interior for 1836.

The Volga, the most remarkable stream of Russia and of Europe, forms the central and most extensive link in the grand chain of inland navigation.

"From its source to its mouth the Volga is 3350 wersts (2225 miles) in length, and is navigable for a distance of 3230 wersts (2084 miles), but from Twer only does it form a connecting link for the empire at large. Loaded barks which descend the Volga, take three days to reach Rybinsk, and ten days to arrive from that town at Nishnei Novgorod, whence the journey to Astrachan is performed in 30 days. Thus, in conformity with the assertion of Kaftyrew, they navigate a distance of 3000 wersts in 43 days. Up the stream the navigation depends on the weight of the vessel, and the incidental difficulties which it meets with; but on an average, the trip from Astrachan to Nishnei Novgorod may be estimated at two to three months, thence to Rybinsk taking three weeks, and the remainder (probably to Twer) requiring twenty days with the track-rope. This voyage can, however, with a fair wind, be performed in a much shorter time*. The same boats, however, do not arrive at Rybinsk which leave Astrachan and the place of departure, Dubowka, but are exchanged for others at the intermediate stations on the stream."

M. Arseniew enumerates 120 stations on both banks of the Volga, between Twer and the Caspian, some of which of course are very insignificant. The most remarkable are the following:—Subsow, the highest point at which the river is navigable, and which a glance at the map will show to be but 120 miles distant from Belai, the highest point on the western Dwina, and 208 miles from Smolensk, the head of the navigation of the Dniepr. Gschadsk on the Gschad, a small tributary of the Volga, and capable of bearing boats, lies fifty miles nearer to Smolensk than Subsow. It would of course be easy to connect these rivers at this point, but nature has opened another and easier channel by the Twer Msta and Ilmen lake, on which the ancient Novgorod lies, and which communicates with Lake Ladoga by the Wolchow.

Twer is therefore the chief staple on the Upper Volga, and according to the custom of Russian traders to travel in fleets, or as they call them, caravans, the smaller vessels from the Upper Volga, Wasusa and Gschad assemble here immediately after the breaking up of the ice in April, and unite with what may be called the Baltic flotilla, to proceed to Rybinsk and Nishnei Novgorod. At Rybinsk the barks of the

* And of course, in some seasons, is much more tedious.

Mologa and Sheeksna unite with the rest, and passing the decayed Jaroslaw, once the staple of the Anglo-Russian company, proceed to Nishnei Novgorod (the Lower Novgorod), or, as it is often called, Nishegrod, at the mouth of the Oka. By the Oka and Moskwa the communication with the capital takes place; and as the mouth of the Kama, the main tributary of the Volga on its left or eastern bank, and which is navigable from the foot of the Ural mountains beyond Perm, lies at no great distance down the Volga, Nishegrod forms the central point of the grand commercial communication of the inland navigation to the westward of the Ural mountains.

Some idea of the gigantic scale of this system of internal communication may be formed from the fact, that Twer, the grand staple on the Upper Volga, lies at a distance of 20 degrees of longitude from Perm, the principal station on the Kama, the two places lying within one degree of latitude of each other. But from Perm, another navigable tributary of the Kama, the Tchussowaje, continues the water communication into the heart of the Ural mountains; and Utkinskaja, on the western fall of that range, is but 120 miles distant from Jekaterinenburg on the eastern side, where the first Asiatic system, on an almost equally gigantic scale, commences. From Utkinskaja to Astrachan the unbroken water communication is estimated at 3500 wersts, or 2325 miles. From Twer or Moscow, as we have seen, the distance to the same port is 3130 wersts, or 2060 miles.

The distance between Subsow on the Upper Volga and Utkinskaja, at the foot of the Ural, marks the extent of the region of the Volga in its greatest breadth. Towards the mouth of the river the region is considerably narrowed by the approximation of the valleys of the Jaik or Ural on the east, and the Don on the west. Between the Don and the Volga, the connexion, which might be so easily formed at a point where they are not more than 100 miles distant from each other, and which has more than once been attempted, has not been executed, for the simple reason that each river has its own *débouché* and resources sufficient to supply its demands. For the same reason, the communication between the Volga and the Dniepr has been so long neglected; for the fertile tracts on the Middle Volga and its tributaries suffice not only to supply the manufacturing and populous districts of Great

Russia, but also furnish the very considerable exportation of St. Petersburg; and only in years of a great failure in those districts, like the present, would they require to lean upon the rich districts of the Bug*. The Volga communicates with the northern Dwina by means of the Kama and Keltma, which are connected by the Catherine canal with the Wyt-schegda, a navigable branch of the Düna, thus completing the line of water-transport from Astrachan to Archangel. This canal was finished in 1807.

The numerous tributaries of the Volga, moreover, such as the Belaja, Samara, Seuza and the Oka, with its ramifications, form so extensive a net, that they cover not only the whole of Great or Central Russia, but connect St. Petersburg with the whole line of the Ural mountains, at various points, from the Caspian to the White Sea. The system of this river is interesting in another point of view, for it determines the extent of the trade which centres in St. Petersburg, and the ramifications of which we are thus enabled to follow.

The trade which centres in Odessa is marked, on the other hand, by the courses of the rivers Dniepr, Bug and Dniester, and, as we have seen, has for its main feature the supply of the Levant and the Mediterranean, as well as our own markets, with grain. It belongs to the anomalies of the corn trade, which are so numerous, that Odessa wheat is a great object of trade at Trieste, although the neighbouring kingdom of Hungary has equal power of producing that grain at a cheap rate with Podolia. The incessant exertions of Russia to open the Bosphorus to its subjects thus contrast in the strongest manner with the devices of the Austrian war-office to shut up the line of the Sava, to which we alluded in a recent number.

The navigation of the Lower Dniepr is interrupted by a series of falls and rapids between Jekaterinoslaw and the river's mouth, which make land-transport often preferable down this part of the stream, and indispensable in ascending it. Nor is it likely that these difficulties will be overcome as long as the Russian government persists in its present measures of internal police, which, united with its system of commercial policy, throw the whole trade of Asia Minor into the channels

* The great failure of the harvest in the present year is chiefly confined to the Volga district, and has turned St. Petersburg into an importing, instead of exporting harbour.

of the Dardanelles and the Danube. The Dniepr, which is connected with the western Duna by means of the Beresina and Beresina canal at one point, and by the Pripet and Oginski canal at another, is calculated, by means of these communications with the Baltic, and its numerous navigable tributaries, to be for the trade of the Black Sea what the Volga is for that of the Caspian. But the line of the Dniester, which is navigable for rafts from the heart of Galicia, and which there might, with a trifling outlay, be connected with the Save and Vistula, affords an opening into the heart of Europe not less valuable than the Danube itself. Why is it not used? We shall have the answer anon.

The circumstance that Odessa lies neither at the mouth of the Bug nor of the Dniester, both of which can only be navigated by small vessels that could not encounter the sea passage round the points, while the lower part of the Dniester is also obstructed by rapids, may explain why so much of the produce brought to this port is conveyed by land-carriage. Were the fetters which now cramp all enterprise in Russia, except in one direction, taken off, a remedy would speedily be found for this as well as for other difficulties of a mere trifling nature when compared with the immense results which might be expected from a free play of trade.

We have before dwelt upon the political importance attaching to the possession of this part of Europe when its resources are judiciously applied. Russia had no sooner obtained these provinces by the partition of Poland, than from a second-rate power, whose influence mainly depended upon the personal qualifications of the sovereign, she assumed a leading attitude in Europe as a power without whose co-operation no extensive political combinations could be attempted. The endeavour to restore Poland without adding these old provinces of that empire to the northern districts, will, it may safely be prophesied, at all times prove a failure; whereas, had their population ardently embraced the cause of the revolution in 1831, the very existence of Russia would have been at stake. We cannot here enter into the causes which influenced this course of events, but we deem it right to point even thus cursorily to the true reason of the influence which Russia has and must exercise upon the affairs of the Levant, and in which she only meets with one rival—Austria.

We proceed to the water communications in Siberia.

We have seen that the most easterly ramification of the Volga system penetrates into the valleys of the Ural mountains, and that the head of the navigation at Utkinskaja, to the eastward of Perm, does not lie more than 120 miles from Jekaterinenburg, the first important station on the eastern side of that mountain-chain. But the navigation on the Asiatic side begins usually, according to M. Bulgarin, at Tiumen on the Tura, a large navigable tributary of the Obi. From Tiumen the route proceeds by the Tura and the Tobol to Tobolsk, thence by the Irtysch to Samarow, where it falls into the Obi. Ascending this river, the boats have two ways of proceeding eastward, which they use according to the season of the year. In summer, when the Jenessei and its tributaries, the Tunguska and Angara, as well as Lake Baikal, are navigable, the route by the Obi and Keta is preferred; and at Makow the goods are transported by land across the "Wolok," between the systems of the Obi and the Jenissei, to be re-shipped upon the latter river at Jennisseisk. They then ascend the Jenissei, Tunguska, Angara, and cross Lake Baikal, whence the Selenga brings them within a few miles of Kiachta. This route is, however, more used in transporting Asiatic wares to Europe, as the navigation in that direction is mostly down the streams. European goods are commonly transported by the route of the Obi and Tchulym to Atchinsk, and thence by land through Krasnojarsk and across the mountains to Irkutsk. In winter this is the only road practicable.

From Kiachta, where the Russian frontier makes an eccentric bend across the mountains to the source of the Amur, and includes in its sweep the rich mining district of Nerchinsk, the convenience of a continuation of this navigable line by the Amur to the sea of Ochotsk is most sensible. Let us hear what M. Bulgarin has to say upon this subject:

"If the 'transbaikalic' provinces, which are so rich in natural productions, could only use the communication along the Amur, it would be of incalculable advantage to them. This river is very rich in fish, the soil is fertile, the banks are well wooded, and there is abundance of meadow land; the depth is everywhere sufficient and there are no rapids. Besides, this line of communication would afford great facilities for our trade with China, which could be more advantageously carried on by this route than across the arid plains of Mongolia. It opens moreover a distant prospect of a

trade with Japan, and the means of supplying Kamschatka and the (Russo-) American colonies. The advantages here enumerated could only be realized if the north bank of the Amur were more settled, to which the climate is highly favourable. In such a case (*and it would not be improper even now to take advantage of the favourable locality*), in order that trade should meet with no impediment, the difficulties which now stand in the way must be overcome."

The difficulties here alluded to consist, as the author continues, in the want of vessels and boatmen to navigate the Baikal and the great streams in Siberia, in the want of good harbours on the lake, which is nearly 400 miles in length, although narrow, and which is subject to storms. We need make no remark on the policy of adding another river of gigantic dimensions to the mighty navigable system which we have been describing, and for the due management of which, by the author's own account, the resources of the present trade do not suffice. It is, however, sufficiently apparent what the lot of this portion of the Mandschou territory will be, if our attack upon the Chinese empire weaken that already tottering body.

The furs of the governments of Irkutsk, Ochotsk, Kamschatka, and those sent by the North American company to Kiachta or to Europe, have already a line of water-transport by the Lena, which is navigable from Katschuga; and by means of its navigable tributaries, the Aldan and Iudoma, offers a route for barks in summer and for sledges in winter from the neighbourhood of Irkutsk to within a short distance of Ochotsk, the principal Russian harbour on the Eastern ocean.

We have been induced to enter into these details respecting the advantages which Russia possesses in her facilities for inland navigation, as without a clear survey of them it is impossible to understand the true position of that power towards the other Asiatic nations. Our limits do not allow of our even condensing the numerous statistical notices which have been published by the various ministerial departments within the last few years; but we propose returning to the subject in another number, when we shall endeavour to demonstrate the actual condition of trade and manufactures within the empire. Here we confine ourselves to the leading features of that commercial policy to which the government has devoted such unremitting attention since two hundred

years, and the results of which we shall immediately proceed to consider.

The first question which demands our attention is here the natural one: Has Russia, by the encroaching and often inevitably destructive policy which she has, as we have seen, followed from the beginning, attained the great aim after which she has been striving? Have her commercial profits and her influence increased in proportion to the extension of her territory and the possession which she has acquired of almost all that she could covet? We shall be materially assisted in our endeavours to reply to this query by the statistical returns of the trade carried on at the great stations and fairs, and which unquestionably contain all the facts that the government is inclined to be responsible for, and consequently afford the means at least of tracing what interest *the Emperor* has in the measures in question.

The fairs from which a survey of the trade between Russia and the rest of Asia can be drawn, are of two kinds, frontier fairs and such as are held in the interior. At the former of course foreign trade only is carried on. At the latter, a large portion of the business done embraces corn, cattle, salt, wool, besides metals and other productions of the country which circulate within its limits. Carriages, waggons, harness, every implement of trade or agriculture, must be provided at these great commercial rendezvous, even houses for transferable peasants, with which the lucky winner at play or in traffic of a portion of the population of his country can provide himself with a couple of villages, at short notice, in which to house them—all enter into the round sum which, in the ministerial journals, expresses the amount of trade carried on at each fair. As from 80,000 to 100,000 waggoners, carriers and cattle-drovers frequently assemble at the largest fairs, the quantity of mere articles of rude saddlery may be supposed to be very considerable. Horses, the chief requisite in a country of vast extent and scattered population, and the taste for which is indulged in a manner truly Tartaric, swell the sum rather by the great numbers in which they are brought for sale than from the value of the individual animals.

If we bear in mind the extent of the traffic in some of the articles we have enumerated, it is a surprising fact, that the value of the articles which change hands at the great fair of

Nishnei Novgorod does not exceed 160 millions of rubles, or 6,600,000*l.* sterling, being about the amount of the annual importation of St. Petersburg. The small proportion of this sum which is employed in foreign trade may be estimated from the great mass of articles of domestic produce and manufacture which, as we have seen, are brought to the fair for sale.

The following are the official statements of the wares brought to this fair during three years :

| | 1837. | 1838. | 1839. |
|------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| Asiatic goods in value | 25,652,676 | 25,200,000 | 23,960,200 Rubles |
| European and colonial wares | 16,890,027 | 17,310,000 | 15,035,000 ——— |
| Russian wares | 104,094,578 | 115,682,500 | 122,648,474 ——— |
| | <hr/> 146,637,281 | <hr/> 156,192,500 | <hr/> 161,643,674 Rubles |

But the exports from St. Petersburg amount to between 260 millions and 300 millions of rubles annually in addition, and the exports and imports from Odessa amounted in 1838 to near 60 millions of rubles ; thus the foreign trade with Europe amounts to the immense sum of nearly 400 millions of rubles annually, notwithstanding all the difficulties and impediments which a jealous commercial policy has thrown in its way in the shape of tariffs and other absurd inventions of western legislation. The trade of Asia, on the contrary, to the encouragement of which so much care and enterprise, and such an expenditure of men and money has been devoted, does not amount at the outside to 40 millions of rubles, or one-tenth of the sum of the European trade of the empire.

In a recent number we took an opportunity of showing, from the statistical details published by the Prussian government, that the trade of Germany had become stationary since the adoption of the prohibitory tariff now in force in the states forming the customs league. How much more striking is the instance afforded us by Russia of the importance of the co-operation of other lands to the creation of a grand commercial intercourse, even for the country which has the richest productions of nature and art at its command !

The trade of Russia with its Asiatic neighbours is, however, intelligible enough. Her raw produce they do not want. Those lands which abound in wandering flocks, and which furnish Russia itself with cotton-twist and silk, do not want

her wool, flax, or hemp. Her iron and other metals are likewise in comparatively little demand in countries where machinery is almost unknown. On the other hand, what consumers would not the Chinese be of articles of luxury if they were properly supplied with them? If cloths, cambrics and other fine stuffs, glass and plated wares were supplied *at reasonable rates*, there can be no doubt that immense quantities would be disposed of. And yet were an English, or any foreign company to propose furnishing supplies through the harbour of Ochotsk and by the system of the Lena, which we have described, and which would be the shortest route, the Russians would straightway raise a cry of profit accruing to strangers, and would deem a demand of a modification of their tariff as tantamount to a request to cede a portion of their territory.

The trade of Kiachta, the only point at which a communication with China takes place, has for years been confined to tea on the one side, and furs and cloths (woollen) on the other. That but few European wares of other descriptions find their way to such a distance by land-carriage is not, however, fully explained by the rates of the Russian tariff, which, like other tariffs of the kind, excludes trade as well as foreign manufactures, and condemns its subjects to inaction rather than allow them to embark in enterprises of which they cannot monopolize the entire profit. Another effect of this tariff is, as in other countries, to divert capital from its legitimate employment in improving the means of communication in the interior, and thus reducing the price of transport, which, if in the first instance it facilitated the admission of foreign wares, would eventually prove to the advantage of the home manufacturer. Under the influence of these notions it is that the trade between the Russian empire, with a population of sixty millions, who know no greater luxury than drinking tea, and China, with four hundred millions of inhabitants, rich, industrious and luxurious, is restricted to the sums which we quote from the journal for trade and manufactures for the present year. The trade of Kiachta is solely barter trade, both the Russian and Chinese policy prohibiting the use of silver coin. The extensive consumption of tea amongst the Chinese, as well as amongst the Russian Tartars,

has suggested as a substitute for coin the use of bricks formed of tea, butter and bullock's milk, in which the value of all wares is estimated.

The following is the Russian official account of this branch of trade :

"The barter trade, in its primitive form, is still kept up between Russia and China; it is practised in the Russian town of Kiachta, and in the adjoining Chinese town, Mai-mai-tchin (*place of trade*), in the months of January, February and July. The Russians barter for the most part cloth, furs, plush, coral and other wares, except the precious metals, gunpowder, fire-arms and untanned hides, which are prohibited. From the Chinese, Peko and brick-tea, sugar, sugar-candy, silk wares, satins, Kanfu, Kantchu, and several other articles are received in exchange. The wares destined for this barter trade are forwarded by the Russians from Moscow, in February, to Tiumen, where they '*pass the spring*'.* From Tiumen to Tomsk they are sent by water, and from Tomsk to Irkutsk by land; from Irkutsk to Kiachta they are transported either by land or by water, according to circumstances. Goods forwarded from Nishegrod fair either go straight by land to Kiachta, or to Kasan by the Volga, and thence by land; or, lastly, to Perm by the Volga and the Kama, and thence by land. The cost of transport from Moscow to Kiachta amounts to about fourteen rubles per pud (40lbs.), and from the fair of Nishnei Novgorod to thirteen rubles per pud.

"From Kiachta, goods are transported to Nishegrod fair, in February or March, by land, or by another road when practicable, which passes through Tomsk, whence the transport takes place by water on the Tama, Obi, Irtysk, Tura and Tiumen, thence across the mountains to Perm, and by the rivers Kama and Volga from Perm to Nishnei Novgorod. The cost of transport from Kiachta to Nishnei Novgorod, in the season of the fair, is nearly sixteen rubles per pud; to Moscow the cost is twelve rubles per pud.

"The Peko tea, which the Chinese bring from the provinces of Fushan and Cantsheen, by way of the Sudski mountains, is mostly of three kinds, but which are subdivided into a great many different qualities: these are, flower-tea, commercial-tea and square or brick-tea. The best known sorts are the Bai-sui-chee, Miu-ju-kow, Chee-tui-shuan, Chae-seen-tui, Sai-ju-kou, Ko-fa-shuaw. In the course of the year there are 80,000 chests of tea brought to this station, in value fifty millions† of rubles. The tea thus bought is sent for sale to the fair of Nishegrod, or to Moscow, Petersburg and Irbitsk. The course of trade during the last fifteen years is shown by the following table :

* The Russians have a peculiar word to denote the passing the time of the breaking up of the frost, when both roads and rivers become impracticable.

† Thus it stands in the original; but when we compare this sum with the table following, and which shows officially the amount of the trade, we are inclined to suppose this must be a misprint, and that it should be five millions—or must the difference be placed to the account of smuggling?

TABLE I. View of the Quantities of Russian and Foreign Productions bartered for Chinese Wares at the Frontier Station of Kiachta.

| COTTON MANUFACTURES. | | | WOOLLEN WARES AND CLOTHS. | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|----------|----------|---------------------------|-----------|-----------------------------|---------------|---------|---------------|-----------|-----------|
| Year. | Russian. | Foreign. | Russian. | Pollab. | Foreign Furs ^a . | Tanned Hides. | Wheat. | Sundry Wares. | Leather. | Total. |
| | Rubles. | Rubles. | Rubles. | Rubles. | Rubles. | Rubles. | Rubles. | Rubles. | Rubles. | Rubles. |
| 1823. | 2,030 | 134,706 | 23,954 | 8,741 | 2,364,564 | 2,485,519 | 12,067 | 520,183 | 644,531 | 6,085,297 |
| 1824. | 76,616 | 328,313 | 347,934 | 15,322 | 742,679 | 4,081,936 | 24,955 | 403,796 | 1,358,531 | 7,280,012 |
| 1825. | 1,248 | 294,610 | 114,432 | 156,234 | 842,918 | 2,905,531 | 19,336 | 346,358 | 821,848 | 5,500,815 |
| 1826. | 167,199 | 500,046 | 175,135 | 332,863 | 873,243 | 2,945,333 | 40,371 | 381,583 | 796,697 | 6,142,269 |
| 1827. | 11,960 | 492,218 | 367,228 | 824,805 | 78,422 | 3,827,804 | 61,598 | 647,197 | 944,144 | 7,250,076 |
| 1828. | 67,500 | 567,272 | 638,483 | 1,024,463 | 131,073 | 2,924,408 | 84,865 | 735,056 | 1,176,069 | 7,349,184 |
| 1829. | 98,631 | 363,791 | 724,376 | 958,990 | 154,181 | 3,540,332 | 76,489 | 947,918 | 938,875 | 7,808,553 |
| 1830. | 84,523 | 295,867 | 367,615 | 1,070,494 | 73,727 | 3,048,890 | 57,856 | 581,440 | 818,245 | 6,398,597 |
| 1831. | 242,117 | 337,011 | 374,314 | 1,385,240 | 131,203 | 2,904,105 | 39,867 | 472,191 | 889,810 | 6,775,858 |
| 1832. | 244,884 | 564,387 | 1,904,513 | 360,312 | 122,995 | 3,980,917 | 66,560 | 574,331 | 1,011,155 | 8,080,024 |
| 1833. | 272,307 | 250,659 | 1,198,890 | 801,531 | 145,992 | 3,095,157 | 69,531 | 623,974 | 875,060 | 7,333,151 |
| 1834. | 445,665 | 289,234 | 1,413,286 | 567,653 | 117,294 | 3,078,138 | 60,521 | 690,645 | 681,141 | 7,343,577 |
| 1835. | 720,250 | 244,907 | 1,794,374 | 466,950 | 136,501 | 2,392,686 | 88,847 | 571,789 | 719,601 | 7,146,205 |
| 1836. | 811,920 | 397,300 | 2,281,859 | 372,790 | 158,593 | 2,989,524 | 163,490 | 682,072 | 760,597 | 8,618,135 |
| 1837. | 615,918 | 294,124 | 1,796,570 | 37,848 | 45,482 | 2,961,049 | 233,841 | 605,904 | 528,932 | 7,121,668 |

* The head of Foreign Cloth includes the woollens of England and Holland, for the most part Camlets and Shalloons imported through St. Petersburg.

II. Table showing the Quantity of Chinese Wares bartered at Kiachta.

| TEA. | | | MIXED WARES. | |
|-------|---------|-----------|--------------|-----------|
| Year. | Puds. | Rubles. | Rubles. | Total. |
| 1823. | 130,256 | 5,302,510 | 792,787 | 6,095,297 |
| 1824. | 154,197 | 6,260,429 | 1,119,583 | 7,380,012 |
| 1825. | 132,887 | 4,795,815 | 708,000 | 5,501,815 |
| 1826. | 130,421 | 5,653,454 | 488,915 | 6,142,369 |
| 1827. | 161,429 | 6,608,946 | 647,130 | 7,256,076 |
| 1828. | 151,755 | 6,661,544 | 687,640 | 7,349,184 |
| 1829. | 152,763 | 7,268,544 | 535,009 | 7,803,553 |
| 1830. | 153,653 | 6,039,896 | 358,701 | 6,398,597 |
| 1831. | 141,180 | 6,281,477 | 494,381 | 6,775,858 |
| 1832. | 178,321 | 7,497,704 | 582,320 | 8,080,024 |
| 1833. | 164,934 | 6,957,756 | 375,395 | 7,333,151 |
| 1834. | 172,143 | 7,012,516 | 331,061 | 7,343,577 |
| 1835. | 198,313 | 6,871,493 | 274,712 | 7,146,205 |
| 1836. | 213,063 | 8,277,204 | 340,931 | 8,618,135 |
| 1837. | 166,602 | 6,758,429 | 363,239 | 7,121,668 |

III. Amount of Revenue raised at the Fair of Kiachta.

| Year. | Rubles. | Cop. |
|-------|------------|------|
| 1823. | 6,326,120 | 47 |
| 1824. | 8,227,080 | 8 |
| 1825. | 6,315,581 | 42 |
| 1826. | 7,012,221 | 68 |
| 1827. | 8,141,387 | 53 |
| 1828. | 8,076,525 | 74 |
| 1829. | 8,289,677 | 55 |
| 1830. | 7,070,378 | 21 |
| 1831. | 7,088,772 | 7 |
| 1832. | 9,389,107 | 69 |
| 1833. | 9,113,072 | 67 |
| 1834. | 9,308,923 | 62 |
| 1835. | 9,545,698 | 3 |
| 1836. | 11,262,834 | 3 |
| 1837. | 9,689,939 | 48 |

" In the year 1838, goods to the value of twenty-five millions of rubles were brought by the Russians ; the wares of the Chinese amounted to twenty millions of rubles, including 40,000 chests of tea, besides 5218 chests of brick-tea, so called from its being in the shape of bricks or tiles ; thirty-six tiles are packed in a chest. This tea is used by the Birats, Kalmucks, Bashkirs, Cossacks and other neighbouring nations, and is, for the most part, disposed of at Kasan to the Shuwashas, Tcheremecks and other Tartar tribes. The manner of preparing this tea is peculiar. Water is boiled in a pot, into which the tea, cut small, is thrown, to which buttermilk, and even salt are added. The brick-tea, to one not accustomed

to it, is very disagreeable, but the above-mentioned tribes drink it with relish. Its price at the fair last year was a hundred and thirty rubles per chest. The goods brought to the bartering place at Kiachta, whose origin is known, are Russian cloths from manufactories of Alexandrow, Rybnikow, Babkin, Makow, and others. Polish cloths are sent by Isaew, Meister, Lahert, etc. Russian woollens come mostly from Chlaibinkow, English *Fuka*, *Tcheskuga*, and from the manufactory at Jaroslaw, or are brought by the Wologda merchant, Nikiphoroba."

This statement, and the accompanying tables, furnish matter for sufficient wonder. The connexion between Russia and China is of upwards of a hundred years' standing. The trade at Kiachta is not clogged with the incumbrances of Hong merchants, like that of Canton; free access being not only allowed at the barrier of the custom-house, which, according to M. Ermann's description, is peculiarly constructed to facilitate trade, but the Russians being freely admitted into the town of Mai-mai-tchin, which they are only obliged to leave at sunset. The communication between the two nations is naturally facilitated by the known strictness of police with both; and the admiration of the Chinese must be not small for a government sufficiently enlightened to substitute the use of numbers for names, as is the case amongst more than half of the civilized population of Siberia. It probably, too, feels sufficiently secure that none of the subjects of the flowery empire will desert to participate in such advantages. We, however, cannot sufficiently express our surprise at finding the barter between two such rich and populous nations not exceeding seven millions of rubles, or £350,000 on each side; especially as our own shipments to Canton, where such restrictions are laid in the way of commerce, vary from *six hundred thousand pounds to eight hundred thousand pounds* in wares, and our total trade in that empire varies from £7,000,000 to £8,000,000 annually. The trade of the Americans, in 1831-1832, amounted also to twelve millions of dollars of imports to and exports from China, or to four times the amount of the trade of Russia with China.

It is true that the Russians assert their trade to be in proportion more profitable, as they export no specie, and only import such goods as they pay for in wares. To this old-fashioned argument we shall return after considering the position of the Russian traders in other Asiatic lands.

The stations between the Caspian and Kiachta through

which a communication with Tartary and Bochara is kept up, are, Ustkamenogorsk, Petropawlosk, Troisk and Orenburg ; but these frontier stations have lost a great deal of their importance since permission was granted by the Emperor Alexander to the Asiatic caravans to go straight to the fairs of Nishegrod. The only return of the trade in this direction is a semi-official one given in a recent number of the 'Northern Bee,' but which is exceedingly interesting. It appears that in 1836, when the Russians determined upon attacking Khiwa, they adopted the measure of seizing on the persons and goods of the merchants who annually travelled from that city to the fairs of Nishegrod and Orenburg. This singular step, in violation of their own safe conducts, (for, as we have said, Alexander wisely induced these traders to enter his territories fearlessly,) had the effect of changing the line of the caravan from the road through Urgenz to a more direct road from Buchara. Here we may remark, that the sort of rude police kept up by the central Asiatic and Tartar hordes is so strict, that no Russian caravan has hitherto been allowed to cross the southern frontier, guarded as it is by immense desert tracts and roving horsemen; and if the inhabitants of those countries adhere tenaciously to this traditional restrictive policy, we have seen that there is more cause to pity than to blame them. The trade, which consists in raw cotton and twist, as well as in some coarse kinds of cotton manufactured goods, occasionally silk, jewels and other Indian productions, affords materials for barter against tea, furs and European manufactures, but is on a very limited scale, as will be supposed from the bulk of many of these articles and the difficulties in the transport. It is curious that powdered sugar-candy, from the southern Chinese provinces, which has made the tour of India by sea, is not unfrequently here exchanged for the tea sent from the north of China through Siberia.

The following is the statement alluded to :

| Year. | To Chiwa. | To Buchara. |
|------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| 1834 | 69,493 Rubles. | 850,287 Rubles. |
| 1835 | 907,876 .. | 1,061,985 .. |
| 1836 | 57,246 .. | 1,479,328 .. |
| 1837 | } trade interrupted. | 1,425,219 .. |
| 1838 | | 1,650,545 .. |
| 1839 | | 2,426,613 .. |

Between 1832 and 1836, notwithstanding the protection afforded to the Russian manufacturer, the quantity of coarse cotton stuffs imported from Buchara increased from five millions to eight millions of rubles. These goods go straight to Nishegrad through Orenburg, Troisk, and Petropawlosk, and consequently no return is made of them at the frontier. The principal seat of the cotton manufactures in Buchara is Perwas, 50 wersts from Buchara, and 280 wersts distant from Samarcand.

More has been published respecting the trade by way of the Caspian Sea with Persia. Here a new phase is entered of the commercial system of Russia, as in Persia and in Turkey the wares of that empire meet the competition of the German, Austrian and English manufacturers. Here it is then that the pretensions of Russia to be a manufacturing country, and its policy in imposing protecting duties, are shown in their proper light.

The *Journal of Manufactures and Commerce* for July gives a sketch of the trade with Persia in 1839, and complains of the competition of the English merchants, who have almost driven the Russians from the field. The reason assigned for this state of affairs, is the bad quality and high price of the Russian cotton manufactures, which naturally bear no comparison with the English production. The journal adds—

“If we compare the amount of goods imported from the province of Ghilan to Russia with our export thither, it appears that, in the course of 1838, more than two millions of our rubles remained in ready money in Ghilan. The balance of our trade with Azerbaijan is likewise in favour of that land; and this money, with the addition of a considerable sum from the Persians, passes into the hands of the English in the following manner: with the exception of 1838, when but little Persian silk went to Constantinople, Persian and other merchants ship annually to the value of 250,000 tumauns of silk and of 25,000 of gall-apples thither from Kurdistan. These wares, in value about three millions of rubles, pass (with the exception of a little of the finest silk, which goes to Lyons) into English hands; and English wares, manufactured expressly at Manchester for Persia, and known in that country under the name of German or Leipzig goods, are sent in exchange. Twelve thousand bales of these wares arrive annually in Tauris by the way of Trapezunt, and are scattered all over Persia. The value of each bale may be estimated at seventy tumauns, which makes a sum equal in round money to eight millions and a half of rubles. If we deduct from this the three millions of rubles for which, as

we stated above, Persia sends silk and gall-apples, we see that six millions of rubles flow annually from Persia into English hands, and they are carried from Tauris to Constantinople by the expresses of the merchants, who prefer the Russian ducats to Persian coin, and thus keep up the value of the former coin in Tauris."

The same journal gives the following survey of the trade between Russia and Persia :

Table of Wares exported by the Caspian Sea to Persia, from the Fair of Nishnei Novgorod, in the year 1839.

| Wares. | To Astaris. | | To Enzellee. | | To Masanderan. | | To Astrabad. | | Total. |
|--------------------------------------|-------------|------|--------------|------|----------------|------|--------------|------|---------|
| | Rubles. | Cop. | Rubles. | Cop. | Rubles. | Cop. | Rubles. | Cop. | |
| Bar, rod, and pig iron | 137,846 | ... | 73,195 | 75 | 37,367 | ... | 13,500 | | |
| Copper, refined and in cakes . | 26,866 | ... | 54,168 | 75 | 51,408 | 75 | | | |
| Iron and copper wares | 33,604 | 75 | 45,863 | 25 | 42,110 | 25 | 15,810 | 50 | |
| Silken, cotton, & woollen wares } | 39,832 | ... | 29,106 | 75 | 47,084 | 50 | 324 | | |
| Small wares..... | 92,047 | 25 | 52,349 | 75 | 78,116 | 25 | 2,906 | 50 | |
| Steel rods & bars | 651 | | | | | | | | |
| Cement steel | 11,495 | | | | | | | | Rubles. |
| | 342,342 | ... | 254,684 | 25 | 255,987 | 25 | 32,541 | | 885,555 |

The Russians, we see, are haunted by the spirits of the rubles, which, according to their account, wander by the way of Constantinople to England ; but their appreciation of the value of the silk of Ghilan is more ominous. It seems that in 1839 that highly-favoured province produced no less than 1,200,000lbs. of silk, of which but 120,000lbs. found its way to Russia, whence it may be inferred that the remainder was chiefly swallowed up by the voracious English. Ghilan, moreover, produces oil of superior quality, and there can be little doubt that while counting the 250,000 olive-trees, which the same journal states to exist in this province, the patriotic writer internally cursed the manes of Captain Elton and Nadir Shah, without whose interference there would have been no boundary to intervene between the silk-growers of Ghilan and the starving silk-weavers of Russia.

In Tauris itself things stand much worse, the foreign competition having reduced the trade carried on by the Russians in their transcaucasian provinces to one half. This is shown by the annexed table :—

Table showing the quantity of Goods imported into Tauris in the following years :

| Year. | Imported by Russian subjects from | | | | | | Imported by Persians from | | | | | | Imported by Strangers from | | | | | | Total. | |
|-------|-----------------------------------|------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|------|---------------------------|------|------------------|---------|------------------|------|----------------------------|------|------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|------|--------|--|
| | Russia. | | | Constantinople. | | | Leipzig. | | | Russia. | | | Constantinople. | | | England and Leipzig direct. | | | | |
| | Rubles assigned. | Cop. | Rubles assigned. | Cop. | Rubles assigned. | Cop. | Rubles assigned. | Cop. | Rubles assigned. | Cop. | Rubles assigned. | Cop. | Rubles assigned. | Cop. | Rubles assigned. | Cop. | Rubles assigned. | Cop. | | |
| 1833. | 1,068,225 | 50 | 263,110 | 40 | 432,000 | ... | ..... | ... | 13,040,000 | ... | ..... | ... | 525,200 | ... | 15,346,535 | 90 | | | | |
| 1834. | 1,506,217 | 52 | 20,592 | ... | 478,333 | ... | 176,000 | ... | 14,976,144 | ... | | ... | 780,800 | ... | 17,937,985 | 52 | | | | |
| 1835. | 600,224 | 48 | 38,400 | ... | 2,124,578 | 16 | 86,000 | ... | 28,286,240 | ... | | ... | 1,812,000 | ... | 39,953,742 | 64 | | | | |
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Here, however, the Austrians come in for their share of the blame, for it seems that they exported in the course of last year in forty-eight vessels to Trebisonde, goods to the amount of twenty-three millions of rubles, while the entire imports of the province of Tauris did not exceed 7,400,000 rubles, of which a very small proportion came from Russia. This small amount, compared with the rapidly increasing trade of Odessa, and with the gigantic scale of the commerce of St. Petersburg, appears to us sufficiently illustrative of the great principles upon which the success of commercial operations depends.

It shows that the possession of the most favourable sites or of the most productive provinces does not suffice to create trade, and that all the exertions of the most indefatigable government to awaken commerce will be found unavailing where skill and capital are wanting. But skill and capital are the growth of a soil where industry is encouraged and animated by freedom, and cherished by the protection of the laws. Every government has it in its power to extend this kind of encouragement and protection to trade, and where it does so capital will accumulate. If it wishes its subjects to participate in the advantages of trade before the requisite skill and capital have been acquired by them, this can only be done by making use of the skill and capital of the nations who possess them.

The manner in which M. Storch speaks throughout his history, amusing and interesting as that composition is, of the Armenians, Persians, Jews, Dutch, English, and other nations, with whose help the Russians at different times opened or extended their commercial relations with neighbouring lands, shows a total ignorance of true and enlarged views of national economy. The details of the history of which we have taken so succinct a survey, prove abundantly that the success of these undertakings was on all occasions in direct proportion to the aid which that vast empire accepted from these intermediary agents. If the character of some degenerated to the servility and trickery with which they are occasionally reproached, the blame is assuredly more due to the social system or government arrangements of the time which threw impediments in the way of an open and honourable exercise

of their calling. Where the laws afford protection and the free exercise of intelligence and enterprise, the stranger amalgamates with the subject, the interest of each is found to be the same, and the profits of all are rich and *intarissable*. Distinctions and artificial classifications of the industrial elements of a nation only serve to facilitate the oppression of the weak, while they serve to warn against a fruitless collision with the more powerful.

The present state of the commercial relations of Russia with other countries affords abundant proof of the correctness of these assertions. Under the encouragement afforded by the Russian government, although often interrupted, the trade of that empire has become a special object of study to a large portion of the merchants of England; and the manner in which the value of Russian produce has for many years been supported in England, in the face of the immense importations that took place, would, if attentively considered, afford the clearest and most convincing proof that the exertions of no government, in matters of commerce, can equal in effect the steady attention of a numerous body of free and enlightened citizens to their own interests.

The trade of St. Petersburg, great as it is, would be still more extensive if it had not been curtailed in its growth by the operation of the tariff of 1823*. On a future occasion we shall attempt to trace the rise and progress of Russian manufacturing industry. Here we have presented materials enough to convince our readers that, notwithstanding the protection it affords, the Russians *do not* supply their nearest foreign markets with the requisite wares, from which the natural consequence must be drawn, that they *cannot* supply them, or at least not at a marketable price. Where the necessary capital was to come from, which is requisite for the agricultural and mining undertakings, which are on the largest scale known, to say nothing of that required for the maintenance and improvement of their internal navigation, and yet to afford sufficient surplus to found manufactories and monopolize a foreign trade which embraces two-thirds of the known

* The Germans estimate the amount of their manufactures which are excluded by its operation at twelve millions of florins.

globe, is an enigma which awaits the solution of a northern *Œdipus*.

To us it does not appear so difficult an undertaking, notwithstanding the difference of soil and climate, to call up a city equal in wealth and extent to Calcutta on the banks of Lake Baikal, and to make Orenburg or Astrachan rival Bombay or Madras. The only talisman we should seek would be the eradication of the Russian police, a body no less inimical to the progress of civilization than the Strelitzes or janissaries of former days, and the conversion of the minister of the finances to the opinion that the *sum* of the items of national trade, and not their *difference*, forms the true object to which a statesman ought to direct his attention; in other words, that the prosperity of a country can be much more correctly estimated according to the extent of its trade, than according to its apparent balance.

ARTICLE II.

1. *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, comprising Laws enacted under the Anglo-Saxon Kings from Æthelbirht to Cnut, with an English Translation of the Saxon; the Laws called Edward the Confessor's; the Laws of William the Conqueror, and those ascribed to Henry the First; also Monumenta Ecclesiastica Anglicana, from the seventh to the tenth century; and the Ancient Latin Version of the Anglo-Saxon Laws, with a compendious Glossary, etc. Printed by command of His late Majesty King William IV., under the direction of the Commissioners on the Public Records of the Kingdom. MDCCC.XL. 1 vol. fol. and 2 vols. royal 8vo.*
2. *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici. Opera JOHANNIS M. KEMBLE. 8vo. vols. 1 and 2. Printed for the English Historical Society, 1839 and 1840.*

THE two works whose titles we have placed at the head of this article, supply nearly all the documentary evidence we

are now likely to obtain respecting the early institutions of this country, and the system of law under which our Teutonic forefathers lived. The rest can only be discovered by a careful search through the local customs of various districts, and a jealous induction from the similar or contemporaneous codes of cognate nations; while here and there a maxim of our own unwritten law may be referred to these, its earliest source. But, unfortunately, neither of these laborious works nearly exhausts the subject; not even when taken together—and, if taken separately, each loses half its importance—do they give anything approaching to a complete view of the laws by which this country was ruled, prior to the Norman conquest. So clearly is this deficiency felt by both editors, that Mr. Thorpe disclaims, even on his title-page, the emphatic *The*, merely calling his work ‘Ancient Laws,’ etc., and not content with this, enters in his preface an elaborate protest against the belief that these fragments constitute the whole *Corpus Juris*. Mr. Kemble is equally explicit on this point, and having stated the incompleteness of the codes, makes it the very ground for collecting the charters.

In spite of this, we entertain the opinion that sufficient materials have been supplied for forming a definite notion of what the system of law really was. Henceforth, at any rate, we shall hold inexcusable any repetition of the crude guesses with which we have been met in grave works of Law and History, revolting to common sense, defying the universal experience of man, and deeply sinning against that piety which a nation owes to its progenitors. It would be ungenerous in us, who have profited by the profound investigations of Eichhorn, Savigny and James Grimm, to hold up to ridicule the errors of their English predecessors. While we acknowledge with regret that strangers have dealt most worthily with what Englishmen should have looked upon as their own peculiar treasures, we shall do well to emulate for the future their zeal and their conscientious and unwearied industry in the investigation of these important subjects. To the Germans the Anglo-Saxon laws offer only an object of scientific study, distantly bearing on their own legal antiquities; to us they are the very cradle of the law itself: on them is based much of the most valuable portion

of our institutions, political, municipal and judicial; they are the indispensable clue to the historian who traverses the labyrinthine mazes of our Antenorman story; above all, they are the inheritance which Englishmen a thousand years ago bequeathed to the Englishmen of to-day. Of the earlier editors of the Anglo-Saxon laws, and those whom they betrayed into error, we shall say no more; yet we must be allowed (more as a warning for the future than blame for the past,) to express our regret that they did not qualify themselves to judge the customs and character of the Anglo-Saxons, by learning their language. A competent knowledge of this tongue, hardly very difficult to acquire in a country where it cannot yet be said to be extinct, would have made some laborious authors a good deal more trustworthy, and eliminated from some ponderous works a good deal of matter which can only serve to mislead and confuse. Nor can the old Latin translations, found in Brompton and elsewhere, satisfactorily supersede this study, as even a very cursory comparison of them with Mr. Thorpe's version will abundantly prove. To understand the institutions of a people, it is absolutely necessary to understand and comprehend their national character; and no one can pretend to do this, except through an extensive acquaintance not less with their literature than their history.

The grounds upon which we base our belief, that it is possible, even out of the fragments which remain, to form a tolerably complete and consistent system, lie in the nature of Law itself, and the form in which it necessarily develops itself during what may be called the *spontaneous* or *constructive* periods of a nation's existence; and by these terms we intend those periods during which the nation is unconsciously developing both its language and its law, before it begins to reflect upon and systematize what it is doing, and while it has in fact both a literature and institutions, but neither grammarians nor lawyers. If we bear in mind that law is not the creature of caprice, that there is nothing in it arbitrary or accidental, and that it is in fact the correlative and outward form of an idea, we shall see that their law must be the strictest educt and fullest representative of the nationality of any people at such periods as we have described. For that by which they have a nationality, that is, a separate existence, a

bond of union among themselves and of distinction from others, is precisely what we call their *idea*, the indwelling principle of their being, by which they are what they are and not other than they are; and this it is which their law most completely imbodyes. But inasmuch as it does completely imbody this, it is throughout consistent, and each part exists only in harmonious subordination to the whole. It is then only when conquest and other external influences have rendered the life of the people itself inconsistent, that their laws become so also, and that an artificial system springs up which may be learned by rote, or by continual practice, but which is not based upon fixed principles from which every one of its details is derived; and this last-named case is that of the law in every European state at this moment. From what has been said, it follows that, due diligence being used, we should be able, from the fragments, to reconstruct the whole system of which those fragments were portions, even as the great naturalist of our days, from a single bone or joint, knew how to describe the form of the whole animal to which it had belonged, its habits of life and the climate in which it was framed to live.

Will this great work be accomplished in our time? Perhaps it may; we know not yet who may buckle on armour massive enough for the struggle, but we think the tendency of our age is in a direction favourable to such a result; and the energy of men amply endowed with all the necessary qualifications, is incessantly occupied in preparing the way. A wider and more generous system of philology, while it has pointed out the importance of the undertaking, has supplied the means of making it successfully; and the earnestness with which it is even now pursued, has its deep foundations in an enlightened spirit of patriotism. We look then with some confidence for this consummation. But before we can commence the work of reconstruction with any reasonable hope of success, we must learn to shut our eyes to everything which springs from our own high state of political and moral cultivation, to familiarize ourselves with a state of society the most unlike our own,—nay, to conceive the very face of the country itself totally different. The “everlasting hills” and the streams are indeed still there; but instead of populous

cities, forming centres of civilization in all directions, the eye must rest upon dense forests, wild uncultivated heaths and trackless morasses. The peaceful husbandman and artisan, pursuing in profound quiet the occupations which are to furnish them the means of life, must give place to rude, armed herdsmen, prepared to defend their cattle against the wild beasts that tenant the forests, or the yet wilder neighbour that trespasses on their pastures. Here and there, indeed, a church raises its modest and unassuming dimensions; but in the deep woods, by clear wells and under hoary stones, a worship which knows and endures no temples is yet paid to national gods. Few of the popular characteristics would the Englishman of to-day recognise, save the sound heart, plain sense and stalworth limbs of his Anglo-Saxon ancestor*.

Let us now suppose a land such as we have described, to be thinly peopled by families or tribes of families, settled upon the portions which are clear of wood, either through natural causes or the energy and industry of man, but which are on all sides surrounded by forests; and on the large open spaces let a rude system of agriculture prevail, while in the uncleared and wooded district herds are tended, and especially swine fattened on the mast of acorns and beech-nuts. The law of such a people must be twofold: the agriculturist will strive to maintain inviolate a property in the land which he has reclaimed from the waste; the herdsman will struggle to prevent the clearing (*essart*) from extending so far as to diminish *his* means of wealth, viz. food for his cattle. These two opposing tendencies in the same community, eternally interlacing, eternally asserting somewhat and yielding somewhat, in a compromise necessary to enable the tribe to subsist at all, lie at the bottom of all their early laws. Yet it is not a position of hostility, and both classes will make common cause to prevent the general boundary from being invaded, and the lands of the community trespassed upon by the members of other not kindred tribes. Thus each com-

* If *very well* acquainted with those provincial dialects which are daily yielding to the powers of the steam-engine and the schoolmaster, he might find a correspondence, little looked for, in the modes of thought and speech of the peasantry. One interesting fact must arrest the attention of the philologist: the characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon dialects are still those of the counties in which those different languages prevailed nine centuries ago.

munity stands in a state of hostility towards every other, because a vast proportion of the whole land yet lies without a master and unsettled; but at the same time this unclaimed mass continually diminishing in extent, as each little circle gradually extends itself, through the necessities of increasing population, the probability of a collision becomes more immediate, and the necessity of measures for defence more urgent. The first business of a tribe, situated as we describe, is to define the rights of individuals in respect of one another and of the whole tribe; the next, to define the rights of the tribe itself in respect of other tribes.

Now the first and closest bond of all is that of blood; the *family* is the first *state*; and the tribe itself is but a larger family, all of whose members are more or less closely related, or connected by intermarriage; and the outward and visible sign of fellowship is, next to occupying the same land*, speaking the same tongue†. Sharing in the same belief, worshipping at the same altars‡, meeting at the same times and places to perform the ceremonies of religion and settle the graver affairs that concern the whole aggregated community, are further bonds of union, arising out of, and in turn strengthening the circumstances of blood and common language. In this state of things the family is to other families as an individual to other individuals. One person represents the family as its head§; each member of it is responsible for

* The Anglo-Saxon word *Gelondan*, that is literally, *persons who are collected upon the same land*, is rendered *fratruelles*, *parentela*, in the old MS. Glossaries.

† *peód*, *populus*; *geþeód*, *lingua*, *discursus*; *geþeóddan*, *aptare*, *conjungere*. So *þeóddisc* (*Theotiscus*. *Diutisk*. *Deutsch*.), *popularis*, and *intelligibilis*. And so *æl-þeódig* (*ἁλλογενής*) is *alienigena*.

‡ *Thórr* was the supreme god of some portions of Scandinavia, *Frey* of others, *Odinn* of others. In Germany, and especially Saxony, *Wuotan*, *Wöden* is the principal deity. But there were a multitude of subordinate divinities which may have been a sort of *Lares* and *Penates* to the several tribes, since we find a peculiar *cultus* rendered even by individuals to gods selected by themselves. The three great heathen festivals of Yule or midwinter, Easter and Midsummer, were also the great national assemblies, or *unproclaimed councils* (*ungeboden þing*), of the Germans, of which the *Campus Martius*, or field of March,—not *Mars*—was apparently the most important. Christianity, fortunately provided with corresponding festivals, only adopted what it already found in force.

§ In the North he is said to have the *Godsord*, perhaps the priestly word. At any rate, his authority must in the earliest times have connected itself with something analogous to sacerdotal functions. The *Godsord*, without holding which it should seem that no one can command the unlimited services of the *parentela* or clan, is hereditary, but may be temporarily transferred by the holder. We may imagine something analogous to this in Lorraine; in *Garins II Loherain*, the

the acts of other members; each is bound to avenge the wrong done to his kinsman, to assist him in the pursuit of his rights, to watch lest his ill-conduct compromise the general peace, to receive a share of compensation for his death. The family collectively exercises the *police* over all the individuals belonging to it; and, in case of war, its members serve together, commanded by one of themselves, and having no further need or notion of discipline.

Every man that occupies land within the limits of the community has rights in the commons, whether of pasture, fishing, or turf, and in the forests which bound the domain, technically called the *Mark* or *March*; but these rights he must so exercise as not to interfere with the rights of his neighbours and fellow-marchers. He may, under certain circumstances, cut down a tree, but not an oak or ash or beech: this the general advantage forbids, even if the *religio loci* did not preserve the forest from his invasion. But if he neglect to cultivate that which he has cleared, and forest trees spring upon it again, his land will again become forest, and subject to the common rights of all the marchers as fully as if it had never ceased to be so.

Every member of the community, in other words, *every free man*, has a right to take part in the management of its affairs; that is to say, in the making of laws and regulations; the election of officers, whether called ealdormen, graviones, or kings; the appointment of leaders in war and judges in peace; the administration of justice between man and man*; the allotment

powerful duke Garin refuses to commence the feud against the murderers of his brother, without the previous authorization of the widow and children.

“ Abbés, dist il, vous remanrez o mi;
Si m'aideres à gaitier mon ami,
S'el porterons au chaastel de Belin
Et si verrons la bele Biatri,
Ses deux enfans, et Hernaut et Gerin;
Car je ne doi, sans eus, tel plait bastir.”

Garin, vol. li. p. 265.

* There is no contradiction between this and the foregoing sentence. Although the people really administered justice according to “old right,” traditionally preserved among themselves, yet they had judges. In the first place, the *finding* and the *sentence* were never in the same hands; in the second place, it is possible that cases might arise where a peculiar knowledge of the law might be required. We have still judges, but they have by no means superseded the use of *juries*. Were there not, perhaps, Anglo-Saxon *Scyldkatas*, corresponding to the German *Schlichter*, the *Scultetus* of the Latin documents?

of portions of the communal lands to individuals ; the determination whether there shall be war or peace with a neighbouring community ; and, contemporaneously with these different functions, the celebration of the national rites of religion. But no one is a member of the community who has not been formally admitted to that privilege ; and before he can hope for the solemn investiture by which his admission is performed, he must be capable of serving the community with head or hand, and of providing for his own subsistence. Upon this, his entrance into public life, he becomes liable to military service, to the payment of such customary dues to the king (if there be one) or the priesthood as prescription has established, and to take a part in those public works which the general advantage will not permit any one to withdraw from. These are the fortification of posts for defence, and the supplying of means of internal communication, by the making and repairing of roads. From this time forth he becomes also liable to all the demands of the *mæg-burh*, or *family bond* ; and as each man has an undoubted right to defend both himself and his property, and to avenge insult and wrong, in so far as the community have not taken upon themselves to do this for him, so has every free man, of himself or with his kinsmen, the right of private warfare, *fæhðe* or *feud*. But if the construction of a State have proceeded so far as to supersede this private warfare in a majority of cases, then will he be bound to render assistance to his kinsman in obtaining justice from the community, by aiding in the prosecution of his claim (whether by making oath with him, or otherwise) ; and if, by refusing obedience to the State, the wrong-doer become an outlaw, and the right of private warfare again commence, then will he be bound to take part in this with his kinsman, to whom the execution of the law will, in this case, be more immediately and particularly entrusted. We have said already, that this description of rights and liabilities applies only to the *free*. Those who from crime (*wîte-þeówas*) or poverty* have lost their freedom, enjoy none of these

* The *wîte-þeów*, or *slave for punishment*, is he who, having for some crime incurred a fine which he cannot pay, must become the slave of the prosecutor. The case of voluntary slavery through poverty, was probably not so unusual as might be argued from the paucity of instances ; the only very clear example which we can

rights; they are the chattels of a master who possesses and exercises over them powers of a very capricious and indefinite character. But even the slave is capable of rehabilitation by the consent of his master, and the national will: at first, in the assembly of the people, and before the heathen priesthood; later, in the midst of the Christian congregation, and before the high altar, he received the inestimable blessing of liberty, with all its privileges and its responsibilities.

Residence and property in the district, full freedom, and beyond a doubt also general good repute, are the conditions of complete citizenship, and necessary to the enjoyment of all the rights of self-government; and these rights a man is not only allowed, but compelled, to exercise. He must appear in the *scírgemôt*, hundred, or other meeting, not only to answer for himself, but to judge between others. If he neglect these important duties, he is, in the emphatic words of the Anglo-Saxon law, untrue to the whole people. According to the strict ethnic notion of citizenship, the taking part in the business of the popular assemblies without a legal title so to do, was an act of high treason, punishable with death; but commerce, and the recognition of some few principles of international law, had rendered the sojourn of the stranger within the territories of the state, safe and agreeable, under certain easy conditions. To the Teutonic *Marchman*, however, every stranger is an *enemy*; on every one that crosses the forest lies the burthen of proving the harmlessness of his intentions; if he come openly in the face of day, and announce his approach by shouting and blowing his horn, he gives *primâ facie* evidence that his views are peaceful; but if he attempt to slink through in secret and silence, he may be slain as a thief; and if the slayer at once proclaim and justify his deed, for a thief the dead man shall be held, nor shall his relatives be allowed to clear him*. For the stranger, then, there is *no law* at all; and under the most favourable circum-

at this moment call to mind, is in a Northumbrian charter of manumission, not much earlier than the Norman conquest. In this a lady restores their liberty to certain persons, who, through want of food during a great scarcity, had become her *peówas*.

* We cannot doubt that this is the whole meaning of the law, and we argue it from a comparison of *Iwi*, § 16. 20. 21.—*Vide pp.* 113. 115. 117.

stances he can attain but a sort of reflected legality: if he remain three nights under the roof of a member of the community, he is to be considered as a member of that man's household, and his entertainer shall be responsible for his acts. And this feeling connects itself also with a principle universally prevalent in the Teutonic institutions, and yet strongly active in our own. We allude to the testimonies to character, still of so much importance in our criminal trials; for in a state of society such as we have described, every man must be more or less known to all who form the community in which he resides. Accordingly, character or general repute must be appealed to by every one whose acts are called in question; and if this be so well established that he can bring the necessary number of persons to swear that his averment is true*, he will establish his plea. If he have no such persons, trusting so far in him as to swear in his behalf, he must have recourse to supernatural means, the ordeal by fire or water, which, even if it ultimately clear him, is itself a most severe punishment. According to the gravity of the matter in dispute, must be the weight or value of the testimony adduced. Mr. Kemble prints one or two charters where twenty, thirty, and even sixty persons are recorded to have made oath; and one celebrated instance is familiar to the readers of Anglo-Saxon history, in which no less than *a thousand* persons swore after Archbishop Dunstan. As we do not propose to enter here at any length upon the forms of process, it will be sufficient to state, that the great effort in Anglo-Saxon litigation is to compel the opposing party to make the oath, which must frequently have been a very difficult thing to compass, when the matters in dispute were of great value, in which case the value of the oath—that is, the number of persons required to make it up—is proportionably increased.

The administration of the law being in the hands of the people itself, there being no written code, no class of lawyers, and no courts save the popular assemblies, the legal traditions appear in the shape of formularies, and are perpetuated by symbols. And this is the more suited to a people yet

* See copies of the several oaths to be taken.—*Vol. i. p. 178, etc.*

in the infancy of cultivation, in whom the imagination is strong, and in continual and active exercise; who stand, moreover, if we may venture so to speak, in a closer and more confidential relation to nature herself than the commercial, busy, matter-of-fact citizens of a later age. "Pudent Antiquitie," says Lord Coke, "did for the more solemnitie and better memorie and obseruation of that which is to be done, expresse substances under ceremonies." (*Co. Litt.*, lib. ii. cap. 1, § 85.) Add to this that the symbols are in themselves things significant, that they have reference to the holiness of the deities who preside over contracts*, or the sanctity of the earth, or the waters that may be the subject of them. The Marcher who has a right to *essart* a portion of the forest, hurls his axe before him; where it falls is the boundary of his domain†. Even so in later times, kings determined the limits of jurisdictions by casting a spear, battle-axe, or mace of steel. Robin Hood decided where his grave should be dug by the shot of an arrow; and to this day, the jurisdiction of a fortress extends at least as far as it can throw a cannon-ball. The proprietor who will grant a portion of his land, transfers it to the purchaser by the attested gift of a turf or twig (whence later the usual form of Livery of Seisin). Nay, he can divest himself of his most sacred possession—his freedom, by presenting a lock of his hair, or bending his neck beneath the arm of his future lord‡. Part and parcel of this tendency in the earlier law of a country, is the system of measurement, not so much by positive and recognised quantities, as by such as, from their very nature, must constantly be liable to change. A tree is measured by the number of swine that can stand under it (*Ini*, § 44. p. 131); the *swin-sceadoſ*, (*Cod. Dipl. Introd.*) *tac* or *pannage*, is in

* The hammer of Thórr is the symbol, especially in marriage. The ring is entirely Christian.

† The boundary of a manor towards the plain of Cleveland is to this day settled in the same manner. The lord's bailiff shall stand on a particular hill, and hurl a *three-penny* axe as far as he can. Usually, however, some circumstances are stipulated to render the action of the thrower more difficult. The throw must be made with the left hand over the right shoulder, etc., etc.

‡ *Coward*, Cullibert, qui collum liberavit; he who has yielded up his neck. And so the freeman is emphatically named "*Frihals*," that is, Free-neck.

§ *Swine-shadow*, the tax or payment for permission to mast swine in the lord's wood: an eminently poetical expression, and in itself an instance of the averments in the text. So, again, the universally-occurring word *híd*, hyde, which denotes no

proportion to the fat upon the swine : if a thumb's thickness, so much; if two fingers or three fingers thick, then so much (*Ini*, § 49. p. 133). The new-born child is judicially considered to have lived, if he cried to the four walls : the weight of the coin to be paid in Friesland on certain occasions, is full and good, if from a distance of twelve feet it is heard to fall into a brazen basin. Coupled with this is the use of formularies, frequently in alliterative verse, or apparently still older alliterative prose, and which are by no means uncommon in the 'Anglo-Saxon Monuments,' and a general tendency to attribute the qualities of living things to inanimate instruments : thus *the axe is an informer* (*Ini*, § 43. p. 129), that is, it makes a noise, and no one can fell a tree in secret; so a dog's collar with a bell is an informer (*melda*) : but *fire is a thief*, for if an incendiary burn trees down in the forest, his crime may be committed in secret. If two families be at feud, they are to *buy off the spear or bear it*. The boundary of a field runs along the wood, *swá sulh and síðe hit gegán magon, as plough and scythe can go*. We cannot here give more examples of this nature, but refer for a masterly exposition of this and every portion of Teutonic law to James Grimm's admirable work on its antiquities, the *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, whose only fault, a venial one in a German, is, that it is devoted to the law of the continental Germans somewhat to the exclusion of that of their island brethren*.

To return to our subject: that so primitive a society as we have described can long subsist, is not asserted. In the very earliest records we have of the Teutonic nations, we find that the system had undergone modifications, which, while they left the municipal institutions for the most part intact, had created political relations in many instances totally at variance with them; and which, operating hostilely towards them, succeeded at length in overturning some, and entirely altering the nature and character of others. The en-

certain measure of land, but *as much as will keep a household*; its etymological connexion with *higan*, *hiwan*, *familia*, appears from its uncontracted form, *higid*.—*Cod. Dipl.* ii., No. 243.

* We would call attention also to M. Michelet's paraphrase and adaptation of this work to France, *Origines du Droit Français*, a work worthy of the author's great reputation.

croachments of tribe on tribe lead to wars and to alliances for aggression or defence; wars bring with them generals and kings; the tribe might possibly administer justice without electing a judge, but would hardly fight very successfully without a captain; and a successful captain is far more readily found than got rid of, when the occasion ceases to demand his services. But wars bring also conquests; and, from the moment that a conquest has taken place, a total change has been operated in the organization of the tribe itself. There has arisen a nobility, an aristocracy of landed possessors, and a class of mere freemen or even serfs, according to the circumstances under which the war has taken place. In what remote antiquity, unknown and inaccessible to the historian, this first took place among the Germans, it would be idle to inquire: but Virdomarus (? Friðumæris), from whom Marcellus won the *spolia opima*, was probably a German king*. In the time of Cæsar there were certainly such; and Tacitus, while he states that some of the Germans retained a republican independence, mentions others as being reigned over. In his 'Annals'† we have abundant evidence of a distinction of ranks, such as we find prevailing afterwards; and it is to him that we owe the first and most detailed notice of that system of *comites*, which, while it laid the foundation of an aristocracy of service or court nobility‡, gradually undermined the old free organization of the community (Germ. xiii., xiv.). In short, so completely settled was this distinction in his time, that he tells us, generals were chosen for their valour, *kings for their nobility* (Germ. vii.).

* We entertain no doubt of his having been so. The inscription in the Fasti Triumph. Capitol. is as follows:—"M. CLAUDIUS. M.F.M.N. MARCELLUS AN DXXXI COS DE GALLEIS INSVBRIBVS ET GERMAN. K. MART. ISQVE SPOLIA OPIMA RETVLIT [D]VCE HOSTIVM VIRDV MARO AP CLASTIDIUM INTERFECTO." This entry, copied from the stone itself in Rome, is of higher authority than the report of Polybius and others, who mention only *Galli* as opposed to Marcellus. But the name is conclusive; and from Livy xxi. 38, we are aware that Gauls and Germans sometimes united against the Romans.

† Kings or princes mentioned by him are Arminius, Segestus, Ingulomerus, Segimerus, Maroboduus, Cariowalda (Harjowalda) princeps Batavorum.—An. ii. *Plebes, primores, juvenis, senes, agmen Romanorum repente incursant.*—*Ibid.* Inter Gotones (the *Goths*, *Gupans*) *nobilis juvenis, nomine Catualda (Hapuwalda).*—*Ibid.* Adgandestrii, *principis* Chatterum, lectas in Senatu litteras.—*Ibid.*

‡ A *serf*, in *truste*, that is, in the king's service, among the Franks ranked higher than a simple freeman; the freeman in *truste* higher than the noble not in *truste*.

In this position (unlike their old Saxon kinsmen of the Elbe) we find the various tribes of the Anglo-Saxons at the period in which the earliest portion of their code falls, and to which the earliest charters belong. The introduction of Christianity helped to consolidate and extend a system which was already gradually drawing our forefathers into the family of European monarchies. If, on the one hand, its tendency was to abridge the freedom of the individual Saxon, and to raise upon its ruins the power of the central government, on the other, it introduced into our public law some traces of Italian civilization; we gained some of the advantages of culture, without paying too high a price for it, in the loss of our nationality. The Christian priesthood stepped almost without a struggle into the lofty* position which the heathen priesthood had occupied, and enjoyed an influence due not more to the intellectual superiority, than the wealth and rank of its earliest and most distinguished professors. It is more than probable that the first converts to Christianity were among the heathen priests themselves, whom a worship, neither rude nor barbarous, had prepared for the reception of the new faith†, and who belonged to what we may justly call the aristocracy of the German communities. And as this Christian priesthood, so powerful both from old associations and the influence of their new calling, necessarily inclined to a system of central and court government, they became an important auxiliary of the kings in the introduction of a new order of things. The very first enactment in the earliest code is one in their favour; and one has only to inspect the disproportionate space occupied in Mr. Thorpe's Index by the regulations which affect the priesthood, to perceive how large a portion they occupied of the national attention.

From periods, then, which may be justly termed prehistoric, we find kings and courts, of very various degrees indeed of importance, in every part of England. Everywhere there are princes possessing or claiming descent from Woden,

* *Ceterum neque animadvertere, neque vincere, nec verberare quidem nisi sacerdotibus permissum; non quasi animadvertere in pœnam, nec ducis jussu, sed velut deo imperante, quem adesse bellantibus credunt.*—*Tac. Germ.*, vii.

† *Bed. Hist. Eccl.*, ii. 13. And see an Essay on Anglo-Saxon Runes. Archæol., 1840.

the necessary condition of royalty; and each such prince has his *comites, principes, præfecti, pincernæ, camerarii, thelonarii, pedissequi, ministri*, his bishops and his abbots, forming, in some respects, his Council of Peers, spiritual and temporal. History has been content to notice a confederation of eight principal kingdoms, called sometimes the Heptarchy, but of late, and more accurately, the Octarchy; but during its continuance, and long before the Danish wars and the steadily increasing preponderance of Wessex, put an end to the separate and independent existence of its kingdoms, numberless petty sovereignties were to be found, maintained in many cases by relatives of the greater princes, and gradually merging in their dominions. On the settlement of the original natural subdivisions of the country, the communities had found it necessary to appoint, hereditarily or otherwise, officers who might preside in the popular councils, or lead the national levies. The *graviones, geréfan* or *shire-reeves* (by whatever name they may then have been called), were essentially the people's officers; whether they were hereditary or not, these offices depended upon the popular will; and in a vast majority of cases, it is obvious that they must have been immediately dependent upon it,—that is to say, elective, and not hereditary. The power of the kings, however, soon prevailed over this arrangement, and the more readily, after several shires (Germ. *Gau*) became comprised in one kingdom. From this period, the exact occurrence of which we cannot pretend to give, the *scîr-geréfa*, or sheriff, becomes the king's officer, administering the law in the king's name and for him, but still retaining many characteristics of his ancient quality*, more especially as president of the county court, and leader of the constitutional force, the *posse comitatus* or *levée en masse* of the free men.

The sheriff so appointed was now invariably one of those

* The etymology of the word *geréfa* is in accordance only with the later character of the office: it is one of those forms which in Anglo-Saxon always denote a *participation* in something meant by the root. *Geréfa* therefore is either "he who lives under the same roof," (then for *ge-hréfa* from *hrôf*), or "he who shares in the same honour," from *rôf*; in either case a very sufficient translation of *comes* regis. It is superfluous to say, that it has nothing to do with *grau*, A.-S. *græg*, grey. Grimm seems to adopt the former etymology, or rather one from Ohd. *rävo*. O. Nor. *ræfr*, *tignum*, *tectum*. Deut. *Rechtsalt.* 753. The difficulty in this case lies in the long vowel *ê*, which pre-supposes an *ô* in the root.

comites, whose personal relation to the king Tacitus has described, and who, in point of fact, formed the foundation of his constantly increasing power; and in the support of them, a large share of booty taken in war, as well as of the lands which the king held in person, was probably expended. A further usurpation therefore became necessary, and this was effected by the king's superseding the community in the disposal of the national land. The victorious settlers, upon the consolidation of their power, had taken a portion (probably one-third) of the lands of the conquered, a process repeated upon occasion of each fresh war and each new conquest. Some of this land had been divided by lot, in different proportions, among the conquerors, a certain share having apparently been set apart for the king in every district. Another portion, also most probably distributed through the various districts, remained in the hands of the nation itself, under the title of *Folcland*, *Folcscearu*, or public land. This, which was burthened with many onerous services, from which the allodial land was free, was granted to individuals of all ranks and stations, whether previously land-owners or not. But this usufructuary and precarious grant was not the only reward which a grateful tribe or prince might confer upon a deserving citizen. The *Folcscearu* itself formed a sort of fund from which private estates might be carved, and grants of free alod made. Land thus granted by book or charter, and therefore called *Bôclond*, the absolute, inheritable property of the grantee, and free from all services and burthens, save the inevitable *trinoda necessitas*, viz. military service, and the making of bridges and fortifications, was continually taken from this fund by those who claimed a right so to dispose of it. Land that ceased to be *Folcland*, in order to become *Bôclond*,—in other words, land that ceased to be the property of the state, in order to become the property of the individual, was changed in its very character and nature; and by nearly every such change the community at large was a sufferer to the amount of the burthens discharged*. We have only to add, that the

* We use the word *nearly*, because there are instances of exchanges where a portion of allodial land is given for a portion of public land, and the peculiar qualities of each mutually transferred, the *Bôclond* becoming *Folclond* (i. e. subject to the burthens), and the *Folclond*, *Bôclond*.

usufruct of Folclond was not inheritable, and that on the death of the grantee it reverted into the hands of the donor. In the case, however, of certain favoured families, a continuance of the grant from father to son was by no means unusual. It is a common prayer in the will of a great vassal, that the Folclond may be continued to his heir; and this favour was often compensated by expensive presents,—a sort of fine on descent of a copyhold. That such arrangements took place in the earliest times is extremely improbable; it is far more likely that every free man had a right to the usufruct of the Folclond for a certain limited period; this at least appears to us to be the only reasonable meaning assignable to Tacitus's assertion, that the Germans changed their lands from year to year. And this leads us to the consideration of the Grantor, on which subject we wish to bestow a few words.

The state, that is, the community, must have been the original possessor of the Folclond, and have had originally the power of allotting it to individual occupants, or transforming it into allodial estates. At the earliest period, however, of which we have any historical cognizance, we find the king to exercise these rights *cum consensu et licentia procerum*, etc. This change, like others previously mentioned, resulted naturally from the growing preponderance of the kings, and consequent consolidation of the system of *comites*, or court-nobles, in which lies, deep-rooted, the germ of the whole feudal institution. As these *comites* were a class continually advancing in wealth and power, united, and supported by the whole influence of the court to which they belonged, and gradually becoming possessed of all offices of trust and authority, they rose in exact proportion as the mere free men fell in the scale. And as a very essential element in the system is *possession by the sovereign of the means of rewarding and maintaining* these Prætorian cohorts, so they are, by their own interest, and the very necessities of their position, converted into strenuous allies of the king in every usurpation by which his power or resources may be increased. It will be seen hereafter, that a vast difference exists in these respects between the position of the *ceorl* or freeman under Æðelberht, in relation to the *ceorl* or nobleman, and the relative po-

itions of the same classes under Cnut, Æðelred, or Edward the Confessor. For the present we must content ourselves with a few more hints respecting the landed resources of the kings.

It must be remembered that, in the old times of heathendom, the forests were the temples of the gods; that none but the priests could enter those deep glades, which were considered to be more especially filled with the immediate presence of the divine nature. On the downfall of the old religion, these solemn places became numbered among common things: a master was now to be found for them; and as the limits of the several communities had been settled before the introduction of Christianity, the new territory far more readily passed into the hands of the king than those of the free settlers in the neighbourhood. This, then, seems to have first suggested the usurpation on the Folclond, which speedily became law. The superabundance of lands beyond what was needed for cultivation, had created Folclond; the allotments or allodial possessions of the individual landholders had been so arranged as to leave large tracts of commons (*gemæn-nia*). The community had therefore a threefold property in the land: first the allodial lands (*æðel*, *prædium avitum*, *bôc-lond*); next the Folclond (*terra fiscalis*); thirdly, the commons by various names; and apart from, and besides these, were what we may call the "clergy reserves." The power of the kings being much increased by the escheating of these last, the establishment of the Christian hierarchy, the not unfrequent wars (*innumerabilia bella*, Hen. Hunt), which led to the maintenance of a standing army of comites and soldiery, and the gradual and increasing development of the idea of a state—the supremacy of the law, whose majesty came to reside in the person of the king—the rights of the communities in the commons became abridged: the king, and, in process of time, the duke and count, claimed a right to send a certain number of head of cattle to pasture upon them: *à fortiori* the Folcland, or national lands, now vested exclusively in the king and his procures, *witan* or councillors, as the legal representatives of the nation for that purpose; and thus the community retained of its old rights only the private allodial estates in the hands of individuals, and the diminished use of

the *march* and common lands. The deer of the forests, the wild birds of the air, and the fish of the waters now passed also among the regalia, and thus formed, however remotely, the foundation of that system of game-laws which we have seen destroyed in our own day.

An interesting, but still most obscure subject, is the division of ranks and the relative value of various classes. It is generally known to be a fundamental principle of Teutonic law, that "every man has his price." The conception of *punishment* is one of later introduction and gradually-increasing extent: the more ancient one is that of *damages*. Blows, wounds, death itself, are to be looked upon in the light of injuries, for which the individual lesed, or his legal representatives, are to receive compensation: the Anglo-Saxon word for this is *Bôt**, and is of incomparably more frequent occurrence in the earliest Saxon laws than *Wite*, which properly denotes a *punishment*. In the law of *Æðelberht* of Kent, (first quarter of the seventh century), this last word occurs but once, cap. 9, and that in a passage of somewhat doubtful import. In that of *Hloðhere* and *Eadríc* (last quarter of the seventh century) it is not found at all; while in the code of *Wihtræd* (first quarter of the eighth century) it again occurs but once: in this, as in the first passage, its sense is confined to that of a pecuniary fine or mulct.

That in the very beginning of society the *Bôt* was arbitrary in amount, is nearly certain; it stands to reason that it must be so. The alternative of making it was bearing the feud of the injured person, and if the wrong-doer feared this, he made such composition as could be agreed upon by arbitrators appointed to that end. The Norse traditions assure us, that of three kinds of *Bôt* the most honourable was that wherein the wrong-doer himself appreciated his own act, and made such compensation as he himself thought right, or was willing to give: the usual form was

* *Bôt* is etymolog'cally connected with the root from which we have formed *better* and *best*, and which, though we only know it in these forms and the corresponding Gothic *Batizo*, etc., is clearly, in the well-known scheme which in German we call *Ablaut*, in immediate connection with *Bôti*, *a*, *ô* being the characteristic forms of this conjugation. *Bêtan* answers completely to our idiomatic phrase, to *make good*. The modern German *Büssen*, on the contrary, involves rather the notion of punishment than of satisfaction.

where the amount was settled by arbitration (O. Nor. *iafnendr*); the hardest condition of all was where the injured party had the right, in other words the power, to exact what he pleased. Now it appears that the supremacy of the law and the gradual extinction of the right of private warfare first shows itself in this, that the amount of compensation for every injury likely to occur is settled beforehand: this the law undertakes to make the one party pay and the other receive; and though it allows private feud in cases where the wrong-doer is contumacious and will not submit to its award, it severely punishes the injured party who attempts to take redress into his own hands without first resorting to the constituted tribunals (*Ælfr.* § 42). For thus keeping the peace, the law of some Teutonic tribes exacted a sum called *Fredum* (A.-S. *Frîð*, *pax*), or *Bannum* (A.-S. *Ban*, Sp. *Bando*, *proclamatio*), while others, in which the idea of state has been somewhat further developed, consider rather the act as an offence committed against the majesty of the law, and inflict a fine for breach of the peace, etc. The whole sum paid, consisting, under various names and by various instalments, partly of damages to the individual, partly of a fine to the authority whose peace or protection (*Mund*) has been violated, and partly of a sum paid to the state in consideration of its enforcing the compact between the parties, is apparently confounded by Tacitus under the word *mulcta*, in the well-known passage, "*Pars mulctæ regi vel civitati, pars ipsi qui vindicatur, vel propinquis ejus exsolvitur*" (*Germ.* XII.). The tariff or assessment of injuries consequently forms a prominent part of the law of every German tribe; and Mr. Thorpe justly considers this as the original, pre-Christian portion of *Æðelberht's* code.

"To many the question will here present itself—whence did the earlier of these institutes originate? for, if brought by our forefathers from their German home, we ought apparently to give them credit for a degree of civilization, beyond that usually ascribed to them. Their original institutes were, however, but scanty, consisting, probably, in little beyond that portion of the laws of Ethelbert, which contains the penalties for wounds and other bodily injuries; and which, with such modifications as time, place and other circumstances may have produced, were common to all the kindred nations of Northern Germany. It is, moreover, observable, that the nations nearest of kin to the Angles and Saxons, in this chapter, coincide with them the most closely."—Preface, *vol.* i. *p.* viii.

No man knows better than Mr. Thorpe that our forefathers did really possess a far higher degree of civilization than has been generally ascribed to them by writers who, neither understanding their language, laws, nor history, have found it less troublesome to abuse than to take the pains of comprehending them.

According to the system described, life itself has its legal value; and not only the life of the simple free man, but that also of the noble, and even the king. This, with the corresponding legal value of the individual when making oath, is the only real distinction of classes known to the Anglo-Saxon law. This price is called the Wer, Leód, Wergyld or Leód-gyld. It would be imagined that this must be the most definite and settled part of the law, but it is not so; on the contrary, it is precisely that which is most obscure and contradictory. In a large majority of cases it is only by a difficult and still uncertain method of approximation that we form a conclusion as to the real value of an individual of any class in any one of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms; and this strongly corroborates the opinion already expressed, that the codes contain but a very small portion of the institutions, and that they are little more than additional enactments, explanatory or emendatory of an ancient, traditional and well-known customary law*. There is, it is true, in Mr. Thorpe's first volume, p. 187, a document which professes to give a complete account of these values: from its being placed between the laws of Eadweard the Elder and Æðelstan, we presume that the compilers of the MS. attribute it to that period, viz. from 900 to 927, and that the learned editor either concurs with them, or does not very clearly see where else to place it. We are ourselves in much the same difficulty as to its real date; but with every deference to the authority of Mr. Thorpe, we should be inclined to doubt the accuracy of the collocation, and attribute the chapter *Be Wergyldum*, in its present form, to a much later period. However it may be

* Mr. Allen, in his excellent work on the 'Rise and Growth of the Royal Prerogative,' suggests a division of the Anglo-Saxon institutes into *æ*, customary or common law: *dsetnyssa*, statutes: and *dómas*, adjudged cases or precedents. In this division Mr. Thorpe and we entirely concur, although we are of opinion that there is great irregularity in the use of the terms. Unquestionably, several of these so-called laws are no more than judgments given in particular cases that had actually occurred.

with respect to the date, we have no hesitation in asserting that, in its present shape, that chapter is in a high degree corrupt and contradictory; and just as little in avowing our belief that its contents never were actually law,—that they far better represent some good monk's notion of what ought to be, than the historical fact of what was. We extract Mr. Thorpe's translation of this chapter :

"1. The Northpeople's (? Northumbrians) king's 'gild' is xxx. thousand 'thrymsas'; fifteen thousand 'thrymsas' are for the 'wer-gild,' and fifteen thousand for the 'cyne-dom.' The 'wēr' belongs to the kindred, and the 'cyne-bōt' to the people.

"2. An archbishop's and an ætheling's 'wer-gild' is xv. thousand 'thrymsas.'

"3. A bishop's and an 'ealdorman's' viii. thousand 'thrymsas.'

"4. A 'hold's' and a king's high-reeve's iv. thousand 'thrymsas.'

"5. A mass-thane's and a secular-thane's ii. thousand 'thrymsas.'

"6. A 'ceorl's' 'wer-gild' is cc. and lxvi. 'thrymsas,' that is cc. shillings by Mercian law.

"7. And if a 'wilisc'-man thrive so that he have a hide of land, and can bring forth the king's 'gafol,' then is his 'wer-gild' cxx. shillings; and if he thrive not except to half a hide, then let his 'wēr' be lxxx. shillings.

"8. And if he have not any land, and yet be free, let him be paid for with lxx. shillings.

"9. And if a 'ceorlish'-man thrive, so that he have v. hides of land for the king's 'utware,' and any one slay him, let him be paid for with two thousand 'thrymsas.'

"10. And though he thrive, so that he have a helm and coat of mail, and a sword ornamented with gold, if he have not that land, he is nevertheless a 'ceorl.'

"11. And if his son and his son's son so thrive, that they have so much land; afterwards, the offspring shall be of 'gesithcund' race, at two thousand ['thrymsas'].

"12. And if they have not that, nor to that can thrive, let them be paid for as 'ceorlish.'"

Another document, printed in p. 190 of the same volume, professes to give the Mercian tariff, which is as follows :

"A 'ceorl's' 'wer-gild' is by Mercian law cc. shillings. A thane's 'wer-gild' is six times as much, that is, xii. hundred shillings. Then is a king's simple 'wer-gild' vi. thanes' 'wēr' by Mercian law, that is, xxx. thousand 'sceatts,' and that is altogether cxx. pounds. So much is the 'wer-gild' in the people's folkright by Mercian law. And for the 'cyne-dom' there is due another such sum as 'bōt' for 'cyne-gild.' The 'wēr' belongs to the kindred, and the 'cyne-bōt' to the people."

The sixth article in the above document furnishes the means of testing in some degree the accuracy of the account. From this it appears that 266 *thrymsas** equalled 200 Mercian shillings, that is, each Mercian shilling = $\frac{266}{200}$ or 1.33 *thryms*; in other words, nearly one and a third. So that as the king's wergyld in Mercia is thirty-six times that of the ceorl, viz. 7200 shillings + 7200 for the royal dignity, the whole value of a Mercian king in *thrymsas* would be 19,152, a sum far short of the Northern computation, and showing a difference hardly conceivable in closely bordering and cognate kingdoms at the same period, especially as the balance is so much in favour of the more barbarous king; for at a period far anterior to the supposed date of these documents, Mercia had developed a very complete and consistent system of aristocracy. Again, a Mercian thane or *twelfhynde* man is worth 1200 scillings, or 1596 *thrymsas*, while the Northern thane is worth 2000, the relation between king and noble being in one case 15 : 1, in the other 6 : 1†.

If now the only document which professes to throw light upon this subject leave us in such darkness, what aid do we derive from the more formal enactments of the codes? The answer must needs be—very little. Still there are some data which may assist us in forming an approximation; for instance, we may obtain the value of the Kentish Leodgeld in the following manner:

In Æðelberht's law (which bears intrinsic evidence of an antiquity not at all short of what it assumes, although the language in which it is written be a modern translation,) the king's *mundbyrd* is fixed at fifty shillings (§ 2. 5. 8.), the eorl's or noble's at twelve (§ 13. 14. comp. with 10. 15. 16. and 17.), and the ceorl's, or simple freeman's, at six (§ 15. 25. 88.). The three classes stand then in the relation of 50,

* *pryms*, obviously the Latin *tremissis*.

† 7200 scill. = 30,000 sceattas = 120 pounds. Hence a Mercian pound = 60 scill. = 250 sceat. and a Mercian scill. = $4\frac{1}{2}$ sceat. And on the hypothesis that 266 *thryms*. = 200 scill., each *thryms*. = $3\frac{1}{2}$ sceat. nearly. And the Mercian pound = $79\frac{1}{2}$ *thrymsas*. The Mercian values in sceattas, pounds and shillings are as follows:

| | | | | | |
|-------|-------------------|-------|-------------|-------|---------------------------|
| King | 30,000 sceat. | ..... | 7200 scill. | ..... | 120 pounds. |
| Thane | 5000 | — | ..... | 1200 | — 20 — |
| Ceorl | 833 $\frac{1}{2}$ | — | ..... | 200 | — 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ — |

12 and 6, or taking the ceorl as unity, their respective values are $8\frac{1}{2}$, 2 and 1; that is,

Ceorl : eorl :: 1 : 2.

Ceorl : king :: 1 : $8\frac{1}{2}$.

Eorl : king :: 1 : $4\frac{1}{2}$.

Now the *medume leodgeld* of the ceorl is stated to be one hundred shillings (§ 7.), and both James Grimm and Thorpe translate this, the *half* leodgeld; but here we do not concur with them in the rendering of the word *medume*; were they right, the sums would be respectively 200, 400 and $1666\frac{1}{2}$ shillings, the two last of which are highly improbable, though the first is supported by the analogy of the Mercian Leodgeld. Now *meduma* signifies not *half*, but *middling*, *moderate*, and the enactment amounts in fact to this: If one free man slay another, he must pay the whole leodgeld; but not so if the slayer be the king's armourer or messenger, two most important household servants; in this case he must pay only a *moderated* leodgeld of one hundred. It was an exemption in favour of the king's prerogative, and we wonder Mr. Thorpe should have retained Mr. Price's note, in which a doubt is expressed as to the meaning of the law. The common leodgeld was then above *one* hundred, and we shall presently see that it was below *two*. The case of a wergild paid for a king is an extremely rare one: history has however recorded such a payment. In the year 687, Mul Æðelweard, a scion of the royal race of Wessex, harried Kent, and, being surprised by the inhabitants of the country, was burnt to death in a house in which he had taken refuge with a few companions. Seven years later the men of Kent made compensation to Ini for Mul's death. The sum given is very variously stated: William of Malmesbury says it was thirty thousand mancuses, which, at eight mancuses to the pound, would be 3750 pounds; this accordingly is the sum mentioned by Florence of Worcester. Æðelweard, the earliest Latin chronicler, says, thirty thousand *solidi*, each of which is to be reckoned at sixteen pence. Some MSS. of the Saxon Chronicle read thirty thousand pounds (*þrittig þusend punda*), others thirty pounds (*þrittig punda*). However contradictory all these statements may at first appear—nay, however ridiculously exaggerated some of them are, it is not impossible to reconcile and explain them. Every one but Florence, who has evidently

calculated his sum from a given number of mancuses, reads thirty thousand of some coin or other. One will have them pounds, another shillings, a third mancuses, etc., etc. Now they are all wrong in their denominations, and all equally right in their number, and for the simplest of reasons: the original from which they derived their information mentioned the number, but did not mention the denomination. Each author then answered his own question, "Thirty thousand *what*?" by supplying the supposed omission with the name of the coin which happened to be most familiar to himself. But there can be no question that the Saxon original read *þrittig þusenda*, and nothing else, and this is actually the reading of some MSS. of the Saxon Chronicle: it is even likely that the *þrittig punda* of other copies was merely the error of a transcriber, misled by a common contraction and the resemblance of the Saxon *th* to a *p**. In describing measures of land or sums of money it is the custom of the Anglo-Saxon tongue to use the numerals only, leaving the commonest measure to be understood by the reader: thus, if land were intended, *þrittig þusenda* would denote thirty thousand *hides*; if money, thirty thousand *scæts*†. This then we believe to have been the sum paid to Ini, and to have been the regular personal wergild of the Kentish king. It now only remains to apply this sum to the elucidation of the other wergilds. Mr. Thorpe, Mr. Allen, and ourselves, from a comparison of the *bōts* for injuries to the nails of the hand and foot, are agreed upon the value of a Kentish shilling: we fix it at twenty *scæts*. Our thirty thousand *scæts* are therefore equivalent to fifteen hundred shillings; not at all too small a sum when it is considered that in the time of the very prince to whom this compensation was paid, the price of an ewe with her lamb was only one shilling of Wessex, which it will be seen is less than a fourth of the Kentish shilling (Ini, cap. 55). Applying now the proportions already assigned to the different classes, we find the eorl's leodgeld to be 360, the ceorl's 180 shillings, which sums are respectively thirty times the amount of the several

* *þrittig þūnda*, i. e. *þrittig þusenda*.

† Conf. Hloð. § 10, p. 33; Æðelr. § 7, p. 297. Ælfr. Beda iii. 5. So in reference to the religious services to be performed by clergymen, *an afdig* means fifty *psalms* to be recited or sung. Æðelst. IV. § 3, p. 223; V. 8, § 6, p. 237. We talk to this day of *five hundred, five thousand* a year.

mundbyrds. From a careful comparison of all the passages in the laws, we conclude the values of the Saxon money to have been as follows :

The pound = 240 pence. The Mercian shilling = 4 pence, and consequently the pound = 60 Merc. shillings. The thryms or Northumbrian shilling = 3 pence*; hence the pound = 80 thrymsas. The Saxon shilling = 5 pence; hence the pound = 48 shillings. In Kent, where they have no pence, but 250 scæts to the pound, and 20 scæts to the shilling, the pound = $12\frac{1}{2}$ shillings; and if we divide 1500 shillings, the royal wergylde, by $12\frac{1}{2}$, we find it to amount to 120 pounds, as in Mercia. And as 7200 Mercian shill. = 30,000 scæts, = 120 pounds, the pound = 250 scæts, = 60 shill. Hence the Mercian shill. = $4\frac{1}{2}$ scæts, and the penny : scæt :: $4\frac{1}{2}$: 4. And as the thryms is to the shilling as 3 : 4, or as 80 thrymsas make a pound, each thryms = $3\frac{1}{4}$ scæts. But the Saxon shilling = $5\frac{1}{4}$ scæts, and the Kentish shilling we have already stated to equal 20 scæts.

These calculations, though they do not satisfactorily resolve every difficulty arising from the unequal values of various classes, answer all the conditions required in the laws, and enable us to judge with accuracy of the amount of fines, bóts and prices in general. That our acquaintance with the whole system is imperfect must be admitted, but in these data we possess a clue by which some of the confusion and difficulty of the subject may be escaped.

In this confusion and difficulty the coinage unhappily furnishes us little help, and the want of a standard renders it almost impossible for us to ascertain what the real value of the scæts and shillings we possess was in the time when the laws were enacted. It seems, therefore, that we must assume the perfect independence of even the most neighbouring countries, of one another in these respects; and important as are the conclusions, and strange the results, to which the consideration of this fact leads us—important as it must appear in the study of the internal development of the country—we cannot but derive satisfaction from the evidence

* 200 Merc. shill. = 266 thrymsas, or as other MSS. have it, 267. This is true, for $200 \times 4 = 800$ pence, and $266, 267 \times 3 = 798, 801$ respectively. The exact value of 200 shillings is therefore $266\frac{2}{3}$ thryms.

which the law of the continental tribes supplies of the existence of precisely similar variations in Germany*. It shows also how slowly the humanizing influences of commerce act upon the strong children of the forest, and how powerful are the bonds of blood and of tradition among early nations. The relations, however, of the different classes in the same race are still important enough to deserve a few words. In the time of Æðelberht the value of the servile ranks was thus estimated: a *læt* (*litus*) of the highest class is worth 80 shillings, of the second 60, of the lowest 40 (§ 26).

In the law of Hloðhere and Eadric there appears a new proportion between ceorl and eorl, viz. 1 : 3 (§ 1 and 3); but in that of Wihtræd, the old relation of 1 : 2 returns (§ 5).

With the reign of this weak and unfortunate prince close the legal records of Kent, which, after remaining for a time a prey to intestine disorders, sank into an appanage to Mercia, till Ecgberht changed his precarious pretensions to its throne for the powerful empire of Wessex, with which he incorporated it. Henceforward, if suffered to retain any vestiges of independence, it was, like the principality of Wales and duchy of Cornwall, always in the hands of the apparent or presumptive heirs to the West-saxon throne.

It cannot be overlooked that the system of *wergilds* in Kent is simple compared with that of Wessex: of Mercia we unhappily have not the full means to judge: the signatures of Mercian charters do indeed prove the existence of nobles of different ranks, but we have no legal record of their value; and though we perceive both in Kent and Wessex similar distinctions, yet it will immediately be seen that the law of Kent and Wessex lead us to different conclusions. The synod of Berg-hamstede, in which Wihtræd's dooms were enacted, was holden in 696. According to the usual supposition, our next document would be the law of Ini, dating between 688 and 705; but Sir F. Palgrave started an hypothesis in which

* The Salic and Ripuarian frank = 200 sh.: the former *in hoste* = 600, *in truste* 1800: the latter *in truste* only 600. The Salic *litus* = 100; *in hoste* 300, *in truste* 900. In the law of the Angli and Werini, the *adaling* = 600, the *liber* 200, the *libertus* 80. In the law of the Saxons, *nobilis* 1440, *liber* 240, *litus* 120; Bavaria, *liber* (*minores*) 160, *nobilis* (*mediani*) 320, *agilolfingi* (*primi*) 640, *dux* 960. Alemanni, *minofedus* 160, *medianus* 200, *primus* 240. Burgundiones, *minor* 150, *mediocris* 200, *nobilis* 300. Visigoths, *litus* 150, *liber* 300.

he is followed by Mr. Thorpe, that this law in its present shape was promulgated by Ælfred, as an appendix to his own dooms; and that there had been similar editions of the codes of Mercia and Kent, which are now lost. If this were so, an interval of more than one hundred and eighty years must be assumed between the Kentish and West-Saxon documents; and this, even without respect to the confusion which foreign and domestic wars had produced in all quarters, would lead us to anticipate great changes. We do not, however, give our assent to the hypothesis in question; it appears to us to be overturned by a comparison of the two laws themselves, which contain several enactments in common. The Kentish law* knows only the two ancient divisions, the *ceorl* and *eorl*, the *fritlingus* and *adalingus* of the Continent. These are unquestionably the earliest pre-historic classes, the freemen and nobles by birth; nor in them do we find any traces of that later, antinational system of nobility by service, which gradually involves and supersedes the former, which must continue to encroach upon a landed nobility not supported by a law of primogeniture, and whose extension bears a faint analogy to the increase of baronies by patent as compared with baronies by tenure. The terms used in the law of Wessex are derived from the value of the parties, that is, the number of *hundreds* they are worth: from the Saxon word *hund* is derived an adjective—*hynde* similar to the formation—*wintre*,—*ennis*, from the substantive *winter*,—*annus*. Twy-hynde, the *ceorl*, is he whose wergild is two hundred shillings (Ini, § 34. Ælfr. and Guthr. Edw. and Guthr. pp. 155, 175), the sixhynde (*eorl*) he whose wergild is six hundred. Here then is the old proportion of 1:3, and it is found in several enactments of Ælfred and Ini: thus the fines for *flet-gefeoh*t are for twy-hynde, sixhynde and twelfhynde respectively, six, eighteen, and thirty-six shillings; for *edor*- and *burh-bryce* respectively, five, fifteen, and thirty shillings. It thus appears, however, that in Wessex a third class had arisen, even at so early a period as the commencement of the seventh century,—the twelfhynde. What is this class? Evidently the highest rank of the *comites* or court nobility, the *principes*, *ealdormen* or *geþungenan witan*, in whose favour the na-

• In contradistinction to the Charters.

tional nobility have been depressed into a secondary station; and while by this policy, the extension of whose advantages to the church secured the services of that powerful body, provision was made for the king's immediate servants, whether landowners or not, a strong inducement was held out to the national *eorlas* to become *gesælcund*, that is, rank themselves as *comites* and officers of the king*. And thus the people, gradually deserted by the clergy and by their natural protectors, the nobility, rapidly sinking in the scale as the authority of the king rose, began at length to lose the courage and independence which had distinguished them; and with their municipal rights diminished and their national laws changed, found themselves at length betrayed into a state of lethargic apathy which required the sharp correctives, first of Danish occupation, and then of Norman conquest.

The circumstances under which a man might become noble are on record: service of the crown or the altar, and commercial enterprise, might raise him from the rank of a free man to that of a thane, from the rights of a thane to those of an *eorl*.

"And if a 'ceorl' thrived, so that he had fully five hides of his own land, church and kitchen, bell-house and 'burh'-gate-seat, and special duty in the king's hall, then was he thenceforth of thane-right worthy..... And if a thane thrived, so that he became an 'eorl,' then was he thenceforth of 'eorl'-right worthy. And if a merchant thrived, so that he fared thrice over the wide sea by his own means, then was he thenceforth of thane-right worthy."—*Pages 191, 193.*

We think there is an error in the collocation of this passage: the alliteration and the sense both require that we should read *bell-hus ȝ burh-geat, setl ȝ sunder-note*, that is, *bell-house and burgh-gate, seat and special office*. The early period at which the English perceived the true direction of the national energies is very remarkable; and the honours paid to the merchant who, at his own charges, had thrice crossed the sea, were more really useful than the premium held out to service taken with the king. There are in these laws many clauses intended to regulate not only the intercourse between the inhabitants of different districts, but that also between the island and the continent. While the chil-

* Tacitus proves that the rank of the *comites* depended on the pleasure of the prince. He says: "*Gradus quin etiam ipse comitatus habet, judicio ejus, quem sectantur; magnaue et comitum æmulatio, quibus primus apud principem suum locus.*"

dren of the North were generally known in foreign lands merely by the terror of their arms, the peaceful Anglo-Saxon had already commenced that career of commercial activity which has made the country of his descendant what she is, the arbitress of the destinies of empires. Even at this early period, England knew that the real glory of nations is to uphold, not to disturb—to produce, not to destroy. A people living largely by the pasture of cattle must have many regulations both for the defence and the peaceful use of wealth so liable to casualties of various kinds; and such we find, not always wise and resulting from an enlightened policy—nay, on the contrary, often marked by the prevalence of false doctrines based on the chimerical necessity of *protection*; but till the tariffs of all the European states are changed, we shall do better to labour at the introduction of better views of commercial legislation, than to blame a young and inexperienced people for having failed in discovering them. A very interesting document is the one found in p. 300 of Mr. Thorpe's first volume, and entitled *De Institutis Lundonie*, from which the following extracts are taken :

“ I. Ealdredesgate et Cripelesgate, i. e. portas illas, observabant custodes. II. Ad Billingesgate, si advenesset una navicula, unus obolus thelonei dabatur: si major et haberet siglas, unus denarius. Si adveniat ceol vel hulcus, et ibi jaceat, quatuor ð. ad telofi. De navi plena lignorum, unum lignum ad telofi. In ebdomada pañ telofi III. diebus: die Dominica, et die Martis, et die Jovis. Qui ad pontem venisset cum uno bato, ubi piscis inesset, ipse mango unum oð dabat in telofi: et de una majori nave, unum ð. Homines de Rotomago, qui veniebant cum vino vel craspice, dabant rectitudinem sex sot de magna navi, et vicesimum frustrum de ipso craspice. Flandrenses, et Ponteiensens, et Normannia, et Francia, monstrabant res suas et extolneabant. Hogge, et Leodium, et Nivella, qui per terras ibant, ostensionem dabant et telofi. Et homines Imperatoris, qui veniebant in navibus suis, bonarum legum digni tenebantur, sicut et nos. Præter discarcatam lanam, et dissutum unctum et tres porcos vivos licebat eis emere in naves suas; et non licebat eis aliquod foreceapum facere burhmannis, et dare telonium suum; et in Sancto Natali Domini duos

“grisengos pannos, et unum brunum, et decem libras piperis,
 “et cirotecas quinque hominum, et duos caballinos tonellos
 “aceto plenos, et totidem in Pascha; de dosseris cum gallinis 1.
 “gallina telofi, et de uno dossero cum ovis v. ova telonei, si
 “veniant ad mercatum. Smeremangestre, que manganant in
 “caseo et butiro, XIII. diebus ante Natale Domini, unum
 “defi, et septem diebus post Natale, unum alium.”

There is evidence in Mr. Kemble's book of the establishment of markets by charter, and grants of *tol* and *tac* are common. The document we have cited is of the first quarter of the eleventh century, but as early as the eighth we find privileges accorded by the Frankish kings to the Anglo-Saxon merchants who frequented the fair of St. Denys. Unhappily, a privilege always implies an exclusion; and though in those treaties (for so they may be called) we perceive the glimmerings of an approach to a system of national intercommunion, we may be certain that the universal law was harsh and hostile to strangers. Another even more valuable document, printed for the first time by Mr. Thorpe, is found in vol. i. p. 462, under the title *Libertas Civitatum*, although its provisions are apparently confined to London; these, which might almost be termed the foundation of the liberties of the city of London—so many of them are yet gems in its civic crown—are even more remarkable than the last cited, from the prohibitions of foreign industry which they contain. For instance:

“VIII. Mercator itaque foranus, postquam civitatem introierit, quocumque placuerit ei hospitetur. Sed videat ne ad incisionem (*by retail*) merces suas vendat, ut si fulco tinctos attulerit, non minus duodena simul vendat. Et si piper vel cuminum vel gingiber vel alumen vel brasit vel laco vel thus attulerit, non minus quam xxv. libras simul vendat. Si vero zonas attulerit, non minus vendat simul quam unum mille. Et si pannos de seia vel lana vel lino attulerit, videat ne incidat, sed integros vendat. Si vero ceram attulerit, non minus vendat quam unum quartanum. Mercator itaque que foranus nequit pannum madidum emere, vel tincturam in urbe facere, vel operam aliquam que ad cives operari pertineat. Item IX. Nequit iterum mercator foranus cum socio suo infra civitatem mercatum aliquem facere ad revendendum illud in civitate, nec aliquem mercatum faciendum

“nequit civi pervenire, nec magis in urbeprehendinare poterit.”

It is something to know what were the principal imports of the city from abroad; but these documents show us also what were the principal occupations of the citizens.

While they received from the country the eggs, butter and cheese, which are the product of pastoral districts, they exported the wool* and tallow (? tanned hides) which the foreign merchant took in exchange for his commodities. For these they received the half or wholly finished articles of manufacture of Northern France, Holland, Flanders and Germany, belts and gloves, grey cloths to be dyed at home; or wine and fish; or the spices of the East, pepper, frankincense and ginger, which found their way no doubt along the upper edge of the Black Sea†; or, finally, the alum requisite as a mordant for their dyes. Yet, though dyeing was so much their business as to be forbidden to the foreigner, they thought they could protect themselves by throwing difficulties in the way of introducing the substance most necessary to the exercise of their art; an error which we dare not pronounce ridiculous, since at this very day our restrictions upon the free importation of that very mordant are causing the rapid exclusion of our dyed cottons from the markets of Asia, where our dull colours cannot compete with the more brilliant, though perhaps inferior products of wiser nations. From the prohibition to sell under certain quantities, it may be inferred that London was already such a mart for the neighbouring counties as to have become filled with a population of traders, mere distributors between man and man, in whose favour all shop-keeping and retail trade but their own must be strictly interdicted. And this, involving as it does the existence of a dense active population, united internally, and free from many clogs to action which agricultural populations labour under, readily explains the important part which, on more than one occasion, the city of London played in Anglo-Saxon history.

* At the end of the tenth century, the price of the *way* of wool was fixed by statute at 120 pence, or half a pound.—Le. Edg. ii. § 8.

† Two centuries earlier, an embassy from Bagdad had poured the treasures of the East into the court of Charlemagne. The manners and titles of Byzantium had reappeared in the halls of Wessex, and more than one English prelate had visited the sainted dust of Calvary and the sepulchre, which was believed to be the centre of the world.

It is certainly remarkable, considering the important geographical position of London, which at the very earliest periods pointed it out as the true commercial capital of England, how little we know of its ancient history. That it was a considerable town in the time of the Britons, and still more so of the Romans*, only renders it the more strange that there should be no record how and when it fell into the power of the Saxons. That it was at first the capital of the East Saxons follows from the first Christian bishop of that people having established his cathedral there. Hloð. and Ead. § 16, contains provisions for the intercourse of Kentishmen with London. At a later time, when the separate existence of Essex was lost, the city appears to have been dependent upon Mercia, although possessing a municipal institution of its own, to which we shall have to call attention hereafter. Even after the Danish invasion and occupation of London, when Ælfred raised it from its ruins, he committed its government to his son-in-law Æðelred, Duke of Mercia. During the continuance of the East-anglian kingdom, it is hardly possible that such ports as Yarmouth, Lynn and Dunwich (this last a bishop's see) should not have attracted a considerable portion of the commerce of the neighbouring and opposite coast; and that London should also have been an import haven for ships from Holland, Belgium, Germany and Northern France, serves to prove how extensive a commerce we carried on. On this as on other most interesting subjects, the now lost code of Offa of Mercia would probably have furnished invaluable notices; for during his time, viz. between 792 and 796, all the ports of Norfolk, Suffolk and Lincolnshire, as well as London, must have been included in his dominions—no trifling causes of the greatness of his power!

Our limits permit us only to indicate, not to exhaust the important objects of research which these volumes suggest, else might we say much respecting the goldsmiths' and jewellers' work, the embroidery and manufacture of weapons, for which England was then famous, and in which, as in all the arts of civilization, and in learning, she then stood at the head of the Teutonic world. Nor can we dilate here upon the difficulties which were legally thrown in the way of inter-

* "At Suetonius..... Londinium perrexit, cognomento quidem coloniae non insignis, sed copia negotiatorum et comitatum maxime celebre."—Tac. Ann. xiv. c. 33.

nal intercourse, upon the necessity of buying and selling in the presence of certain officers and sworn witnesses, and the long and wearisome process of vouching to warranty. These things must be left for a happier moment and more auspicious opportunity*. And with them we are compelled to pass over the whole second volume, the *Monumenta Ecclesiastica*, though it contains the Penitentials of Theodor and Cummianus (*Canones editi sub Edgardo Rege*, vol. ii.), and other ecclesiastical documents of almost unmeasured interest to the inquirer into the sources of the canon law, and the position and influence of the Anglo-Saxon clergy. The writer on Anglo-Saxon history who may hereafter use our hints, must be content to find here not details, but principles; not an exposition of minutiae of laws, but certain wide lines mapping out and subdividing the law itself into the more important of its bases.

We have spoken of the Mægburh, or family bond, as an institution whose full comprehension is necessary to a clear conception of the Anglo-Saxon public and private life. The idea of the family is at once the earliest and the strongest of human ties: in its development it is also the most ennobling to the individual and salutary to the state: on it depend the honour and dignity of woman, the unselfish education of man, the training of children to obedience and love, of parents to protection and justice, of all to love of country and enlightened subordination to the state. Where it does not exist, man becomes an instrument in the hands of others, or the blind tool of systems. In its highest form it is the representative of that great mystery by which all Christians are one brotherhood, united under one Father and King. Throughout the latter day of ethnic civilization, when the idea of *state* had almost ceased to have power, and the idea of *family* did not exist, there was a complete destruction both of public and private morality; and the world, grown to be "a sink of filth and vice," was tottering to the fall which Providence in mercy had provided for its purification. The irruption of the German tribes seems to have been intended to breathe into the dead bones of heathen cultivation the breath of a new life; and

* We must call attention to one provision of the *Libertas Civitatum*: The citizen of London is allowed to alienate his lands, without the consent of his relatives. This is a most wise enactment, in favour of commerce, which requires moveable capital, and the prohibition of it by the law of *Aviticitas* is one of the main causes of the want of commercial activity in Hungary.

the individual dignity of man as a member of a family,—the deep-seated feeling of all those nations,—while it prepared them to become the founders of Christian states which should endure, made them the wonder of the theologians and philosophers of Rome, Greece and Africa, and an example to be held up to the degenerate races whom they subdued*. Even in the depths of the German forests, the stern warriors had assigned a station to women which nothing but that deep feeling could have caused; this was the sacred sex, believed to be in nearer communion with divinity than men: the matrons presided over the rites, conducted the divinations, and encouraged the warriors on the field of battle; Veledas and Aurinias, prophetesses in the bloom of youth and beauty, led the raw levies of the North to triumph over the veteran legions of Rome. Neither rank nor wealth could atone for violated chastity; nor were in general any injuries more severely punished than those which the main strength of man might enable him to inflict on woman. That with all this, women *in the family* held a subordinate station to men, lies in the nature of the family itself, and in the disposition and qualities which have been implanted in woman to enable her to fulfil her appointed duties in the scheme of Providence; qualities not different in *degree*, but *kind*, from those of her helpmate, that they may be the complement of his, and united with his make up the full and perfect circle of humanity. As an individual, woman was considered a being of a higher nature; as a member of the state, she was necessarily represented by him on whom nature had imposed the burthen of her support and the duty of her protection. But the wide-spreading influences of the gentile or family bond, as it influenced the formation of laws, requires to be farther traced. Our following remarks are in some sort supplemental to those we made at the opening of this article, and contemplate the Mægburh as an institution recognised by the law.

It lies in the very nature of things, that, among a people animated with such a principle as we have described, and so

* See innumerable passages to this effect in St. Augustine, Salvianus, and even Procopius. These testimonies are peculiarly valuable, because, generally speaking, they are those of hostile witnesses, not only looking upon the Teutons as invaders, but as heretics, that is, Arians and Semi-Arians.

placed by circumstances in countries far more than sufficient for their support, the very earliest organization should be based upon the family relations. Dwelling near to one another, united by a community of interests and the endearing ties of mutual relationship—or the scarcely weaker bond of adoption, strong as regards other families in direct proportion to their union amongst themselves, the *mægð*, or family, offer all the guarantees in their own natural position which the primitive state can require. In the popular councils the largest and most distinguished family has naturally the largest weight; but association of others, severally less powerful, is always capable of counteracting danger which might arise in a free state from the ambition of any of its portions. In the absence of a central power, and its dispersion through all the several members of the community, the collection of revenue and the maintenance of the peace must be left to the heads of the several fractions, whether villages (as in the East) or families, which at one time are identical with villages. The police, therefore, especially belongs to the family, and is by it exercised over all the individuals that compose it; hence also the misconduct of the individual may have the effect of destroying the social position of the whole *mægð*.

In *Beówulf*, the warriors who deserted their prince in his utmost need, are sternly told by his successor, that not only they but their whole *mægburh* will henceforth have forfeited the rights of citizens, *folcrihtes sceal, ðære mægburge monna æghwílcl ídel hweorfan*, not *each of you individually*, but *each and every man of your mægburh*, shall go about deprived of his public rights;—a rule which, coupled with the fact of all serving together under one of themselves, and each under the eye of his nearest and dearest friends, furnished a military organization capable of enabling the *barbarians* to cope with far more disciplined and scientific military systems than their own; and which serves to explain the almost irresistible power with which the Teutons of old, and the Turks of more recent times, burst upon the nations exposed to their onset*.

* Weight and momentum combined are the secret of modern tactics, and *morally speaking* (i. e. the appearance in superior force on certain points), of modern strategies also. Cavalry charging in successive echelons would always break infantry but for the check which man and horse experience in their speed from

The price of blood, the earliest institution of these races, is only intelligible if looked at from the point of view we have taken: the family at large are injured by the loss of their associate, and to them compensation must be made; so they in turn must make compensation for him, since rights and duties are commensurate. The principle, however darkly, is yet involved in the theory of our prosecutions for seduction of a daughter or sister.

That this, however, cannot be an enduring system, lies also in the nature of things. Its principal condition is neighbourhood, the concentration of the family upon one spot: as population increases, and with it emigration, the bond gradually becomes weaker, and at last perishes as a positive institution, surviving only in the traces which it leaves upon the later order substituted for it.

War, commerce, cultivation, the effect of increasing population and its cause, gradually disperse the members of the *sibsceaft*, and a time arrives when neighbours are no longer kinsmen. At this point the old organization ceases to be effective, and a new one becomes necessary, unless the ancient principle is to be entirely abandoned; but as this is not easily the case among young nations, it appears far more feasible to introduce an artificial arrangement founded upon the form of the old one. Tradition, which early made a hero of Ælfred, to whom everything worthy of admiration might be referred,

the file-firing of the squares: the mere weight of the horse *falling dead into the first rank* would break it if he reached it. If the weight of the advancing body be greater than that of the resisting, the latter is destroyed. A successful charge of cavalry won the battle of Marengo, an unsuccessful one lost that of Waterloo. Modern warfare was more changed by the substitution of iron for wooden ramrods, by which the momentum of musket-balls was increased, than by almost any other mere change of detail. Steam-carriages and scythe-chariots, the Macedonian phalanx—nay, even squadrons of horse, are only *larger bullets*, which may be launched with more or less success; all these are mechanical discoveries consequent upon the fact that the individuals of which armies are composed are lower in the scale of moral dignity than of old. Once group men in masses, and they become subject, more or less, according as discipline has destroyed their individuality, to the mechanical laws which govern the relations of all masses. No doubt a stone wall will turn any charge of cavalry; and so will a regiment of infantry, in exact proportion as you teach it to stand like a stone wall, that is, as you destroy the individual action of each soldier. The Romans stood above two feet apart; our men touch one another at the elbows. Our armies are fitter perhaps for aggressive movements. The Germans probably charged tumultuously; but the scyldburh, or wall of shields, was hardly less capable of receiving a charge than our own squares.

has attributed to that prince the introduction or invention of such a system. The principle that every man was to be "in borh" or surety (*liberum plegium*, Franc pledge, Freo borh), was not new; it was just the same from the very first, and all the *mæg-burh* were reciprocally "free borows" to one another, while he that had the "godsord" was the natural borseholder, headborow, etc. It was, however, a new application of the principle that a large district should be divided into smaller units, mutually interdependent, and so forming a compact and reticulated system over the whole country. *Ælfred* then is stated to have divided the whole population into tens and hundreds, either of individuals or families, and so to have established or invented such a system. Now although much may be advanced against this assertion, and has been so, still we are inclined to believe that it has some foundation in truth. We are satisfied that the *tythings* or *tyn-manna-tæl* are collections of ten individuals, and we therefore do not attach much importance to the circumstance of the old Saxons, or Saxons of the Elbe, having had a centenary system of villages or townships. More probability rests in the supposition that the progress of the system was gradual, but that the total destruction of the old organization during the Danish wars rendered it necessary to extend that which was already partially received to all the newly-settled portions of the country. The word *gelondan* has been mentioned; that of *gegyldan* (those who belong to the same guild, fraternity, or municipal division) seems of later introduction; and though it applies to the members of a *frið-gyld*, or society for mutual assurance and protection, yet throughout the laws it can only be construed to mean the members of the *tythings* or other general subdivisions; for the very terms in which it is mentioned exclude the possibility of its having reference to the members of voluntary associations, who for the most part belonged to the upper classes of society, the nobility and clergy. It is certain that the word first occurs in the laws of *Ini*, in which it is found twice (§ 16 § 21, pp. 113, 117); to the Kentish law it is entirely unknown. It is found but twice even in *Ælfred's* code (§ 27, 28; pp. 79, 81), and is there, as by *Ini*, referred to without comment, and not as something of novel introduction. It is also remarkable

that in the two passages where it does occur, it implies a limitation of the more general system of the *mægburh*. This last appears in the earliest law of Kent. *Æðelberht* enacts (§ 23), "If a murderer fly the land, let his kinsmen pay a half *leód*," implying an alleviation of their burthen in consideration of the loss of their kinsman's services. In *Ini* the following passages refer to the rights and duties of the family (§ 23, 24, 28, 35, 74), while the only two clauses which mention the *gegyldan* are as follows :

"'§ 16. He who slays a thief must declare on oath that he slew him offending; not his *gegyldan*.' Again, '§ 21. If a man demand the *wēr* of the slain, he must declare that he slew him for a thief; not the *gegyldan* of the slain nor his lord: but if he conceal it, and after a time it become known, then makes he room for an oath on behalf of the dead man, that his kindred may exculpate him*.'" "

In *Ælfred's* law again we have a very detailed account of the office and duties of the *megas* (§ 1, 5, 8, 27, 28, and especially 42). The 27th and 28th titles, in which alone the *gegyldan* are mentioned, introduce the limitation to which we have alluded above :

"If a man who has no kinsman on the father's side fight and slay a man—then if he have relatives on the mother's side, let them pay a third part of the *wēr*, the *gegyldan* a third part, and for a third part let him flee. If he have no maternal relatives, let the *gegyldan* pay half, and for half let him flee. 28.—If any one slay a man so circumstanced—if he have no kinsmen—let half be paid to the king, half to the *gegyldan*."

The diminishing responsibility of the *mægburh* appears nowhere more clearly than in the law of *Eadwaard* the elder, in the 9th chapter of which it is enacted :

"If any one, through a charge of theft, forfeit his freedom, and deliver himself up, and his kindred forsake him, and he know not who shall make 'bōt' for him; let him then be worthy of the 'theow'-work which thereto belongs, and let the 'wer' abate from the kindred."—Page 165.

The kindred who disclaim the responsibility and desert their kinsman, shall have no claim on his *wergild*, this now

* We do not agree with Mr. Thorpe as to the bearing of these laws: we are of opinion that they merely mean thus much: if a stranger be slain under circumstances of suspicion, and claimed by his kindred, the slayer may have the advantage of swearing that the stranger was a thief; and neither the lord nor the *gegyldan* of the slain shall be allowed to swear that he was not; unless there were concealment on the part of the slayer, which, being suspicious, abated his right and allowed them the liberty of clearing him.

passing as a matter of course to the master whose slave he has become. And again, in the laws of Æðelstan (p. 201) :

“And we have ordained : respecting those lordless men of whom no law can be got, that the kindred be commanded that they domicile him to folk-right, and find him a lord in the Folkmote ; and if they then will not or cannot produce him at the term, then be he thenceforth a ‘ flyma,’ and let him slay him for a thief who can come at him : and whoever after that shall harbour him, let him pay for it according to his ‘ wēr,’ or by it clear himself.”—*Conf. Leg. Eadmund, cap. i. p. 249.*

Now it is very remarkable that, till the time of Æðelstan, not a word is said of anything but the mægburh or kindred, save in the cases cited from Ælfred and Ini. In every other passage, and they are extremely numerous, it is invariably the mægburh upon whom the responsibilities rest and the rights are conferred. But in the time of that prince we have a most important document, the *Judicia Civitatis Lundoniæ*, as they are called, which contain a complete and detailed account of the establishment of ‘tythings’ and ‘hyndens’ by the burghers of London in conjunction with the king, the reeves, or royal officers and the bishops, and which are expressly stated to be supplemental to the acts passed at Greatley, Exeter and Thundersfield. That this is a just view of the case appears from several enactments in the document, which are entirely of a public nature, applicable to the whole land, and not merely to a private association of guildsmen for charitable, funeral or other purposes. The citizens then determined to distribute themselves into *decennia*, or *tythings*, each one of which was to have a chief, *yldesta* ; further, there were to be taken ten tythings* to make one *hynden* or hundred, and this also was to have a chief or hynden-man. Thus the hynden-man with the ten chiefs of tythings form a committee, who keep the common purse of the hundred and act as receivers and disbursers of the whole body ; and all these committees of eleven are to meet once a month to consult in common respecting the general advantage. This sort of representative government it is clear could only belong to a society like that of a large city, which London then was, and comprising a population whose members were not of kin to one another. And thus in the articles of agreement they

* It is clear that the word *tyne* has been omitted before *heora* in the passage, *7 syððan 7a hyndena, [tyne] heora tōgædere*, p. 232, l. 1.

do contrast themselves with others living under the *mægburh* (cap. viii. § 2, p. 237), and provide for the case where a kindred is powerful enough to oppose them. The bond of their union is an alliance offensive and defensive, *ðæt we wæron ealle on ánum freóndscype swá on ánum feóndscype* (cap. vii.), and it is rendered necessary by the very circumstance of their position destroying the relation of the *mægburh*. In these articles the word ‘hundred’ does not occur, and the ten *tythings* are called a ‘*hynden*’: the decennium passes by the common name of tithing, *teóðung*, and is expressly composed of ten individuals. But in one passage (cap. iv.) it would seem as if the same word were used of a territorial division; it is true that the passage is defective, but still it is difficult to attach any other sense to the word, and it appears moreover that it refers to places lying without the city and beyond the limits of the association. We subjoin the words of the article:

“*Ðæt ælc man wære óðrum gelástful, ge æt spore ge æt midráde, ðara ðe ða gebodu gehyrde, swá lange swá ðe man spor wiste; 7 syððan him spor burste, ðæt man funde ænne man ðær máre folc sig, swá of ánre teóðunge ðær læsse folc sig, tó ráde oððe tó gange, búton má þurfe, ðider ðonne máest þearf sý, 7 hig ealle gecwædon.*”

“That every man of them that have heard the orders be aidful to others both in tracking and pursuit, so long as the track is known; and after the track hath failed him, let there be found a man [as well in a tithing] where there is much population, as in a tithing where there is less, either to ride or go (unless there be need of more) thither when most need is and as they all have appointed.”

In our translation we have inserted the words between brackets, believing that the original has lost the corresponding *swá of ánre teóðunge*: the Latin text has indeed “*de duabus decimis unus homo, ubi magis populus sit,*” but it is impossible to reconcile this with the spirit of the law, or with the general custom of the Anglo-Saxons. This is the first time the word occurs in the Anglo-Saxon laws; in those of *Eádmund* (king from 940 to 946) first appears the territorial ‘hundred.’ In those of *Eádgár*, however, who reigned from 959 to 975, the system seems to have attained a complete organization. We have now the *hundredes-man*, the *teo-*

þing-man, and the collective hundred, which appears as a court giving judgment (Eádgár, cap. iii. p. 258, cap. vii. p. 261), and meeting for that purpose once in the month. That these are territorial divisions is perfectly clear from cap. vii., where it is directed in what manner the track of stolen cattle is to be pursued from one hundred into another. From this time forth we hear comparatively little of the mægburh, though in case of an aggravated riot within a town, accompanied with death to eight persons, the nearest relatives of the slayers are held responsible with their lives ; but this law (Æðelred, cap. vi. p. 287), seems to refer to brawls between the Anglo-Saxons and the Danish invaders, and serves only to prove the miserable disorder to which the land was at that period exposed.

There remains but one point on which we intend to enter here ; that is, the character of the Witena Gemôt, assembly of councillors, or parliament. A generous desire to carry the foundations of a liberal system of policy to the farthest antiquity, has led many writers on our constitutional forms to attribute their origin to the free spirit and personal independence of our Germanic ancestors, and to find the germ of our popular representation among the Anglo-Saxons. We shall not be suspected of wishing to diminish the credit of those institutions, when we reject the supposition as perfectly gratuitous. It could never have arisen, save through total ignorance of the nature and tendency of Anglo-Saxon society, and confusion of totally distinct periods in their history. Originally, no doubt, the Saxons governed themselves ; at a later time, the king and his councillors, *witan*, governed them, at least for all such matters as are within the competence of a high court of parliament. That in the county courts they continued to regulate all affairs of local interest proves nothing ; or rather it proves too much, and points out the real cause of confusion in the opponents of the view we take. In the county court the freemen appeared in person, and made such regulations as were thought advisable for the district ; but it is not even asserted that the whole body of the freemen appeared in the witena gemôt, and the introduction of a totally new element, viz. that of *representation*, is without the slightest ground in history. In fact, representation is utterly

at variance with the principles of the Germanic races, and is excluded by the very freedom to which it is so uncritically attributed: those only could be represented who were incapable of personally taking part in business: that is, the ward by the guardian, the child by the parent, the wife by the husband, the unfree by the lord, the *sôcman* by him within whose *sôcn* or privileged district he was settled. All that belonged to none of these classes were, during all the historical periods of the Saxon rule, certainly excluded from any such privilege as that of electing or being elected representatives of the people. The strength of the popular power was felt in a negative, not positive action upon the governing body: the people were by far the strongest armed force, and the conviction of this, even if not worthier motives, kept the ruling body from enacting oppressive laws. Moreover, where tradition is very full of life, and the customary unwritten law suffices for almost all the exigencies of the state, there is no great margin afforded for multiplication of statutes. A certain communion is of course necessary between governors and governed, and this the clergy, the sheriffs and the richer landowners, all of whom must have been *comites*, amply supplied. The process upon the enactment of a law was to send it down into the several districts, and there the royal officers took an oath of the people that they would observe it; a course which directly excludes the conception of representation, and consequent enactment of the law by the people themselves. Where the deputies of the people make laws, promulgation is the only requisite formality: the obligation to observe the law is contained in the mandate of the representatives who make it; in short, in the full theory of representation, the people have themselves been the makers. Proof of what we have advanced respecting the promulgation of new laws, and the binding the people by oath to their observance, is furnished in an enactment of king Eadweard the elder. (§ 8. p. 164-5.)

“Gif hwā ðis oferhebbe ⁊ his āð ⁊ his wed brece ðe eal þeód geseald hæfð, bēte swā dōmbōc tæce.”

“If any disregard this, and break his oath and his ‘wed,’ which all the nation has given, let him make ‘bōt’ as the doombook may teach.”

Again, *Æðelstān* IV. (p. 220-21):

"for ðan ðe ða áðas 7 ða wedd 7 ða borgas, synt ealle oferhafene 7 ábrocens ðe ðar gesealde wæron."

"because the oaths, and the pledges, and the borrows have all been disregarded and broken through, which there were given."

Æðelstán V., the *Judicia Civitatis Lundoniæ*, opens with the following poem (p. 229):

"This is the ordinance which the bishops and the reeves belonging to London have ordained, and with 'weds' confirmed, among our 'frithgegildas,' as well 'eorlish' as 'ceorlish,' in addition to the dooms which were fixed at 'Greatanlea,' and at Exeter, and at 'Thunresfeld.'"

It is true that this may be called a private Act, in some sort; but what was done in one case we may be sure was done in another, and if the bishops took oath and pledge among their 'frithgegildas' in London, the royal officers did no doubt the same in the counties. Again (§ 5. p. 237):

"And also that every one shall help another, as it is ordained, and by 'weds' confirmed if he aught of this neglect, which stands in our writings, and we with our 'weds' have confirmed."

The most important passage, however, is the following (§ 10. p. 239):

"That all the 'witan' gave their 'weds' all together to the archbishop at 'Thunresfeld,' when Ælfeah Stybb and Brihtnoth Odda's son came to meet the 'gemôt' by the king's command; that each reeve should take the 'wed' in his own shire; that they would all hold the 'frith' as king Æthelstan and his 'witan' had counselled it, first at 'Greatanlea,' and again at Exeter, and afterwards at Feversham, and a fourth time at 'Thunresfeld,' before the archbishop, and all the bishops, and his 'witan,' whom the king himself named, who were thereat; that those dooms should be observed which were fixed at this 'gemôt,' except those which were there before done away with; which was Sunday marketing, and that with full and true witness any one might buy out of port."

We think it unnecessary to give any further evidence in proof of our assertion. It deserves, however, to be remarked that a return was made to the king, accepting the bill sent down by him: in Æðelst. ii. p. 216, we have such a document, of which the commencement and conclusion are as follows:

"Karissime, Episcopi tui de Kancia et omnis Cantescyre, Thaini, Comitēs et Villani, tibi Domino Karissimo suo gratias agunt, quod nobis de pace nostra præcipere voluisti, et de commodo nostro querere et consulere, quia magnum inde nobis est opus, divitibus et pauperibus.

"Et hoc incepimus quanta diligentia potuimus auxilio *sapientum* (i. e. witenas) eorum quos ad nos misisti; etc. etc."

Then follow several of the enactments of the Council of Greatley (i. p. 199, etc.), and the whole document closes with these words :

"Precamur Domine misericordiam tuam, si in hoc scripto alterutrum sit, vel nimis vel minus, ut hoc emendari jubeas secundum velle tuum. Et nos devote parati sumus ad omnia quæ nobis præcipere velis, quæ unquam aliquatenus implere valeamus."

The city of London equally invited the assistance of the king and his officers in the formation of their 'frithgilds,' as appears from vol. i. p. 239 :

"And let it not be denied nor concealed, if our lord or any of our reeves should suggest to us any addition to our 'frithgilds,' that we will joyfully accept the same, as it becomes us all, and may be advantageous to us."

In ecclesiastical matters, especially at the later period of Anglo-Saxon history, the king and the principal clergy appear to have constituted a sufficient council, without admixture of laymen. But the clergy, it is evident, always were a most important element in the popular councils, in which they discharged the same offices as the heathen priests had formerly done in the general assemblies of the people; and when we examine the signatures to some of the documents drawn up in these witanas gemóts, we shall at once perceive how preponderating an influence they exerted through their very numbers alone; for, according to our view, the meeting of the *witan* was never very numerous: when Eáduuini, of Northumberland, called his councillors together to debate upon no less a subject than the introduction of Christianity, it appears from a speech of one of the members of the *gemót*, that it was held in a room. And so again, three centuries later, Dunstan met the *witan* of all England in an upper floor of a house at Calne, to settle almost as great a change in the church. Now we cannot believe, especially in the latter case, that the buildings were of very large dimensions; and consequently we take the signatures to any solemn Anglo-Saxon document, drawn up at Christmas or Easter, to be in fact a very sufficient representation of a *gemót* or meeting of the *witan*.

As for the members of the council itself, and the mode of their nomination, they appear to have been appointed by the king, arbitrarily. A passage already cited speaks of the witan, whom the king himself *named*, "beforan ðám arce-
"biscope 7 eallum ðám bisceopan 7 his witum, ðe se cyng
"sif *namode*, ðe ðáeron wáeron" (p. 240); and a few such persons, together with the archbishops, bishops and their chapters, abbots and a portion of their brotherhood, royal butlers, carvers, chamberlains, treasurers and marshalls, king's messengers, sheriffs and borough-reeves, would amply make up any number which we can conceive to have been gathered together in a *gemót* of the *witan*. These nominated councilors were probably called by *writ*, and if not king's officers or clergymen, were such as, from their wealth or knowledge, might have laid claim to those distinctions. Their existence is the final proof of the change which had taken place in the whole internal organization of England, and the entire subjection of the once-powerful *free men* by the combined efforts of the king, the clergy and the court.

Our remarks upon the laws themselves must close here; not because we think we have exhausted the questions of interest which they suggest, but because time and space cannot be afforded to work out more than we now indicate. The error of a busy, troublous day like ours is to despise the history of institutions, and the steps by which they have from time to time been brought into the forms in which we now find them to exist. A corresponding and usually contemporaneous error, is to dignify antiquity beyond its merits; to value knowledge, which from its rarity has cost much pains to compass, beyond its just deserts, and to mistake what ought only to be means, for ends. The study of antiquity is really valuable thus far only, when it supplies the key to the history, the laws and language of the times in which we live and are called to labour, and reveals the principles, whose concealed operation has moulded, and yet does mould, the national character of peoples. The mere possession of languages which other men do not possess, however creditable to the industry of the linguist, is of little more importance to the world than the skill of the juggler, who unerringly threw peas through the eye of the needle. When the power which

that knowledge gives comes to be applied to the elucidation of the law and history of our native country, it rises at once from the rank of an idle amusement, to that of an organ of immeasurable importance. Mr. Thorpe's is, beyond all comparison, the best edition extant of the Anglo-Saxon laws, because Mr. Thorpe is the best scholar that ever yet undertook to edit them.

The publication of this book is one of the few bright spots in the history of the late "Record Commission;" not all the useless folios, which were paid for by the country at more than twenty times their weight in gold, can for skill of execution or utility compare with this one work; and this will remain an honourable monument to future times of our cultivation of the national antiquities. Had it remained alone, and all the rest been swept away, posterity might have justly decreed a laurel-garland to the Association whose patriotism was proved by such a legacy: its predecessors may yet cause our children to doubt the wisdom of such a judgment. We are content, however, to let bygones be bygones, and not further to disturb the ashes of the dead Commission; enough for us is the shame that, with the exception of the Iberian peninsula and Turkey, we are the only country in Europe which does not at this moment possess a commission comprising the most learned men, for the collection and elucidation of the materials for National History. Nay, more, rather than have another such commission as the last, overloaded with ministers of state, or idle aristocrats, and numbering at most some three or four men of literary distinction among its members, we would submit to that shame, and say, "Better no machinery at all, than such machinery!" We are willing that praise should be enjoyed by those to whom it is due; and therefore we do earnestly thank those members of the Commission, be they who they may, who on Mr. Price's death appointed Mr. Thorpe to revise, correct and continue his work. That this was no easy task is well known to those who are aware in what condition the sheets were left by Mr. Price, and how slowly and reluctantly even the most distinguished merit is permitted, by ignorance in high places, to make any change in what ignorance, ever full of arrogance, has sanctioned. We have a heavy reckoning to make yet

with this generation, for the scandalous manner in which it deals with all the institutions and the men who, properly cherished and supported, might not only earn national credit, but increase the sum of knowledge and enjoyment. We have yet this wide and melancholy subject to return to. What we ask now of our readers, members of the House of Commons, who vote thousands and thousands of the public money yearly to certain so-called national establishments, is this, "Do they know how the money they vote is spent?" "Do they imagine that the representatives of England in the European Republic of Letters are to be found in those establishments?" "Even if found there, in what situations are they found?" We shall not much longer submit to be outstripped by foreign nations in scientific and intellectual pursuits, our capacity for which, if only fairly treated, is no whit inferior to that of any nation in the world. The time is coming rapidly on, when to hold even the keys of the present will require possession of the keys of the past, and crude guesses at principles of law, commerce and government must give way to a scientific knowledge of the springs which through all ages have regulated their national developments. What is now to stand between the cold imitator and the equally cold despiser of antiquity in the Church and in the State? One thing, and one thing only,—the knowledge how the eternal spirit has been ever reproduced in all its varying forms: the clear insight into principles, the possession of which is the sole safeguard against the selfishness and meanness of factions.

There are two editions of Mr. Thorpe's book; one in a large folio volume; the other, to which our references have been made, in two handsome royal octavos, of great thickness. Whether the government have ordered these books to be sold, we do not know, having seen neither advertisement nor notice of their existence. We hope that they are accessible to those who would purchase, and at a reasonable price; for books of this character a government has no right to expect entire remuneration. The execution of the work merits the highest praise; nor can we give it higher than in saying that it is thoroughly worthy of its author's reputation. That we differ here and there from Mr. Thorpe on trifling points of detail

signifies little; and indeed where we do so, it is with much distrust of our own judgment. The text (which is accompanied throughout by a literal English translation) is formed from a careful collation of all the manuscripts known to exist: several new readings have thus been introduced, which clear away previous difficulties; enactments appear in these volumes which have never seen the light before. The old Latin versions have been retained in the second volume, subject to the correction of the editor's own more accurate translation: illustrations from the law of the continental Teutons, many of them owing to Mr. Price's diligence, are thickly scattered throughout the notes; while Mr. Allen's ready friendship and love of science has supplied some most valuable matter, particularly in elucidation of what are called the Laws of Henry the First*. The Ecclesiastical Monuments comprise those early Pœnitentials to which we owe much of the Canon Law, and which have been till now the objects of incessant, yet fruitless search, or reverential pilgrimage, to many an ardent spirit in Germany and France. To crown the whole, both parts are supplied with indexes, concordances and a glossary, such as we rarely meet with in books of our time. And having said thus much, we shall allow ourselves one critical growl, if it be but to keep up our charter as Reviewers. The sole blemish to the book, in our eyes, is the ugly, senseless character miscalled *Anglo-Saxon*, and which seems retained solely for the purpose of deterring people from studying the language out of which their own grew, or of rendering books so dear as to be beyond the reach of most purses. Against this, with all other remnants of antiquarian charlatanerie, we most earnestly and emphatically protest, as very childish and very mischievous.

* Mr. Allen, many of whose admirable disquisitions on points of historical and constitutional interest have been given to the world anonymously, owes it to himself and his country to collect and republish his works; especially as his '*Rise and Growth of the Royal Prerogative*' is now not to be procured save by chance, and at an extravagant price.

ARTICLE III..

Thoughts on the National Debt. London, 1839.

OF all branches of political science, that which is most immediately and certainly interesting to the community is Finance. As we have seldom much fear of being conquered or invaded, and have now no apprehension of being enslaved by a standing army, it is chiefly through finance that foreign policy and military establishments affect us. Even the domestic administration is regarded chiefly, by the great mass of householders, as it acts upon local rates or general taxes. It may perhaps be said, that men in general think too much of what directly affects their pockets, and too little of what affects in other ways the state of society. Still, the most philanthropic philosopher will not pretend that it is a matter of indifference to him whether he pays 50%. annually in taxes or 100%. ; nor will prudent and benevolent men be indifferent as to the deduction which taxation is to cause from the provision which they make for their children.

The amount of taxes which we pay is regulated by the amount of the public annual expenses; by the amount of charge to which we are subjected by the debts incurred in former years; by the degree in which we defray the public expenses, through taxes raised upon ourselves, or through new loans, requiring a smaller, but a permanent levy of taxes; by the provision, if any, which we make for discharging former debts. It is principally to the last three of these considerations, and to others which branch out of them, that we now desire to direct public attention.

We will, in the first instance, limit our inquiry to that which is pursued by the author of the tract before us, namely, the question whether it is advisable, in time of peace, to pay off any part of the debt contracted during war? Public opinion, and not public opinion only, but the opinion of statesmen and philosophers, has undergone many revolutions within our memory in regard to the NATIONAL

DEBT. It is certain that the inalienable *sinking fund*, which was in our youth the idol of politicians, has gone entirely out of fashion: the opinion that a fund of this sort ought to be sacred in war as well as in peace, not only when the revenue exceeded the expenditure, but when it left a deficiency to be provided by loan, was long ago modified into an approbation of a sinking fund in peace only, the result of a surplus revenue; the resolution to maintain a given amount of surplus revenue, applicable to the reduction of debt, has been broken down into a resolution so to apply only such amount of surplus as may happen to exist; and of late years, if we may collect opinions from facts,—the views of statesmen from their actions,—it has been held unadvisable to reduce the debt at all; for there has been, in fact, no surplus wherewith to reduce the debt, but a deficiency, whereby it has been necessarily increased. For the last four years we have had a deficient revenue; it is almost certain that we shall be in the same condition in this, the fifth year; and although the present Chancellor of the Exchequer has made by taxation an addition to the revenue, it is by no means manifest that it will in all years be equal to the permanent and ordinary expenditure, still less that it will be sufficient to meet extraordinary expenses;—surplus for the reduction of debt it is certain there will for many years be none. Lord Melbourne and Mr. Baring have admitted that Lord Monteagle's system must not continue; but even that which their recent measure has substituted, leaves us liable to the necessity of new loans, not only on the occurrence of unforeseen expense, but under an unfavourable fluctuation of revenue.

Now, granted that the extreme opinion in favour of the redemption of old debt by a sinking fund is wrong, is it necessarily, we ask, to be admitted, that new debt may be prudently incurred without limit; or, if not without limit, then what is the principle of limitation? We have surely a right to expect that ministers will answer these questions. Between the strictness of 1786 and the recklessness of 1839, there must surely be some point at which our financial system may be wisely fixed.

A great deal of injury has been done to the cause of solid

finance by *plans of finance*, accompanied by voluminous tables to illustrate their operation under various circumstances. We want none of these; but surely it is not too much to ask that our finances shall be managed upon some *principle*. If it be admitted that an immense sinking fund, say of twenty millions, would be an unnecessary evil, shall we, on the other hand, have an annual loan of twenty millions during peace? Or, what shall be our intermediate point?

We put out of the question the operation of a sinking fund during war, and we are not now considering the machinery of a sinking fund and its commissioners; we assume that the fund, if any there be, consists of a real surplus of revenue,—beyond all expenditure, ordinary or extraordinary. And then, we ask, are we to *ensure* a surplus,—a bare surplus, a surplus of any given amount, or a surplus bearing any given proportion to the debt? Are we to apply it to the payment of debt, and how? Or, if we take no care to provide a surplus, are we to ensure an equality? or may we tolerate a deficiency for any given number of years, or to any specified amount?

These questions have been answered in an endless variety; a slight historical retrospect of opinions and facts will, perhaps, assist us towards a true and safe reply. It is necessary that we carry back our view even to the time of Mr. Pitt.

The system of finance which Mr. Pitt established in the interval from 1784 to 1793, *between his appointment to office and the commencement of the war, may be shortly stated thus: The revenue was to exceed the ordinary expenditure by a surplus or *sinking fund* of one million annually, and by the accumulations of this fund, that is, by the amount of revenue set free by its purchases of stock. For any new annual charge, the result of a fresh loan, a provision was to be made by taxation or otherwise. Extraordinary expenses of no large amount were to be defrayed by the levy of temporary taxes. But if any permanent annuities, or annuities extending beyond *forty-five* years, were created, then a special sinking fund was formed by the levy of new taxes, calculated (by the application of one per cent. upon the capital) to extinguish that new debt (or an equal amount) within forty-five years. The original million and these separate sinking funds

were to operate in war as well as in peace; but it was a part of the plan (originally suggested by Mr. Fox) that the sinking fund might be *lent* to government when it should have occasion to raise money by loan; the same process of making provision for interest and sinking fund being followed as if the money were lent by strangers. We shall have occasion to show hereafter how this arrangement differed from a stoppage of the fund in time of war.

In point of fact, Mr. Pitt did incur, and did defray by taxes levied for four years only, certain extraordinary expenses in the period of peace to which we refer*. In order to make up his million, Mr. Pitt had to impose a few trifling taxes. It was manifestly his plan to take the same course if there should be thereafter any deficiency in the revenue; and the sinking fund was made a permanent and peremptory charge, second only to the interest on the debt. However, no such occasion arose; the prosperity of the country produced a surplus beyond all ordinary expenses and beyond this appropriation, and in 1792 Mr. Pitt found himself in a condition to take off a small portion of taxes. But he only so used *one-half* of his surplus, the remainder being added, not permanently, but for that year only†, to the sinking fund. It is a remarkable fact in the history of party opinions, that Mr. Fox censured Mr. Pitt *for seeking popularity by repealing taxes, instead of taking the wiser course of applying the whole surplus to the reduction of debt*‡.

With a view to matters that will arise presently, it is also necessary to explain here the consolidated fund, as established by Mr. Pitt in 1787. This fund consists of the whole *permanent* revenue of the country, and constitutes the security of the public creditor; after the interest of the debt, the sinking fund, when it existed, was the next charge. All casual receipts not otherwise appropriated are also carried to it; and on the other hand all *permanent* charges, that is, the civil

* In the debate of May 15, 1840 (Parl. Deb. liv. 166), Lord John Russell affirmed that Mr. Pitt met the expenses of the Nootka Sound armament by a new loan. This is surely a mistake: that the provision was made as we have stated, appears from Parl. Hist. xxviii. 1003.

† An addition of 600,000*l.* was made to the sinking fund in the year 1792. In the subsequent years of war, 200,000*l.* was annually voted, for which there was certainly no reason.

‡ Parl. Hist. xxix. 841.

list, a great variety of allowances, and other payments which are granted *for life or in perpetuity*, and not subject to annual revision by parliament, are defrayed out of it; the surplus remains at the disposal of parliament; the deficiency, if any, is made good out of the yearly supplies.

It was always intended that there should be a surplus of this fund; and it has been usual to anticipate the surplus by granting certain sums in each year towards the supply to be taken out of the consolidated fund. The expense of the army, navy and ordnance, and a great variety of miscellaneous civil services, were in Mr. Pitt's system, as in all modern times, before his time and since, granted annually by parliament, and these constituted the supplies of the year, and were kept entirely separate from the consolidated fund, except, as above stated, in the case of deficiencies made good, or of surplus applied (by act of parliament) to the service of the year. Great alterations have taken place from time to time in the division of civil services between the consolidated fund and the supplies; for many years last past, the tendency has been to bring as much as possible into the *supplies*, in order to preserve to the House of Commons an annual control. Whether the apportionment between the annual and the permanent charges be now made upon sound principles, and consistently, may be a question; but we shall not discuss it now.

Mr. Pitt's ways and means in time of peace consisted, in addition to the surplus of the consolidated fund, of the *annual taxes**, that is, the land and malt taxes, which were voted annually for the same purpose of parliamentary control, and of the lottery, and also of Exchequer bills; but as these were, in ordinary times, paid off and issued one year under another, to the same amount, they are usually excluded from general statements of finance.

At this time, the propriety of paying off, in time of peace, some part of the debt incurred in former wars, was universally admitted. Without going into further detail, it is fit to explain that Mr. Pitt's million was not to accumulate at

* These annual taxes now consist of land-tax (the portion remaining unredeemed), and certain portions of malt and sugar duties.

compound interest, beyond a period calculated at about twenty-seven years (but liable to be shortened by a fall of stocks), and that each one per cent. fund was to cease when its own proper loan had been paid off*. The principle was, to limit the charge of each loan to forty-five years—a principle upon which we shall have much to say.

We refer very slightly to the operations of the war; the expense, as everybody knows, was enormous; the funding system was carried to a great extent, but not so as entirely to supply the expenditure, for Mr. Pitt commenced a plan, carried much further by his successors (we are speaking of the whole period of war, 1793–1815), of raising a considerable sum annually by war taxes.

But the ministers soon began to relax in the application of these war taxes to current services; loans to a considerable amount were made chargeable on these taxes; that is, first, upon an estimated surplus beyond the sum applicable to the service of each year, and, secondly, upon the whole produce in time of peace †. This was the provision with respect to the increased assessed taxes and income tax, imposed by Mr. Pitt; and in 1807 ‡, and other years of the renewed war, certain loans were charged upon the war taxes levied in that war §, but without any provision for redemption, other than the general provision of one per cent.

Mr. Pitt had at first attempted to act upon Mr. Fox's clause ||, but abandoned the intention at the suggestion, it is believed, of the moneyed men, and he was not urged to it by the author of the clause. During Mr. Pitt's time, adequate provision was uniformly made for the new charge created, and the same may be said generally of the succeeding mini-

* As the identity of the loans ceased so soon as they were funded, there was a defect in this provision; but details are now unnecessary.

† Acts 38 Geo. III. c. 16, sect. 96–103; 39 Geo. III. c. 13, sect. 120–1.

‡ This was the year of that remarkable "plan of finance," which went by the name of Lord Henry Petty. It is unnecessary to go into it, as it never took effect, and as it assumed for its basis a *regular scale of expenditure throughout the war*. A principal feature of it was, to mortgage the war taxes successively, by certain portions in each year, for a period of twelve years, and then to pay within that period the interest and principal of the loans charged thereon. This was done in 1807 only. For the deficiency in the war taxes occasioned by these successive appropriations, *supplementary* loans and additional taxes were to be raised.

§ See 56 Geo. III. 29. and Acts recited. After the peace a permanent provision was made for the charge of these loans.

|| Parl. Hist. 1793, xxx. 563.

sters, though the successive modifications of the sinking fund, and various financial operations to which it is unnecessary to advert now, make it impossible, without great and useless detail, to explain the whole process by which the finances were brought to the situation in which they stood at the end of the war, by which time the capital of the debt had been augmented from 238,000,000* to nearly eight hundred, the annual charge from 8,825,000 to nearly thirty millions, and the revenue from about fifteen millions to fifty, exclusive of Ireland, which produced about four. The sinking fund was increased from 1,620,000*l.* in 1793, to more than fifteen millions in 1819, when the expenses of the war (always excepting the half-pay, pensions and other charges, constituting what has been, not very judiciously, called the Dead Weight) had altogether ceased; the finances of Great Britain and Ireland had been consolidated, and an attempt was made to establish a permanent system of peace finance.

The sinking fund had undergone some important modifications. In 1802 the old million sinking fund of 1786, and the various *one per cent.* funds created during the war under the Act of 1792, were consolidated into one fund, which was calculated to pay off the whole debt then existing within the period of forty-five years, until the end of which period no relief from taxation would be derived through the sinking fund. In 1813 a new consolidation took place, and a plan was adopted of restoring to the sinking fund the *gradual* principle which originally belonged to it, but which was destroyed, as to a great portion of the fund, by the plan of 1802†. But a new, and in our opinion questionable, principle was introduced, when the portion of the fund which had attained its maximum under the new rule was not, as of course, to cease to operate at compound interest, but Parliament was from time to time, though certainly within prescribed limits, to take from the fund what should be wanted for the charge of new loans. And this scheme, in attempting to cure departures from Mr. Pitt's original and simple principles, beat all

* This is exclusive of unfunded debt.

† The sinking fund was to be deemed to have done its part in respect of each loan so soon as an amount of interest equal to the interest of that loan had been redeemed, and so of each loan in succession.

others in complexity*. We shall have occasion to mention it again.

It is not necessary to go into the numerous financial operations of the three years immediately succeeding the war; in this period considerable sums were raised by loans of various sorts, exceeding in amount the purchases of the sinking fund. The deficiency arose from the insufficient provision made, in the latter years of the war, for the charge of new loans, and from the expenses which had been incurred since the last period of peace, for which no provision was made. These consisted partly of half-pay and other allowances to persons who had served during the war, and partly of augmentations of force occasioned by the extension of our colonies; a rise in prices, and in the scale of pay, was another cause. The whole deficiency was enhanced by the determination of the House of Commons not to continue the property tax, as proposed by the ministers, for two years after the war. Nevertheless, in 1819, notwithstanding that more than two millions and a half of taxes had been taken off since the peace, over and above the property tax, which produced fourteen millions and a half, there was a small but *real* surplus of ordinary revenue over ordinary expenditure. At this time the annual charge of the debt amounted to 29,829,000*l*. There was also an unfunded debt of fifty-three millions, with an annual charge of about a million and a half. The income amounted to fifty-four millions and the expenditure was estimated at fifty-two, exclusive of the sinking fund, so that, disregarding any provision for the payment of debt, there was a surplus of two millions†. The House of Commons now resolved that there should be a real surplus of five millions, applicable to the payment of debt, to accumulate, as before, at compound interest; that is, they resolved to appropriate five millions annually and the interest saved thereby; and to raise the surplus to this amount, new taxes to the amount of about three millions were imposed‡.

* Amongst other changes, the rate of the sinking fund to be attached to each loan was altered. It was to be one per cent. on so much of a loan as might be equal to the sinking fund of the year, and in a greater proportion for the excess.—53 Geo. III. c. 35.

† First Report of Finance Committee, 1819, p. 4; and see Resolutions of the House of Commons, June 7, 1819; Parl. Deb. x*l*. 864 and 912.

‡ On foreign wool, malt, British spirits, tobacco, coffee and cocoa, tea and pepper.

This occasion, now twenty years ago, is the last (previous to the year 1840) on which it was proposed to increase the revenue by taxation. The machinery of the sinking fund was not at this time done away, so that the accounts continued for some time longer to exhibit a large nominal sinking fund on one side and a loan on the other; and in 1819 and 1820 a part, and in 1821 and 1822 the whole of this loan was taken from the sinking fund, on the principle of Fox's clause.

These loans were made necessary by repayments to the Bank of England, and reductions of unfunded debt, which occasioned no substantial addition to the public burthens. In 1822 the "*dead weight*" scheme was adopted*, of which the merits and demerits have been sadly misunderstood; it is enough to say here, that it was a scheme for equalizing, over a period of forty-five years, the great but gradually decreasing charge of naval and military pensions, and charges of like nature arising out of the war. By thus dividing the burthen, and of course throwing a part of it over years to come, a portion of annual revenue was set free, and it became possible to make a reduction of taxes to the amount of nearly two millions annually†. If this plan had been adopted before it had been determined to have a real sinking fund, of five millions, arising out of surplus, it would have been strictly in conformity with the old system of finance, which authorized the extension of the charge of war over forty-five years; but after it had been resolved, all former considerations and regulations set aside, to have a *bond fide* surplus fund of redemption, and to support it by new taxes, this was an operose, and we must say unworthy method of departing from that resolution, with a view to reduce again the taxes which had been so lately augmented‡. The effect of the plan was to reduce the real sinking fund, exclusive of its accumulations, to three millions, or less. In 1822 the interest of the five per cent. stocks was reduced, whereby an annual charge of 1,400,000*l.* was saved, and a further reduction of taxes was effected§.

* May 1, Parl. Deb. vii. 280.

† On salt, hides, etc.

‡ A nearly similar opinion was given by the Finance Committee of 1828. Fourth Report, p. 22-23.

§ In malt.

This was the last year of Lord Bexley, and it is due to him that we should state, that in his last budget* he promised a surplus of five millions. The clear surplus, realized in 1822, exceeded his estimate†.

About this time two considerable alterations were made in our financial system, affecting chiefly its practical operation.

By the law, as it had stood since 1787, when the consolidated fund was established, a deficiency in that fund at the end of any quarter was to be made good out of the supplies of the year, and would of course alter the proportion between ways and means and supply, and occasion a general deficiency. By an act passed in 1817‡, it was provided that any deficiency should be met by the issue of Exchequer bills for the special purpose, and in addition to all other authorized issues, such bills to be charged upon the consolidated fund of the ensuing quarter. The Bank was empowered to advance money upon these bills, and, we believe, has uniformly made this advance. This provision has the advantage of preventing the derangement of the general finance of the year by the casual occurrence of a deficiency in the consolidated fund, or, in other words, of the ordinary revenue; but, on the other hand, it makes the government, in one more instance, dependent upon the Bank of England, and the Bank operations, on the other hand, dependent upon the casual wants of government.

The other act passed in 1819§, at the suggestion, we believe, of Mr. Huskisson. The object was to make available the accruing receipts, or (as it is technically styled) the growing produce of the consolidated fund, which being strictly appropriated to the payment of dividends and other permanent services, due at the end of each quarter, could not be used, but lay idle in the Exchequer until required for these services. It was now enacted, that Exchequer bills, already authorized to be issued, might be made out and deposited in the Tellers' chests in the Exchequer, there to lie without inter-

* July 1, 1822. Parl. Deb. vii. 1422.

† Surplus, as stated in the yearly accounts £4,915,000
 Add the balance of repayments for public works, which in modern
 practice is excluded from the account 361,000
 'Dead Weight,' paid more than real charge 815,000

£6,091,000

‡ 57 Geo. III. c. 48.

§ 59 Geo. III. cap. 19.

est, and corresponding sums might be taken out of the chest and applied to current services. These deposit bills, however, and the deficiency bills together, were not to amount to more than six millions. This act was passed for one year only, continued for a second and a third, and then dropped;—probably because deficiency bills being issued in every quarter—as must necessarily be the case when a deficiency had once occurred and had not been supplied—answered the purpose, or at least left no room for this operation.

We now come to the budgets of Mr. Robinson, whose celebration of the national prosperity still resounds in our ears, and whose extensive reduction of taxes made him for a time the most popular of Chancellors of the Exchequer. On commencing his administration he found a surplus of five millions* applicable to the sinking fund, and there, according to the plan of 1819, he ought to have left it; but by the operation of the dead weight, the *apparent* surplus was raised to seven millions, or rather more; and all beyond five millions, thus artificially estimated, was accordingly used in repealing assessed taxes to the amount of rather more than two millions. Nearly a million further of reduction was added, as it would appear, gratuitously.

The revenue continued to flourish. In 1823 and each subsequent year of his administration, that is, in 1824, 1825 and 1826, Mr. Robinson repealed taxes; the whole estimated amount of the repeal in his time being twelve millions†. Certainly, the grounds upon which these reductions took place in each year were not very solid. Casual receipts were taken as revenue; the resources of future years were anticipated on speculative estimates; in no case did the reduction proceed upon the basis of an *actual average receipt*, which was the sound principle of Mr. Pitt.

* It was really six in 1822, but the effect of the repeal of taxes in that year had not been completely felt.

| | |
|-------------------|------------|
| † In 1823 | £3,200,000 |
| 1824 | 1,727,000 |
| 1825 | 3,146,000 |
| 1826 | 600,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 8,673,000 |

See Mr. Robinson's speech, 13th March, 1826, p. 47, and App. 4. In 1824 there was a saving by the reduction of the four per cents. to three and a half.

It is impossible to review the four budgets of Mr. Robinson, or, indeed, the whole proceedings of the finance ministers, from 1819 to 1826, without remarking that there was a lamentable want of steadiness and of sound principle. This defect appeared in the contradictory proceedings respecting the application of surplus to the reduction of debt, and in the repeal of taxes when there was no ascertained and durable surplus. But it is fair to Mr. Robinson, as well as interesting and gratifying in itself, to observe, that although the reductions were calculated to diminish the revenue by nearly nine millions*, the actual diminution was little more than three millions. It cannot be doubted, but that much of this difference is owing to the increased consumption occasioned by lowering the rate of duty on the particular article, or generally by setting free income which had been required for taxes. The fact affords a strong proof that the selection of articles for reduction was judiciously made, and that there really was a sound principle whereon to reduce taxation, though it was not upon that principle that the measures of government were based.

Still we conceive it to be demonstrable, that even without adverting to the reduction of debt, the repeal of taxes went too far; and what happened in 1826 (the last year of Mr. Robinson's administration) illustrates the necessity of an extensive margin. In 1825 the ordinary revenue was £51,769,000. In 1826 (though a reduction of about £600,000 only was made in that year, and this had not full operation) the same revenue was £49,625,000, a difference of more than two millions. And it happened, that in this same year 1826, there was an increase of expenditure by more than one million and a half. The consequence was, that when Mr. Canning opened his one budget in 1827, he found a real surplus of only £650,000†; which, even by the help of the dead

* See Report of Committee, 1828, p. 16.

| | |
|----------------------------------|-----------|
| † Surplus | 2,286,000 |
| Balance of dead weight | 1,580,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| | £656,000 |

Strictly, a further deduction of £200,000 should be made for a repayment on silver coin, but every year requires some adjustment of this sort. We follow the Committee of 1828, in excluding the whole transaction of the dead weight; but it

weight, reached only £2,236,000, thus falling short of the sinking fund by £2,764,000. Mr. Canning stated the case fairly, and did not, by any ingenious method of framing the accounts, seek an excuse for repealing taxes. He was obliged, on the contrary, to make an addition to the unfunded debt. This year, 1827, afforded the last instance of a borrowed sinking fund. When it is said that Mr. Canning's year afforded the last instance of a borrowed sinking fund, it is not to be presumed that he approved of that system. His newness in financial office obliged him, and the reasonable hope of an improvement justified him, in adopting a *put-off* budget. We are confident, that had he lived another year, his aim would have been simplicity and solidity.

In this year, 1827, the surplus fairly stated was under £300,000*. Mr. Goulburn, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, now did away, very properly, the complication of the dead-weight scheme, and carried an act, by which the sinking fund was to consist of three millions only. In the next year it was provided, that the sums applicable to the reduction of debt should be the annual surplus of revenue over expenditure, whatever it might be, thus abrogating not only the machinery of the sinking fund, but all *systematic* reduction of debt. But although Mr. Goulburn did not *appropriate* any certain sum to the sinking fund, he declared it to be the duty of parliament to keep up an average surplus of three millions.

In the next year the finances had assumed a more favourable aspect; the surplus of 1828 was nearly four millions;

must be recollected, that a charge of £585,000 is continuous through forty-five years, and is now always charged with other terminable annuities. A further deduction ought to be made from this and former surpluses, for a reason first pointed out to the Committee by Mr. Herries. Certain *life annuities* (which amounted in these years to £50,700,000) were paid out of the sinking fund. Properly only the excess of annuity beyond interest ought to have been so charged.—*See Committee, 1828, p. 29.*

| | |
|--------------------------|-----------|
| * Apparent surplus . . . | 1,132,000 |
| Excess of advances . . . | 598,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 1,730,000 |
| Balance of dead weight . | 1,445,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| | £285,000 |

and upwards of £2,600,000 were applied to the reduction of debt, over and above what was derived from the expiring dead-weight scheme. In 1829 the Exchequer bills issued by Mr. Canning in 1827 were funded; and in that year the apparent and real surplus may be said to be the same, and it was now £1,700,000*. But Mr. Goulburn began to imitate his predecessor, and took off taxes to the extent, after allowing for some new impositions, of more than three millions†, and contented himself with an estimated surplus of two millions. Even this estimate went no further than the current year, after which his reductions would have full effect, and the continuance of even that reduced surplus would become a matter of very doubtful speculation; and, owing to considerable diminution of expense beyond Mr. Goulburn's own estimate, raised the actual surplus of 1830 to nearly three millions‡; but this included more than two millions of beer duty and other expiring duties, amounting altogether, according to Mr. Goulburn's successor§, to the whole of the surplus. On the other hand, a reduction of the four per cents. occasioned a saving of about £800,000; and thus, with this exception, Mr. Goulburn may be said to have handed over the revenue to Lord Althorp without any surplus—certainly without the surplus of three millions, which it had been his declared intention to reserve. It is to be said, on the other hand, that the repeal of the duties on beer, cyder and leather, was calculated to produce an increase of revenue in other articles, not only from the increased consumption of beer, the principal ingredient in which still remained subject to duty, but from the expenditure of the income, saved to individuals, in other taxed articles. We find, accordingly, that

| | |
|----------------------|------------|
| * Income, 1829 . . . | 50,786,000 |
| Expenditure . . . | 49,075,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| | £1,711,000 |

† Principally the beer tax.— See Mr. Goulburn's Speech, N. S., xxiii. 301.

| | |
|----------------------|------------|
| ‡ Income, 1830 . . . | 50,056,000 |
| Expenditure . . . | 47,142,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| | £2,914,000 |

§ Lord Althorp's budget speech, 11th Feb. 1831, ii. 405.

a considerable increase took place on malt* in 1831 and following years; such, however, as to afford an inadequate compensation for the loss of the old duties.

Lord Althorp estimated the surplus at no more than £300,000; but, nevertheless, proposed the repeal of certain taxes, and the imposition of others, calculated, on the balance, to reduce the revenue by more than £400,000†. The House rejected many of Lord Althorp's suggestions; but he finally effected reductions, which Mr. Porter estimates at nearly a million‡. Mr. Robinson and Mr. Goulburn had been improvident, but neither of these ministers thus recklessly invited a deficiency. As might have been expected, the revenue of the year 1831 fell short of the expenditure by £700,000§, yet the finance-minister ventured even now to repeal taxes to more than that amount||; and upon the re-appearance of a small surplus in 1832¶, occasioned partly by an increase of revenue and partly by a diminution of expense, he ventured, in 1833, to take off another million of taxes, or rather, taxes of which the repeal would cause the loss of a million. The income of 1833 fell, but not proportionately to this reduction; and a considerable (though, as we shall presently see, temporary) diminution of expense produced a

* After the reduction of the malt duty in 1822, the average of the duty on malt was under four millions. Since 1830 it has been nearly five millions.

† Taxes to be taken off . . . 4,080,000

Causing a loss of . . . 3,170,000

New taxes proposed . . . 2,740,000

Net loss. . . . £430,000

Feb. 11, 1831. Parl. Deb., ii. 394.

‡ Taxes taken off . . . 1,588,000

New taxes 627,000

Net loss £961,000

§ Income, 1831 . . . 46,424,000

Expenditure 47,123,000

Deficiency . . . £699,000

|| According to Porter £747,000, principally on candles.

¶ Income, 1832 . . . 46,988,000

Expenditure 46,373,000

Surplus £615,000

larger surplus in that year*; hereupon Lord Althorp struck off, in 1834, a million and a half, if not two millions†.

In 1835, Mr. Spring Rice became Chancellor of the Exchequer; and although he had still a surplus‡, refrained almost entirely from reduction§, because he contemplated the charge of the West India Compensation Loan (of which hereafter). But when he found that the surplus of 1835|| equalled that of 1834, he gave up, in 1836, another million¶. Still the revenue was in that year so unusually productive, as to produce a surplus of more than two millions**, notwithstanding the West India Loan and other new charges.

It is not to be denied that the increase of revenue, in spite of the repeated repeal of taxes, and the continuance of a surplus from 1832 to 1836, did not unnaturally tempt Chancellors of the Exchequer, who professed to be careless about reducing debt, to seek popularity by reducing taxes. But Lord Althorp and Mr. Spring Rice “rode a willing horse to death.” In those five years they reduced taxes to the amount

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|----------------------|------------|
| * Income, 1833 . . . | 46,271,000 |
| Expenditure . . . | 44,758,000 |
| Surplus . . . | £1,513,000 |

Lord Althorp proceeded on a surplus calculated to *July*, which was greater. For some purposes, the financial year now ends in *April*; but we prefer the use of the year ending *5th January* (very nearly corresponding with the ordinary year), because all the *detailed* accounts are made up to that period.

† House tax and others. The amount is stated thus doubtfully, because Porter's account does not agree with Lord Althorp's Speech, xxv. 498.—See *Mr. Baring*, 518, on the *jobbing in the Savings' Bank Account*.

| | |
|----------------------|------------|
| † Income, 1834 . . . | 46,509,000 |
| Expenditure . . . | 44,901,000 |
| Surplus . . . | £1,608,000 |

§ There was a reduction of £160,000.

| | |
|--------------------|------------|
| \|\| Income, 1835 . . . | 46,043,000 |
| Expenditure . . . | 44,422,000 |

Surplus . . . £1,621,000

¶ So says Porter, from official documents. Mr. Spring Rice himself, only £563,000.—See xxxiii. 671.

| | |
|-----------------------|------------|
| ** Income, 1836 . . . | 48,702,000 |
| Expenditure . . . | 46,372,000 |

Surplus . . . £2,330,000

The revenue of 1836 exceeded that of 1835 by more than two millions, chiefly in spirits, malt and tea.

of five millions. The improvidence of these reductions now began to appear, and the necessity of a *margin* was strikingly illustrated by what happened in 1837. Notwithstanding the flourishing revenue and large surplus of 1836, the budget of 1837 was one of lamentation and apology*. The revenue began to fail; political occurrences caused an augmentation of expense; and at the end of 1837 not only had the surplus altogether disappeared, but there was a deficiency of more than £600,000†, making a difference between one year and the following of nearly three millions‡, and demonstrating the propriety of keeping up an average surplus of that amount. It is not to be understood that the recent deficiencies arose altogether from a falling revenue. From 1832 to 1837 the fall was no more than half a million§. The deficiencies were occasioned, in great part, by an augmented expenditure||. But a wise minister foresees and provides for such occasional augmentations.

In this state of affairs, Mr. Spring Rice, professing to imitate the course adopted, under very peculiar circumstances, by Mr. Canning in 1827, proposed to meet the deficiency by

* June 30, 1837, xxxviii. 1714.

| | |
|----------------------|------------|
| † Income, 1837 . . . | 46,475,000 |
| Expenditure . . . | 47,130,000 |

| | |
|------------------|----------|
| Deficiency . . . | £655,000 |
|------------------|----------|

For the year ending 5th July 1837, the quarterly certificate of the Treasury announced £1,209,000 of surplus. For that ending 10th October a deficiency of £544,000, with the consequent announcement, that no sum would be applied to the reduction of debt. Every subsequent certificate has announced a deficiency; the latest, coming down to July 1840, is £1,204,000.

| | |
|------------------------|-----------|
| ‡ Surplus, 1836 . . . | 2,130,000 |
| Deficiency, 1837 . . . | 655,000 |

| | |
|------------------|------------|
| Difference . . . | £3,785,000 |
|------------------|------------|

| | |
|-----------------------|------------|
| § Revenue, 1832 . . . | 46,988,000 |
| „ 1837 . . . | 46,475,000 |

| | |
|------------------|----------|
| Difference . . . | £513,000 |
|------------------|----------|

| | |
|-------------------------|------------|
| \|\| Expenditure, 1832 . . . | 46,373,000 |
| „ 1837 . . . | 47,130,000 |

| | |
|------------------|----------|
| Difference . . . | £757,000 |
|------------------|----------|

| | |
|------------------------|---------|
| Surplus, 1832 . . . | 615,000 |
| Deficiency, 1837 . . . | 655,000 |

£1,270,000

which is equal to the diminution of income, added to the increase of expense.

an issue of Exchequer bills; in other words, by running further into debt. The deficiency continued through the year 1838*; but instead of making a permanent provision for supplying it, Mr. Spring Rice was compelled, by the irresistible demand of the country, to put in jeopardy the post-office revenue of one million and a half. Independently of the post-office, the deficiency of 1839† was *one million and a half*. This increased deficiency arose entirely from the augmentation of expense, not at all from a diminution of revenue. This fact is gratifying, as it shows that our revenues are not impaired; but it in no way affects the bearing of the deficiency, as illustrating the necessity of a surplus.

Having now sketched the history of our finance from the days of Mr. Pitt to those of Mr. Spring Rice, let us endeavour to collect from the recent practice a notion of the financial system by which we have been lately governed‡.

It is clear that there is no specific limitation of the proportion of public burthens which we still impose upon the time to come; nor is any provision made, either of any specific amount, or bearing any specified proportion to the debt, for relieving us from existing burthens. No specific sum is to be appropriated to the reduction of debt; any sum by which the revenue may happen to exceed the expenditure in any one year, is to be so applied; no pains are taken to keep up the revenue to any given point. On the contrary, if there is a plausible ground for believing that the surplus will continue, taxes to an equal amount are to be repealed. To justify this expectation, recourse is not had, as in former times, to an average of three years or five;—the produce of one year has been deemed a sufficient ground of estimate. If there is a deficiency, it is to be supplied by an increase of the debt,

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|----------------------|------------|
| * Income, 1838 . . . | 47,333,000 |
| Expenditure . . . | 47,678,000 |
| Deficiency . . | £345,230 |
| † Income, 1839 . . . | 47,844,000 |
| Expenditure . . . | 49,357,000 |
| Deficiency . . | £1,513,000 |

‡ This paper was prepared previously to the opening of the budget of 1840. The deficiency of 1840 was £1,500,000.

until, from an increased productiveness of the revenue, or a reduction of expenditure, it shall disappear.

It is obvious, that under this system, if system it be, there is scarcely a possibility that the debt will be materially diminished, and a very considerable probability that it will be increased*. Every year of deficiency diminishes the revenue, by a sum equal to the interest of that deficiency ; it is true that when there is a surplus, it is, *for one year*, applied to the reduction of debt ; so that if surplus and deficiency to the same amount were to succeed each other, year by year, the proportion between income and expenditure, and the amount of unredeemed debt, would both remain unaltered, or rather they would be but slightly altered, for there must be some allowance for the difference between buying and selling.

We have here supposed the *expenditure* to be stationary : it is obvious, that under this system any occasional expense, in addition to the ordinary charge, will augment the deficiency, if it occur in a year of deficiency ; and if it occur in a year of surplus, will annihilate or diminish the surplus, and thus destroy it as a set-off against the year of deficiency. And we are justified, by what has actually occurred, in saying, that even if that extraordinary expense be very large—equal, perhaps, to the surplus of many years—it will be met by a loan, for the annual charge of which no provision will be made.

If this system were continued from the end of one war to the beginning of another, the new war would commence with a revenue less than that with which the old war concluded, and a permanent charge greater. But there are also other results to be contemplated. We have already spoken of the possible occurrence of extraordinary circumstances increasing the expenditure ; there are circumstances also under which it is extremely desirable to diminish, or put in jeopardy, a portion of the revenue. A tax becomes particularly odious, or some peculiar circumstances affecting some branch of trade or manufacture, make it desirable to give relief from a particular tax. An immediate deficiency is the consequence. It may be desired to reduce or commute a tax by way of

* It is hardly necessary to say, that when we speak of debt we allude rather to the annual charge which it occasions, than to the capital stock.

experiment, where there is a hope that the lessened rate of taxation will produce an equal revenue, or the commutation be exactly equivalent. If this hope be disappointed, there again is a deficiency of revenue.

There is another incidental consequence, new of late years, and very lately the object of much attention. The fluctuations and occasional deficiencies of revenue are met, as we have said, by loans; these loans are generally in the shape of Exchequer bills—a species of security which is largely in use, and the subject of speculation in the *money market*. Reasonably or unreasonably, fault is found with the Chancellor of the Exchequer who issues these bills more largely, or less largely, than may suit the convenience of London; and if the issue be large, the inconvenience is felt by the State itself, inasmuch as the interest of the bills must be increased, or they will come back inconveniently to the Exchequer. A remedy for these evils is found in another, namely, the creation of a new permanent debt. In addition to the pecuniary charge brought upon the government, every one of these occurrences occasions embarrassment, or alleged embarrassment, to the transactions of the Bank of England, and the moneyed and trading community. Now, though it may not be admitted that the government is bound to manage its finance with a special view to the money market (except as its own interests are immediately concerned), it must be allowed that the transactions of a government ought to be so simple and so steady as to affect in the least possible degree the interests of individuals.

Nobody who has witnessed the occurrences of the last seven years will hesitate to acknowledge, that we have correctly described the modern system of finance, as deduced from those occurrences; and few, we believe, will hesitate to admit that this system required alteration. The addition recently made to the revenue is calculated only to mitigate the evil. That addition is estimated to raise the revenue to £49,000,000, while the estimated expenditure of the present finance year is £49,400,000; and though the revenue is probably not over-rated, it is more than probable that the expenditure is under-rated, so that the deficiency will considerably exceed the estimate. But be this as it may, Mr. Baring avowedly adopts

these two principles. First, he endeavours to bring his income to a bare average equality with the permanent advancing expense; and, secondly, he *borrow*s the amount of extraordinary expenses, such as those occasioned by the Canadian tumults and the war with China.

Little argument is necessary to show the propriety of what has been called a *margin*; in other words, the necessity of such a surplus of revenue, beyond the ordinary expenditure, as to make it extremely improbable that there will, in any one year, be a deficiency. To effect this, to ensure that the surplus shall at no time disappear altogether, a surplus should be provided, which will necessarily be in some years so considerable, as to give importance to the question how it ought to be appropriated. Unquestionably a great improvement will have been effected, if the revenue has been so raised as to afford an annual surplus, however small in amount; but it is not easy to say what *average* surplus will be sufficient to avoid, or to render extremely improbable, the occurrence of a deficiency. Upon a revenue of fifty millions, the fluctuations are so great as scarcely to leave us safe with a less surplus than that contemplated by Mr. Goulburn in 1829, namely, three millions. By that amount, as we think, the average income ought to exceed the ordinary expenditure, in order to secure us against deficiencies occasioned by temporary fluctuations of revenue, and occasional augmentations of expense. Exact equality between income and expenditure may be said, practically, to be impossible. If, as we say, there should *never* be a deficiency, there must always be some surplus.

By the existing law, that surplus, be it more or less in any particular year, would be applied to the reduction of debt, and would annually set revenue free to the amount of about £100,000; very little certainly in proportion to our charge of twenty-nine millions, but not altogether despicable as a sinking fund. Still it is not on the principle of a sinking fund that we now insist upon the necessity of this surplus; it is necessary to prevent our getting worse and worse off, and to avoid continental embarrassments in the pecuniary transactions of the State. In point of fact, the surplus, however clear and genuine, has *not* of late years been always applied

to the reduction of the permanent funded debt. By clauses in Mr. Goulburn's Acts, the sinking fund may be applied to the purchase of Exchequer bills, whether these charged on supplies, or *deficiency* bills. Now if the object of a surplus is only to prevent or remedy financial embarrassments at the moment, this provision is not objectionable. The purchase of deficiency bills is, in fact, a mode of supplying out of surplus revenue a deficiency which has occurred in a former quarter. And in like manner the purchase of Exchequer bills charged on aids, is the simplest and most obvious mode, in the present state of the law, of meeting a deficiency in the ways and means.

And it is to be observed, that by the present law, notwithstanding that it is our principle to have no sinking fund that does not consist of real surplus, there may be an issue to that fund when no surplus exists. The sum to be issued to the Commissioners of the national debt in any one quarter, is the fourth part of the surplus of the preceding year; there may have been a surplus in the year, but no surplus in the quarter, yet a fourth of the yearly surplus must be paid to the Commissioners*. Though it would be much better to provide that nothing but *existing* surplus should be applied, the purchase of the bills prevents, though by an operose method, the embarrassment which the enactment would occasion. But, in point of fact, the first instance in which deficiency bills were purchased, it was not to prevent embarrassment in the finances of the State. We will give the explanation of Lord Althorp, Chancellor of the Exchequer. The proceeding had an avowed reference to the *state of the currency*.

"It was perfectly well known to the House that the exchange had for a long time been against this country. In consequence of this there must be a considerable draft upon the Bank, which was the pivot upon which the circulating medium turned. The effect of this draft upon the Bank produced a pressure upon commerce, and persons engaged in commerce required bills to be discounted. If the Bank refused to discount, then the effect would be to produce a great and unnecessary pressure upon commerce. The course which the Bank had pursued had been not to withhold the usual accommodation of discounting. It was essentially neces-

* This view was taken by Mr. Maberly. See Parl. Deb., 3rd Ser. vii.

sary that the Bank should not allow its securities to increase, because if they did, while the drain remained upon them, they would be obliged to contract the circulating medium of the country, which he need hardly add would prove of the greatest injury. The Bank very properly had taken care that the securities had not increased in its hands, but at present securities had increased; it had brought, in proportion, to the Bank a certain portion of Bank securities. The effect of this caused the drain to act upon the circulating medium of this country gradually and fairly. The country had, indeed, felt the effects of the drain, but it had not been of that sudden character which in former times had produced great panics, and led to such disastrous consequences. He would then state his own course with respect to the employment of the surplus funds. At the commencement of each quarter an average of the surplus of four preceding quarters was taken, according to the Act of Parliament, and that sum was to be applied to the reduction of the debt in the succeeding quarter, if the revenue was not manifestly falling*. The act allowed the Commissioners for the reduction of the national debt to apply the average surplus revenue to the purchase of Exchequer bills, or deficiency bills, as well as stock; and since the revenue had been diminished so much by the reduction of taxes, the surplus had been applied to the purchase of deficiency bills of the Bank. He had acted in this manner in order to diminish the number of securities in the hands of the Bank, and although the plan was somewhat operose, the effect was that the debt was not reduced unless there was a real surplus of revenue †."

Now we do not affirm that under all the circumstances Lord Althorp did wrong. If we understand his last reason for purchasing these bills, it is that which we have already given, namely, to remedy inconvenience arising from the appropriation of a by-gone surplus. But this is described rather as an incidental effect; the principal motive was to repay to the Bank a part of the advances which it had made to supply deficiencies, and thus to enable the Bank to afford a larger accommodation to the public at a time of commercial pressure. We greatly disapprove of this subjection of the finances of the State to commercial finance, and still more to the operations of a particular body of bankers. It assigns functions to the government which can seldom be discharged with advantage to the State, and with satisfaction to the commercial world, and may often make that necessary for the money market which is not desirable for the government

* We know not where Lord Althorp found this qualification.

† Oct. 3, 1831, *Parl. Deb.* vii. 1031.

itself. But the system also, at times, places the Bank in the situation of having to choose between the government and the commercial public. In the case before us, the government accommodated the Bank by a repayment of advances ; it might very easily have happened that government had it not in its power to repay this debt. If there had been no disposable sinking fund (*as at this moment there is not*), Lord Althorp *could not* have made the repayment. And this inability will generally be coincident with the necessity : the same stagnation of trade, or pressure upon the money market which occasions the Bank's desire of repayment, is not unlikely to impoverish the Exchequer, and make the repayment impossible, or impossible without special and expensive measures of finance. But the evil goes further ; if the pressure occurs in an earlier stage, there may be, instead of a difficulty of repayment to the Bank, a difficulty of advance by the Bank. The Bank is under no obligation to take our deficiency bills, nor could any obligation enable it do so with insufficient means. We are thus, as Mr. Hume* has lately said, dependent upon the Bank for the payment of the dividends to the public creditor.

Perhaps we do not entirely concur with Lord Althorp in his view of the functions of the Bank itself, in reference to the circulating medium ; but whatever are the functions of the Bank, they should be exercised freely, and neither hamper the government nor be hampered by it. It is only by a regular and constant surplus revenue that the mutual dependence of the government and the Bank can be avoided. The jeopardy in which the Bank is occasionally placed suggests another question, whether the public money appropriated to the payment of the quarterly dividends ought to be paid to the Bank of England as to a banking-house, and accordingly mixed with the funds of their trade. The Bank does not, as bankers usually do, undertake the receipt and payment of money in consideration only of the use of it : very large sums are paid for *management*. We admit, that from the great proportion of the quarterly receipt that is paid away immedi-

* Parl. Deb. 1839, xlii. 1395.

ately, and the great number of accounts that are kept, for the business not only of dividends but of transfers, many in small sums, the Bank could not be expected to do the business without a special and large remuneration. But as the Bank thus acts as the agent or trustee of the government, rather than its banker, it might, perhaps, be better that it should hold this money in trust for the government and its creditors, or rather as an official and responsible department; one effect would be, that a stoppage of the Bank would not affect the dividends*.

It must, however, be observed, that, under the present system, the quarterly issues to the Bank would in fact be not issues, but transfers from the general Exchequer account. In respect of the demand of *specie* by the persons entitled to dividends, the Bank would be precisely in the situation in which it now is; that is, the Bank would be under an obligation to pay specie to *all* fund-holders requiring it, being at the same time under an *acknowledged* inability so to do. If, therefore, the Bank should become agent instead of banker, the responsibility of providing specie should be transferred to the government. But these matters belong rather to a discussion upon the *currency*.

We have seen that, by the present law, the surplus applicable (where there is one) to the sinking fund, is not the surplus existing at the time, but a surplus calculated *retrospectively* on an average. This was enacted, we believe, under an apprehension that the surplus of income over expenditure could not be ascertained until the end of each year, and that it would be inconvenient to apply the whole yearly surplus at once. But appropriation of what has no existence is surely a greater evil. We conceive that it would be possible to apply the actual quarterly surplus, and we do not see why this should not be the surplus of the consolidated fund, after satisfying as well a proportion of the annual parliamentary grants as the permanent charges. It is true that

* A complicated arrangement now exists, in order to give to the government a share of the advantage arising from dividends unclaimed: it would be easy to make a different and equally beneficial arrangement. On the character in which the Bank receives and pays the dividends, see the debate of 1791 in *Parl. Hist.* xviii. 1331, and xlix.

this surplus is not precisely commensurate with the surplus of income over expenditure ; there may be a deficiency in the ways and means, or an extraordinary expense. But the power of applying the sinking fund to the purchase of Exchequer bills may be used in such cases, and it ought to be used in none other. If we are right in supposing that the *deposit bills* were abandoned only because they were superseded by the *deficiency bills*, it would seem that, as the constant surplus would render the latter unnecessary, the former might properly be revived. They would effect a saving of interest upon the balances accruing in the Exchequer from quarter to quarter.

In all that we have hitherto said of the desirableness of a surplus revenue, we have purposely treated the redemption of debt as only an incidental consequence. When a clear surplus exists in any particular year, there are several ways in which it may be disposed of; in the *temporary* reduction of a tax, in some public work at the public expense, or in an advance for some purpose undertaken by individuals who are to repay it, or in buying up the government's own debt. Observe, we are speaking of the surplus which will *occasionally* be dispensable under the resolution to keep a *margin*, not now of continued surplus, beyond the margin, which *may* be applied to the reduction of permanent taxes. In former days, the rate of the land-tax was annually a matter of debate ; we apprehend that there is now no tax of which it would be convenient to alter the rate from year to year. Those assessed taxes which are personal (not charged on tenements) would be the most obvious ; but the remission of any of these, *for a time only*, would never be properly understood, and the *revival* would occasion more discontent than the *suspension* would cause satisfaction. Public works of a permanent character, as churches, breakwaters, or fortifications, are very legitimate objects of a surplus.

The system of making advances to be repaid hereafter, has prevailed for several years, without any reference to a surplus ; and since 1828 the balance of advances and repayments has not been brought into the calculation of the surplus, though it must necessarily affect the balance of cash.

Where the *payments* are in excess, a surplus may properly be applied to make the account even. All these modes failing or being satisfied, the most bigoted enemy of sinking funds could hardly object to the redemption of debt, by which an immediate, though small saving, is made to the public.

But we now proceed to argue, that this redemption of debt during peace ought to be *regular* and *systematic*; that we ought to maintain a surplus revenue, beyond all contingencies, solely for that end, and invariably to apply it. We hold it to be equally our policy and our duty to pay off in peace a part of the debt incurred during war;—in other words, notwithstanding the odium that has visited the name, we are the advocates of a SINKING FUND in time of peace, upon the principles of Mr. Pitt. True or false, our proposition is simple; but it has been, unfortunately, complicated with another, entirely different; namely, that to pay off debt, during war, with borrowed money, or while money is borrowed for other purposes, is an expensive and unwise process. Of *this* proposition it is generally assumed the truth has been demonstrated, especially in the elaborate treatise of Dr. Hamilton*.

Whether Dr. Hamilton's demonstration be complete is no present concern of ours, who are dealing with a time of peace only; but it is always forgotten, that this clear-headed and pains-taking writer has not more stoutly maintained the proposition by which he is known, than that which we have just enunciated; he is not more the enemy of sinking funds in war than the advocate of sinking funds in peace. He places at the head of his treatise twelve "general principles of finance." Of these the last is that which condemns borrowed sinking funds. Almost every one of the other eleven tends to the necessity of a surplus revenue and of paying off debt. We will give two:

"III. *The amount of the revenue raised in time of peace ought to be greater than the expense of a peace establishment, and the overplus applied to*

* An Inquiry concerning the Rise and Progress, the Redemption and present State, and the Management of the National Debt of Great Britain. By Robert Hamilton, LL.D., F.R.I.E., Professor of Natural Philosophy in the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen. 1813.

*the discharge of debts contracted in former wars, or reserved as a resource for the expense of future wars *."*

"VII. If the periods of war compared with those of peace, and the annual excess of the war expenditure, compared with the annual savings during the peace establishment, be so selected that *more debt is contracted in every war than is discharged in the succeeding peace, the consequence must be, its amount to a magnitude which the nation is unable to bear †."*

If Professor Hamilton is less elaborate in his illustrations of these positions than of others, it is because he deems them almost self-evident.

Our next authority is more particular. Having quoted the opinion of a learned man, contemplating politics at a distance, we will give that of practical statesmen of various parties, accustomed, some to manage the public finance, and others to criticise their management.

"They could not, under any circumstances, recommend a system involving the principle of raising funds for the extinction of debt by the creation of it in another shape. *The committee is impressed with a strong conviction of the sound policy of applying a surplus revenue perseveringly in those times during which no extraordinary resources need be raised, in the reduction of the debts accumulated to defray the expenses of antecedent periods of difficulty and exertion.* Without offering at present any opinion on the comparative advantages of defraying the charges of war by the immediate imposition of taxes to the amount of those charges, or by raising the required supplies by loans, the committee consider, that if a nation has been induced, for the sake of greater present facilities and safety, to provide for such exigencies by a system of borrowing, whereby a permanent annual charge has been created, *that nation is bound, on the return of peace, to make every effort consistent with a due regard for the other burthens upon the people, for the reduction of that charge.* A course of policy founded upon the avowed principle of raising loans for the exigencies of the State in time of war, and of making no provision for diminishing the permanent charge of those loans in time of peace, appears an abandonment of all consideration for the credit and safety of the country in the eventual occurrence of future difficulties and dangers. If the accumulated debt of each period of extraordinary exertion is to be handed down undiminished as a load upon those who are hereafter to meet the exigencies of other struggles and other difficulties, it is too obvious to require an argument, that the time cannot be very distant (according to the ordinary vicissitudes of peace and war in the history of human affairs), when the combined weight of the past and present burthens must become too great for the most prosperous people

* In a subsequent passage he puts reserved treasure out of the question.

† Hamilton, p. 7.

to support, and the fabric of public credit must crumble under the accumulated pressure.

"The system of borrowing during the war, and gradually redeeming the debt thereby created during peace, is an intermediate course between the resolute exertion of raising at once, by taxes, the whole of the supplies required, and the easier plan of providing for the existing difficulty by the easiest present means, without regard to the interests or safety of future generations *."

These are the opinions of the most recent Committee on Finance which has been appointed by the House of Commons. Though chosen in the administration of the Duke of Wellington, it consisted of men of all parties, and the chairman who presented the report was Sir Henry Parnell, the Whig author of 'Financial Reform.' It may, therefore, be matter of surprise that the present government should have entirely neglected the recommendation.

Now let us hear him whom Lord Brougham used to designate as "the first merchant in the world."

"He did not condemn the sinking fund, but the abuses of the sinking fund. He did not find fault with the real, but the sham sinking fund, than which, he confessed, he could conceive nothing more absurd and disgraceful to the government and the country. *This was the consequence of the clause of Mr. Fox not having been acted upon during the war.* He had never blamed the plan of Mr. Pitt; he had always looked on it as the only means of saving the country from the consequences of its debt; and had complained, not that the system was followed up, but that it was abandoned. Mr. Pitt determined, that whenever the sinking fund fell short, the deficiency was to be supplied by an increase of taxation; and he was thoroughly satisfied, that if that plan had been followed up, and if the sinking fund of five millions, once proposed to be inviolable, had up to that hour been maintained inviolable, the House would not, at that moment, be considering the propriety of a plan for reducing the interest of the four per cents. or the three per cents., or any other stock, but it would have been enabled to change the whole of the debt at that moment into terminable annuities. *This was his firm opinion†.*"

Turn we now to one whom Mr. Canning styled "the best *man of business* in the world," a designation well deserved, but falling short of Mr. Huskisson's deserts.

"He agreed with Mr. Baring as to the advantages which might arise from converting the present permanent four per cent. annuities into five

* Fourth Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on Finance, 1828.

† March 15, 1830, Parl. Deb. N. S. xliii. 330.

per cent., or perhaps somewhat higher annuities, for a definite number of years. * * * With respect to what had been said about putting an end to our present sinking fund system altogether in 1831, he thought it right to say, that *he was one of those who approved of the principles of a sinking fund*. He thought that there should be always a *bond fide* surplus of income over expenditure, applied to the reduction of debt. The revenue of the country was collected from so many sources of a contingent nature, that it was impossible to count on it; and the expenditure being every year in exact proportion to each other, so that an actual annual surplus of income over expenditure was necessary, not only for the purpose of reducing the debt, but also to enable us to provide for any casual deficiencies in the revenue which might arise. The present mode of employing the surplus revenue was the very best which could have been adopted under the existing circumstances of the country; and he should therefore wish to see it carried further into operation than it had been. *He wished, indeed, that we had a sufficient surplus of income over expenditure, to carry into effect, on a large scale, the proposal for converting, he wished he could say, 100 millions of permanent annuities into life annuities, or annuities for a term of years.* * * * By such a mode our permanent charge might be changed into annuities terminating in the course of thirty or forty years, which was nothing in the history of nations*."

On the other hand, a gentleman lately (though not at the time) a member of the cabinet, gave, on one occasion, a general reason against all measures for the redemption of debt. "It will be better," said Mr. Poulett Thomson†, "that the money which you would thus apply should *fructify* in the pockets of the people." It is not easy to ascertain the precise intent of this suggestion, and we are afraid of doing injustice to it from not understanding it. It is obviously no answer to the Committee of 1828, or to those who argue for the redemption of debt during peace, unless it be held, that the repeal of taxes at this moment would render it more easy, ten or twenty years hence, to raise funds for carrying on a war. Perhaps it was Mr. Thomson's opinion, that the remission of the taxes, which would otherwise constitute the sinking fund, would so augment the prosperity and resources of the country, as to facilitate hereafter the imposition of new or the revival of old taxes, and the raising of money by loan. Now the effect of taxes upon the collective wealth of a country is a matter of very doubtful specula-

* Page 348.

† We cannot hit upon the passage in the Debates, but we heard it spoken, or words to the same effect.

tion; that taxes may be so imposed as to discourage industry and fetter trade is admitted; that all taxes tend to impoverish the country is by no means clear. But it is not necessary to our argument to disprove the position, since *it is by a sinking fund chiefly that the burthen of taxes upon a country is diminished*, and therefore that more money is left to fructify in the pockets of the people.

The Committee of 1828 say truly, that a sinking fund in peace is a *medium* between raising the supplies within the year, and raising them upon perpetuities never to be redeemed. Suppose it necessary to raise ten millions in a year of war: we raise the whole by taxes within the year, and the burthen is just ten millions; we raise it by loan at five per cent., with a one per cent. sinking fund; the burthen is £600,000 in every year of forty-five, the number of years during which (calculating loosely) the charge will last; or in all, twenty-seven millions. Let the same be raised by loan, without a sinking fund, and the charge will be five hundred thousand pounds annually instead of six; but this reduced charge is to be multiplied by *perpetuity*. As we cannot deal with perpetuity, let us take the life of man—three-score years and ten. Five hundred thousand pounds multiplied by seventy make thirty-five millions: or if we take, as we fairly may, the life of a man and his youngest son (supposed to be born when he is 50, and to survive him 50 years), we may then multiply by 100, and the taxes levied will amount to fifty millions—five times as great as that which the system of supplies within the year would occasion, and nearly twice as great (without allowing for its existence even beyond the century) as that of our sinking fund system. *Those therefore who desire to leave money in the pockets of the people, should be advocates of the sinking fund.*

An extensive reduction of taxes in time of peace necessarily leads to an extensive imposition of taxes in time of war. It is admitted that a tax taken off and put on again is much more odious, and if applied to an article of trade, productive of much more inconvenience, than a tax continuously levied. Nothing, therefore, can be more unwise, in reference to the convenience and contentment of the people, than to throw away a tax to which perhaps time has reconciled them,

and which deranges no transactions, at any moment at which it appears not to be wanted, with the probability of having to impose it again. And this truth has been acknowledged in practice by the fresh imposition of taxes which has just been effected.

There is no end of misrepresentations and blunders in respect of the sinking fund. It is remarkable, and a little strange, that its greatest enemies (among whom Mr. Joseph Hume has an eminent place) are generally the warmest advocates of the system of raising supplies within the year; not seeing that the sinking fund is a nearer approach to that system than the loans without a sinking fund. In like manner we have heard a Chancellor of the Exchequer, almost in one breath, condemn Mr. Pitt's sinking fund, and propose the levy of money upon *temporary annuities*, and the conversion of perpetuities into such annuities; not observing that as they affect the question of taxation now or hereafter, of redemption or *fructification*, the two things are exactly the same.

Though this has been shown a hundred times, we must illustrate it once more. Let us first hear Lord Althorp upon terminable annuities:—

“ He wished, on that occasion, to call the Right Hon. Gentleman's attention to the propriety of converting all the permanent into temporary annuities, because we had the means of doing so; and that would, at no distant period, put an end to the public debt. The plan should be, to effect the conversion at the market rate of interest, but *he would induce the parties concerned to come into the measure by a bonus.....The plan subjected the country to an additional charge for interest, but he did not think that a valid reason for not carrying it into effect*.*”

It may be presumed, that Lord Althorp, holding this opinion in favour of annuities, would not hesitate, in raising money, to grant annuities for forty-five years, and would think that he had made a provident bargain; that is, he would have paid to the lenders something beyond the interest, for the sake of having to pay that interest for forty-five years only. Now let us suppose the lender to have said, I will make no such bargain with you; I will have my interest

* March 26, 1830, xxiii. 930.

till you pay me off the principal, and will not let you buy off, by an addition to that interest, the obligation to pay the principal. Well; another moneyed man, overhearing the discussion, says to the finance minister,—If my friend will not agree to your terms let him have his own, and *I* will, in consideration of the additional annuity for forty-five years which you offered him, guarantee the payment of the principal at the end of that period. It is quite clear, that if the minister could put two and two together, he would accept this offer. Now Mr. Pitt's sinking fund is the arrangement last described, with the difference of parliamentary instead of personal security. And be it remembered, that the sinking fund, which is disguised in the form of an annuity, is a fund *inalienable in time of war*; whereas an independent sinking fund is available at the pleasure of Parliament. Sir Henry Parnell, the financial reformer, recommends temporary annuities, *because* they constitute an inalienable sinking fund*. Those who urge the propriety of funding in five per cents. rather than three per cents., are equally (whatever they may profess) upholders of a sinking fund; for as capitalists will not lend their money upon equally advantageous terms, if funded in a five per cent. stock, the surplus interest is paid, and the necessary taxes borne, in war as well as in peace, with a view to the earlier redemption of the debt.

We have now shown, from reason and authority, that we ought both to redeem debt incurred before, and to limit future burthens. Our next question concerns the amount of the sacrifice to be made for these several purposes; and still more the *principles* upon which the amount is, in either case, to be fixed. Sir Henry Parnell's Committee, after regretting their inability to propose an adherence to the resolution of 1819, and their hope that the surplus may be raised without new taxes to the amount of three millions, recommend

“That the following principle in the regulation of the sinking fund should be adopted: That regard being had to the total amount and fluctuating nature of our revenue, as well as to the necessity not only of carefully

* Parl. Deb. 1823, viii. 536 & 548; and Financial Reform, p. 294.

avoiding any addition to the public debt, but also of reducing it, as far as possible, in time of peace, it will be expedient, in estimating the supply and ways and means, *to keep in view the necessity of a surplus of not less than 3,000,000*l.* in each year*; but that *in case the eventual annual surplus should not amount to 3,000,000*l.*, the deficiency ought not to be supplied by borrowing*. They are also of opinion that all funded debt redeemed by the application of the real surplus of revenue should be cancelled."

This recommendation was carried into effect by law*, so far as law could effect it, and Mr. Goulburn professed his intention to keep up the surplus of three millions; but although the only remaining year of the Duke of Wellington's administration afforded a surplus to this amount†, no sufficient provision was made for its continuance; succeeding ministers have altogether lost sight of this part of the recommendation of the Committee. Surely if our duty or our policy requires that we make provision for the payment of debt, the amount of that provision ought to rest upon some better security than the *intentions* of a minister, exposed to a constant demand for the repeal of taxes. We think that a sinking fund, fixed at an amount somewhat below that at which it is determined to have a surplus, should be made, as formerly, a fixed charge upon the consolidated fund. It is true, that in this case a deficiency must be made good by borrowing; but the repayment would be made in the year immediately following, and the deficiency itself, if, contrary to expectation, it should appear to be lasting, would be supplied by an increase made to the revenue by taxes. Surely if there is anything in the argument of the Committee, for the obligation to pay off debt in time of peace, that obligation is not satisfied by merely applying revenue which happens to be disposable, without taking pains to secure a sufficiency.

The Committee, it is true, recommend "that instead of a "fixed sinking fund, the real surplus of revenue only should "be appropriated annually;" but they make this recommendation in despair, founding it avowedly upon the refusal or neglect of Parliament in preceding years to provide a surplus. In truth, the objection to a fixed surplus rests upon a fallacy

* 10 Geo. IV. c. 27.

† See p. 108, *antè*.

which was exposed before the Committee by one of its most experienced members :—

“I conceive,” said Mr. Herries, “that where the revenue of the country is wholly derived from taxation, the extent of it must be regulated entirely by the necessity of the expenditure which is to be provided for: the exigencies of the State, for the maintenance of its safety and honour, and the promotion of its essential interests, well understood, constitute the limits beyond which no contribution should be drawn from the people of this country. The revenue, upon this principle, ought to be adapted to the expenditure, and not the expenditure to the revenue.”

The fallacy to which Mr. Herries refers, consists in regarding the revenue of the State in the same light as the limited income of an individual. Certainly we cannot say that the public income is unlimited; but its limits are, especially in the case of which we are speaking—in which taxes have been extensively remitted—much too far off to effect a decision between a surplus of five millions or none. Thus the Committee were led, by the prevalent abhorrence of a borrowed sinking fund, to recommend that their own sound principle should be placed in jeopardy; and the consequence has been its practical abandonment.

We are aware of the difficulty which exists in determining the amount of a sinking fund, applicable to a debt contracted at various periods, long by-gone. Mr. Pitt's original fund was about $\frac{1}{240}$ of the debt; it was to accumulate during a period rather short of an ordinary generation, and then, operating at simple interest, to reduce the whole debt in about thirty years from that period. A sinking fund of three millions would bear nearly the same proportion to the present debt; but then to preserve the analogy, it should operate at compound interest, for many years to come. Mr. Pitt's *second* fund—that applicable to future loans—furnishes another principle which has in some sort been recognised in recent acts. This principle was, that no burthen should be imposed to last beyond forty-five years. When the sinking fund was remodelled in 1823, it was to accumulate until it should bear such a proportion to the whole remaining debt, as to annihilate it in forty-five years *from that time*.

This enactment was a very imperfect copy of Mr. Pitt's. He first provided for all the debt which he found, and *then*

limited *future* charges to forty-five years from the period of raising each loan. This is very different from creating a sinking fund, which, even if realized (for which there was no provision), would not redeem the debt in a century, and declaring that it shall accumulate till it arrive at a point from which it would complete the redemption in forty-five years thereafter. We do not know, nor perhaps did the authors of the act, what it was intended to do when the sinking fund should arrive at this point of one per cent. ; analogy would require that it should continue to operate at compound interest, because it could not otherwise redeem the debt in forty-five years. But, certainly, this unchecked accumulation of the fund was not in the contemplation of the ministers, who appear, indeed, scarcely to have understood Mr. Pitt.

The true principle of a sinking fund, involving a limitation of forty-five years, is simply this :—*the tenant for life is not to charge the estate in perpetuity*. This principle is recognised throughout the whole of our system ; it is applied to the crown in respect of its landed estate, and it is invariably acted upon when counties, parishes, or any divisions of the kingdom are permitted to raise a loan, which, moreover, is not permitted, except for some extraordinary and lasting purpose.

The ministerial suggestion of 1819, upon which the act of 1823 was founded, contemplated, ultimately, a sinking fund of £8,000,000, which would have been more than one per cent. upon the debt ; and we apprehend that it was in contemplation, that when this maximum should be attained, the fund should operate at simple interest. Though this would not have borne so high a proportion to the existing debt as Mr. Pitt's four millions, it would, in our opinion, have satisfied every reasonable claim upon the existing generation. Perhaps, *if no new debt had been incurred during peace*, it would have been enough if even the *five* millions had been applied annually without accumulation ; so that there would have been annually an increase of revenue at the disposal of Parliament, to the amount of the interest annually saved. At all events, if the measure of 1819 were found too onerous, it would have been much wiser to obtain relief by checking the accumulation, than by reducing the fund by the scheme of the dead weight to three millions, and then frittering it

away, upon no principle, to nothing! And we cannot help hoping, that if people had seen in every year a reduction of debt by five millions, and a saving, applicable to the reduction of taxes or otherwise, of £150,000 or £200,000, they would have recognised the wisdom of the determination.

But the question is, what is to be done *now*? There is, assuredly, much difference between regretting taxes that have been taken off, and determining to put them on again. Even the *repeal* of taxes upon saleable commodities occasions an inconvenient derangement of commercial interests, not always adequately compensated by the relief to the consumer. A reimposition produces all this embarrassment, and adds discontent. But although we are now called upon to pay two millions of additional taxes, it seems that we go on recklessly incurring debts, instead of redeeming the old. Even according to Mr. Baring's system, improved as it is upon that of Mr. Spring Rice, every extra expense, every occasional deficiency of income, is to occasion a fresh burthen upon all time to come! Surely we ought at least to have provided a surplus of three millions beyond the ordinary expenditure. This would only be going back to Mr. Goulburn's plan of 1829, and would scarcely more than provide for fluctuations that may always be expected. If we were steadily to apply three millions, we should place ourselves, as we have said, in something like the situation in which Mr. Pitt placed the country in 1786. It is really melancholy to reflect in how much more satisfactory a situation we should now be, if we had adhered to the system and principles of Mr. Pitt, or even to the measure of 1819.

But a sinking fund, of whatever amount, will be inefficient and almost nugatory, unless two other of Mr. Pitt's principles are adopted:—first, that a separate provision be made for occasional and temporary augmentations of expense in time of peace,—such as the West India compensation; the armament on account of Canada, and the expedition to China; and the war in Syria.

For the first of these we have raised a loan, and have increased the annual charge of the debt by nearly £800,000. If ever there was a case in which a people might fairly be called upon to bear their own burthens, this is one. If it would be unfair to the government to say that the measure of emanci-

pation arose out of the petitions of the people; it may certainly be said that the government was encouraged by the people to effect it at whatever cost. It was urged, moreover, as a matter of charity and philanthropy, which greatly aggravates the unreasonableness, we might almost say, the indecency, of throwing the burthen off the shoulders of those who have made the call. It has been doubted whether the call would have been made if the people of England had been required to raise fifteen or twenty millions by taxes within the few years that are occupied in carrying it into effect. We would encourage no such doubt; but we would vindicate the people from the suspicion not unnaturally raised, by giving them the opportunity of showing that they were ready to give freedom to the blacks at their own expense. A period of twenty or twenty-five years is the longest over which the sum granted for compensation ought to be extended. Through that period a great portion of those who have called for emancipation, or of those for whom they are bound to provide, may probably live. A sinking fund of *two or two-and-a-half* per cent., at the least, ought assuredly to be borne, with a special view to the redemption of the West India loan. Nor, in our opinion, would the measure of justice be complete, unless taxes to the amount of the interest and of this sinking fund were imposed, in addition to all other burthens. And here is another difficulty arising from the absence of a fixed principle and appropriated fund. It might be easy, where there is even a small surplus, to appropriate the moderate fund upon which we have insisted; but unless that appropriation is beyond that which would otherwise have been made, and therefore unless this is ascertained by a previous appropriation, the sacrifice for the cause of negro emancipation is delusive only.

Although the Canadian, Chinese and Syrian expenses have a different origin, we see no reason for casting them upon posterity. The defraying of expenses by taxes levied within the year ought to be the rule, and the contrary the exception. There is nothing, either in the magnitude or nature of these expenses, to justify a permanent loan for meeting them. If not defrayed out of current revenue, the charge ought not to be extended beyond three or four years, according to the prac-

tice of Mr. Pitt in reference to the Spanish* armaments in 1790, when temporary taxes were imposed for that special purpose†. This question, in truth, comes round to that of *appropriating* or not appropriating any sum for redemption; for if, according to Mr. Goulburn's plan, a balance of three millions had been retained, and not appropriated, the extraordinary expenses would merely have diminished the disposable surplus. And though we decidedly prefer an appropriation, we do not deny that something may be said in favour of the application of surplus to unforeseen expenses. But by the practice of Mr. Spring Rice, unforeseen expenses were left to fall upon a revenue which yielded *no surplus*. Not only the Canadian expenses, which we may hope are temporary, but the payments in perpetuity, occasioned by the West India loan, were *charged upon a deficiency*.

Something must now be said of the mode in which a sinking fund is to be applied. Its object is not fulfilled unless it be applied to the redemption of the permanent funded debt. The power to apply it to unfunded debt may be useful, but, so applied, it does not answer its proper purpose. It is true that the Committee of 1828 "had in view the employment of "the surplus in the *extinction* of the unfunded as well as in the "redemption of the funded debt;" but they assign as their reason, "the embarrassment and loss which, under certain "contingencies, might arise from the existence of a large debt "payable on demand;" on which ground "they are of opinion, that the policy of effecting a *gradual reduction in the "unfunded debt* should not be lost sight of."

It is one thing to make a permanent reduction upon grounds of financial policy in the floating debt of the country, and another to buy up such debt from time to time, and forthwith to contract new debts of the same sort. It would have been better, lately, to buy up our Exchequer bills than to fund them; and we concur with the Committee in thinking it right so to limit the outstanding Exchequer bills, as to avoid embarrassment in cases of a sudden demand for money. The amount of bills permanently kept in circulation ought

* Parl. Hist. xxviii. 1003.

† Some previous extraordinary expenses were provided for by life annuities, which included their own sinking fund.

never to be more than enough to constitute a cheaper debt ; it ought to be rather *under* the ordinary demand of moneyed men, both in order to keep up their value, and to facilitate the issue of additional bills on occasions of extraordinary expense, or—this, however, in *our* system, could rarely happen—of deficient revenue. We repudiate the notion, that a State is bound to circulate such securities at the risk of loss or embarrassment to itself, for the mere convenience of moneyed men. But, in truth, the holders of Exchequer bills suffer, as much as the State, from the fluctuations in the value of the bills. We are not prepared to name an amount at which the Exchequer bills ought to be permanently fixed ; but, certainly, the sinking fund, when we have one, would be very prudently applied in reducing them to that amount. Ordinarily, however, the purchases must be in stock. In 1837, when the last purchases of stock occurred, they were made in the three-and-a-half per cents., probably because it is rather more profitable, and may facilitate the reduction of interest upon that stock. Mr. Pitt formerly held it more profitable, even with this latter view, to operate upon the three per cents. ; but we conceive that, considering the very small proportion which our supposed sinking fund bears even to that part of the three per cents. which is in the market, it is most advisable to purchase in the three-and-a-half.

The committee allude to “the application of the surplus to the conversion of the permanent into temporary annuities.” Several laws have passed for that purpose within the last thirty years. When, in 1808, facilities were given for converting stock into *life annuities*, the whole of such annuities was charged upon the sinking fund. Correctly, only the *additional* temporary payment ought to be so charged : that much being, (as we have explained) in the nature of a sinking fund. It would seem scarcely necessary to add, but that it appears to have sometimes escaped notice, that this operation of converting permanent into temporary annuities requires a *continued* surplus, and that the excess of the latter over the former is a sinking fund, inalienable in war and peace.

We think that one other mode of conversion might be adopted, very appropriate to an *uncertain* sinking fund. Holders of stock should be allowed to commute it into a

temporary annuity, receiving a sum of money, once paid, in consideration of the exchange. The amount would be strictly the present value of the additional annuity that would be granted, if no money were paid. It might be more convenient to many persons to have this value paid down, than its equivalent increase of income; and to the State it would be convenient, because there would be no increase of charge in any subsequent year. The transaction would be completed by the one payment, and would not diminish the surplus, or add to the deficiency, hereafter. We are inclined to think the operation so desirable, as to justify the giving of a *bonus*. If this were so decided, it might, perhaps, be advisable to contract for the conversion of a large sum at once, instead of waiting for the separate offers of individuals*.

There is, perhaps, another, and an inexpensive mode in which a surplus may be used, in *inducing* stockholders to make the desired conversion, either into temporary annuities, or (and to this it is more applicable) into a stock bearing a higher rate of interest; or, perhaps, to induce them to consent to sacrifice a part of their capital stock. We mean, by affixing an inalienable sinking fund to the new annuities or new stock, so as to give it an additional value in the market; but we confess, that the contemplated sinking fund is so small, and the effect of the Commissioners' purchases upon the price of stocks has lately appeared to be so slight, that we do not expect much from this provision. It was proposed by Lord Stanhope in 1786, with a view of securing the inviolability of the sinking fund, by making it a part of the bargain with certain stockholders.

It now remains to consider what is to be done in time of war. We put out of the question (as indeed the law now does) the accumulation of a sinking fund during a period in which loans are raised. We do not admit that the loss arising from this double process has been *demonstrated* by

* At the present price of stocks, an immediate payment, rather less than 19½ per cent. on the capital, would be required to convert a perpetuity into an annuity for forty-five years; thus, one million would so convert rather more than five. This is the real present value of the excess of annuity beyond interest. It might be worth while to give 20, or even 25 per cent. for the sake of the conversion. This was before the late fall.

Dr. Hamilton*, or by anybody else. The *maximum* loss must be that which arises from the difference between buying and selling, including the *bonus* always given to the loan contractors; and certainly, when one is dealing with five hundred millions, a slight per centage makes a large sum. But there is a set-off in the opinion of those who think that the purchases of the sinking fund had an effect in keeping up the price of stocks, and thus lowering the terms of the loans generally, so as more than to compensate for the apparent loss, or the double process. The alleged loss has not been, and cannot be, accurately calculated; and the supposed compensation is not susceptible of calculation. Still, however, even if public opinion had not so decidedly condemned this borrowed sinking fund (for such the process assuredly makes it), we should not recommend a proceeding so contradictory on the face of it, and incapable of any but a speculative justification.

But we are still inclined to think, that an uninterrupted sinking fund, *with Mr. Fox's clause carried into effect*, would have been during the late war, and that it would yet be, the wisest plan. It is necessary to point out the difference between stopping the operation of the fund, applying to current services the revenues of which it is composed, and, letting it be taken as part of a loan, or on the terms of a loan, preserving all the machinery of the sinking fund. The latter process requires that the new taxes, of which a share of the burthen is borne by those who make the loan, shall comprise not only the interest, but an addition sufficient to redeem the charge in forty-five years. Thus, a war commences when the fund amounts to five millions;—the sum wanted is fifteen millions. By the first plan we take the fund as part of the supplies, and raise ten millions by loan, at an interest, we will suppose, of five per cent., and impose taxes to the amount of £500,000 to pay the interest. By the second plan we borrow in like manner ten millions; and in addition to the £500,000, we raise taxes to the amount of £100,000 more for the one per cent. sinking fund; and we provide, in like manner, five per cent. interest, and one per cent. sinking

fund—together £300,000, for the interest and redemption of the loan from the sinking fund. Our whole burthen is, therefore, £900,000, instead of £500,000. Let it not be supposed that this additional £400,000 is a *loss*—quite the contrary; being applicable, under Mr. Fox's clause, to the supplies, it is in the next and subsequent years so much more *raised within the year*, the *most* economical way of providing for extraordinary expenses. But the process fixes and acts upon a *principle of distribution* between the present and the future, and corrects that to which we are so prone, “the *selfish principle* of devolving the burthens arising from the “*exigencies or passions of the present age upon posterity.*”

These are the words of Dr. Hamilton*, who has been strangely thought to have demolished the sinking fund. Hear him further, in illustration of the principle for which we contend.

“In regard to increase of taxes, we are of opinion, that the sinking fund has had a real effect in calling forth exertions, which, although they might have been made as well and as effectually, would not have been made, unless to follow out the line which that system required. A loan is made, and the revenue considered as charged, not only with the interest, but with a certain proportion of the principal annually. Taxes are imposed, to meet the one as well as the other. If the sinking fund had not been in view, it is likely that taxes would have been imposed for the interest only.”

He thinks it even worth while to *pay* for the preservation of our principle.

“If the sinking fund could be conducted without loss to the public, or even if it were attended with a moderate loss, it would not be wise to propose an alteration of a system which has gained the confidence of the public, and which points out a rule of taxation that has the advantage, at least, of being steady. If that rule be laid aside, our measures of taxation become entirely loose.”

Under Mr. Fox's clause, we do not see—nor, so far as we know, has it been asserted—that *any* loss occurs. Omitting to notice this modification, the Professor proceeds :

“But if the loss attending the sinking fund be great (and the foregoing computation evinces that it has been so), it seems proper to inquire whether a plan might be followed that would deliver us from this loss, and, at the same time, carry on the necessary measure of increased taxation. The present

* Page 25.

proportion of one per cent. on the nominal capital might be continued,—not, perhaps, as the most eligible, but as possessing the advantage of being established. If a loan of twenty millions be transacted in the three per cents., the sinking fund attached to it on the present system, would be £333,333. Now taxes may be imposed to that extent, besides what are required for interest; and that sum, instead of being made over to commissioners, may be deducted from the loans. Thus the nation would save the loss it at present sustains, of borrowing on lower, and paying on higher terms; and the imposition of £333,333 additional taxes, which is the only measure of real efficacy, would be the same as before."

In this recommendation we recognise the true principle of the sinking fund, and of solid and equitable finance, but we despair of seeing it acted upon. The law will, no doubt, remain as now, and no measures for the limitation of debt, upon any part of Mr. Pitt's principle, will be taken. All that we can hope for is, that every effort will be made to raise as much as possible of the supplies within the year; and when loans are necessary, to make the utmost use possible of terminable annuities, and to borrow upon stocks bearing a high interest, so as to avoid the creation of additional capitals. Dr. Hamilton has observed, that the notion of accumulating a treasure has been long exploded. Yet it is worthy of consideration, whether the measures of peace ought not to have in view the facility of carrying on future wars. Lord Bexley's plan, in 1813, was to establish certain rules for stopping the accumulation of the sinking fund, or of certain proportions of it, but to suspend the operation of these rules, and to suffer the accumulation to go on, and necessarily to keep up the taxes by which the fund is supported, until they should be wanted to defray the charge of new loans. Thus, there would be at times fifty or a hundred millions of stock in the name of the commissioners, bearing interest of a million and a half or three millions, defrayed, of course, by taxes. Supposing a loan made of twenty millions, at five per cent., so much stock would be *cancelled* as would yield one million annually; and that amount would be thenceforward taken from the sinking fund, and the taxes defraying it become applicable to the interest of the new loan. This was done in 1813, and some following years, and the plan has many recommendations; but it is liable to the objection to which we have referred, of leaving uncertain the relief to be afforded, as the

fund reaches its several points. This objection is removed, if, in time of peace, the stock liable to be cancelled is really cancelled, so as, from time to time, to occasion a saving. But then there will be no accumulation of *treasure* (as it is called) for a period of war, except of such amounts of stock as happen to become liable to be cancelled within that period.

But we will dwell no longer upon a plan, the complexity of which would not be tolerated in these days. The mode of reducing debt, and at the same time providing *treasure*, which would, in our opinion, be the best, is perfectly simple. After much consideration, we think that the best plan of a sinking fund, applicable to old debt, is to have a *large* fund at *simple* interest. We have no doubt whatever, but that, by a judicious management of the finances since the last peace, we might have had now, and for some years previous, a surplus of *ten* millions.

We have seen, that in 1823, after the reduction of taxes, including the property tax to the amount of twenty millions*, there was a *clear* surplus of five millions†. Since that time a further reduction of taxes has taken place, to the extent of more than sixteen millions; but the revenue has been reduced since 1823, not by *sixteen* millions, but by *five* only. Instead of being reduced to thirty-six millions annually, it still produces *forty-seven*. There has been an improvement of nine millions. Now, certainly, we have no right to assume, that if the reductions had not taken place, this great improvement would have occurred; but we may reasonably assume that *one half of it* would have been realized; in other words, that four millions and a half, or five millions, would have been added to the revenue, and this gives us our ten millions.

Let it not be supposed that our supposition contemplates the abstaining from the reduction of taxes since 1823. There

| | |
|---------------------------|-------------|
| • Taken off, 1816–1822 | £6,288,000 |
| Put on, ,, ,, | 3,649,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 2,639,000 |
| Property tax . . . | 17,547,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| | £20,186,000 |

† Page 33 of the MS.

might, no doubt, have been extensive and successful experiments in reductions of rate without diminution of produce ; for these, and for the removal of vexatious, and for convenient and popular commutations, the continued surplus would have afforded room ; but the expenditure, even including the recent augmentation on account of Canada, and other political circumstances, now stands at the scale of 1823, and was for some years below it. That reduction of expenditure was, in part, occasioned by the reduction of the interest upon the public funds, an operation which an extensive sinking fund might be expected to facilitate. We have gone back to 1823 only, because there was then a clear surplus of five millions. Some persons may think that our scheme might have been adopted with more advantage at an earlier period, before the property tax had been given up ; but we here assume the propriety of reserving that powerful operation for a period of war.

Be it further borne in mind, that *the reduction of taxes is a prominent feature in our suggestion*. From the moment at which the fund of ten millions had been formed, there would have been no accumulation ; the debt purchased would be annihilated, and the interest saved ; this would be from three to four hundred thousand a-year, allowing of a clear reduction of one million of taxes in every third year. And we would here suggest, by the bye, that it would be much better to make the revision of taxes, with a view to reduction or modification, *triennial* rather than annual. It may be deemed certain, that these periodical remissions would afford the means of trying the experiment of increasing the productiveness by lowering the rate of taxes. In such a case as that which even now occupies public attention, the penny-postage plan, the course would be to abstain from the remission of other taxes until the effect of this plan should be seen ; the triennial surplus would supply a temporary deficiency ; and should the plan ultimately answer the expectation of its sanguine advocates, the reduction of other taxes would be no longer postponed.

The large sinking fund which we here contemplate would surely be a valuable *treasure* in time of war. And ten millions would be enough to admit of being used as *supply*, and

not as the interest of a loan. Ten millions of free revenue, with a property tax producing fifteen or sixteen millions, would, we trust, go a great way towards defraying the extraordinary expense of any war in which we are likely to be engaged; but if anything more should be necessary, it must be determined at the moment, whether to raise it by additional taxation or by loan. If by loan, the comparatively small amount would enable the finance minister to raise it upon terminable annuities, or, at all events, to raise it without creating capital in excess. We are clearly of opinion, that Mr. Pitt's principle of 1792 ought to be followed up; and that a sinking fund to redeem the debt within forty-five years, as well as the interest of the loan, ought to be provided by additional taxes. Perhaps, if the state of the country should admit of it, it might be better to have a sinking fund sufficient to redeem the debt in forty-five years, without accumulation; this would require something less than two and a quarter per cent. This fund, like the former, would be applicable to the expenses of the war; but after its termination, would be applied to the redemption of debt. It is, of course, essential to the principle, that it should be so applied *in addition* to the former fixed sinking fund. A question would arise, whether the fund should be simply alienated, or *lent* under Fox's clause. Strict principle would, perhaps, require the latter, but we should be contented with the former.

Such is a safe and equitable system of finance. We do not expect that either the present ministers or their successors will accomplish so much. Lord Melbourne's speech of the 23rd of January,* 1840, gave reason to expect more than Mr. Baring has accomplished; for the First Lord of the Treasury expressed a decided approbation of the sinking fund, as it was in the administration of the Duke of Wellington, whereas the Chancellor of the Exchequer stops short of a bare surplus. We wish that we could persuade Mr. Baring that his predecessors have exhausted all the popularity that can be derived from imprudence. He will do best for his fame, as well as for his country, by gaining a character for firmness and foresight.

* Parl. Deb., li. 505.

ARTICLE IV.

Combe's Constitution of Man. Fourth edition, 1836.

ON perusal of the present article, it will be found that we are by no means disposed to coincide with the opinions to which Dr. Combe has thought proper to give publicity, under a rather ambitious title, as the constitution of man in relation to external objects. Our readers perhaps may be led hastily to presume, from this circumstance, that we are altogether opposed to the system which goes under the name of phrenology. Such, however, is not the fact. On the contrary, we are rather disposed to acquiesce in what we conceive to be the more rational and moderate phrenological views. For instance, with respect to some at least of the mental faculties, we are inclined to believe the brain to be that organ which the mind employs as its most direct instrument. Neither does any reasonable objection appear to lie against the opinion, that the brain is locally partitioned, and either that the several regions of brain are appropriated to particular mental functions, or, on the supposition that the mind is a simple uncompounded essence, that each region gives a distinct modification to the impulses of mental energy. We see no inherent improbability in the opinion which the advocates of the system advance on physiological grounds, that the size and proportion of these regions respectively can, to a certain extent, be ascertained by an examination of the external development of the cranium. These preliminaries being settled, there seems to be no speculative difficulty in the way of believing that the mental constitution is to a certain extent indicated by the cranial characteristics, if only the inference be drawn from adequate practical experiments. We cannot indeed give in our unqualified adherence to the special distribution of cranial organs, which obtains most extensively amongst those who are distinctively styled phrenologists. Still a colouring of probability is given to the theory by our familiar experience of the sympathy which exists between

the mind and the other parts of our organic system. To phrenology itself then, in our acceptation of the term, we are by no means hostile: on the contrary, we subscribe to the general principles on which it is based.

It is therefore not only upon more enlarged grounds, but also as phrenologists, that we conceive ourselves bound to enter our protest against the opinions which Dr. Combe has recorded in the work now under discussion. We do not indeed profess that the object of this article is to defend phrenology; yet, incidentally at least, we conceive we shall be doing the cause good service by disencumbering it of the extravagances and absurdities which have been broached by its professed, possibly sincere, but certainly most indiscreet advocates.

On the other hand, it is possible that our readers may feel surprised that we should expend any intellectual exertion upon a work of so unphilosophic and superficial a description as the one under review. Our justification consists simply and entirely in a reference to its extensive circulation, both at home and abroad. Under ordinary circumstances we confess that it would have been an affront to the understanding of our readers to notice it at all. The extent of circulation, however, we conceive to be an ample apology; for though the temporary currency of a work is by no means even a proximate test of its merits, it is, notwithstanding, to the regret of all true philanthropists, found to be by no means an inaccurate measure of its immediate influence*.

Since, however, the author has supplied us with a most liberal allowance of subjects of animadversion, we shall proceed at once to business.

The first misapplication of terms—the first instance of exaggeration by abuse of language, which will be found to constitute the staple commodity in the author's reasoning—is the title, “*The Constitution of Man.*” For by the constitu-

* Respecting its circulation then, we find it thus asserted in the publisher's advertisement: “Thirty-five thousand copies of the People's edition,” (a cheap form for general circulation) “and nine thousand copies of the 12mo edition of this work, have been sold in Great Britain and Ireland. It has also been reprinted in America, and translated into the French and German languages.” Forty-four thousand sources of error and crime opened at once upon a generation! Verily this is not to be passed unnoticed.

tion of man is meant the whole constitution of man, not a part or parts, not a fraction or fractions, but the integral constitution. Yet what does the author declare in his preface? "I confine my observations exclusively to man, as he exists in the present world." It is true that this passage is ambiguously worded. Having, however, compelled ourselves to wade through this singular production, we are qualified to assert that the work is confined to the consideration of the physical and organic and moral structure of man, in relation to the material world. At the same time, the author does not venture openly to deny the spiritual capabilities and future prospects of man. Consequently, if it be allowed that man is destined for immortality—that he has spiritual functions, which also have a reference to external objects, and has present duties in relation to eternity—the work before us does not deserve the title of "The Constitution of Man, with reference to external objects." If the author had either treated of free will, or of man's spiritual functions, as far as they relate to external objects, or, on the other hand, had denied their existence, he might thus far have had some *primâ facie* pretension so to designate his work. As it is, he starts with a glaring inaccuracy.

Another still more striking inaccuracy occurs in the same preface. Our philosophic author is delivered of the following passage: "But although my purpose is practical, a theory of mind forms an essential element in the execution of the plan. Phrenology appears to me to be the clearest, most complete, and best supported *system of human nature* which has hitherto been taught, and I have assumed it as the basis of this work."

Now is it not evident that the author intends his readers to believe that phrenology is "a system of human nature," or, as above, "a theory of mind"? To use the gentlest words that can be used, this is a most dangerous error. All reflecting phrenologists would at once admit that phrenology is neither the one nor the other. For instance, with respect to the former misapprehension, the osseous and muscular systems are part of human nature. Does then phrenology treat generally upon those subjects? If not, how can phrenology be styled a complete system of human nature?

Neither, again, is phrenology a theory of mind. Phrenology, regarded theoretically, according to the approved usage both of phrenologists and others, is the theory of which we have signified our humble approval. Our readers will decide at once for themselves, whether or not that meagre scheme deserves to be dignified with the appellation of a theory of mind.

If, again, we were to allow that the term phrenology might be used to denote that special system which is at present most in fashion, even this gratuitous concession would not extricate the writer from his embarrassment; for the prevalent system of phrenology is nothing more than a particular distribution of the cranial organs in relation to certain supposed faculties, or impulses of mind. The most prevalent system of phrenology leaves theories of mind to a great extent an open question to phrenologists. The theory of mind of one phrenologist may be wide as the poles asunder from that entertained by another, as long as the fact is acknowledged that the brain is the most direct organic medium of mental agency. For instance, one phrenologist may conceive the mind of man to be chiefly swayed by events from without, or that he is the creature of external circumstances. Other phrenologists may hold him to be in a greater degree the creature of his own internal organization. Another may conceive him to be predominantly the creature of his own will, whilst others may maintain, that man is most strongly, though secretly, affected by spiritual influences.

It is indeed not impossible that some phrenologists may hold, that *the brain is the mind*, and that in the organization of the cranium consists its essential and entire constitution. By such a reasoner phrenology would very consistently be used as a convertible term with a theory of mind. Even on such a supposition, however, the truth would not be, that phrenology is in itself, but only in the opinion of the individual, a theory of mind. Mr. Combe, however, is not even entitled to this palliation. He has not ventured to assert that the brain is the mind.

The only remaining feature of the preface worthy of notice is a kind of jesuitical deprecation of theological controversy, which may be regarded as the prelude to an attack upon the

Scriptures,—as an unfair expedient, adopted with the view of disarming the defenders of the sacred volume, before he ventures on an assault. He remarks, “I have endeavoured to avoid religious controversy.”

The author is really to be pitied. He has throughout his work endeavoured to be positively luminous, and yet has utterly and entirely failed in his object. But it must be still more mortifying to a writer of his ambitious temperament, that he has not even succeeded in the negative object which he proposed to himself in the present instance. He wishes, forsooth, to avoid religious controversy. Yet envious fate (or, according to the Combian metonymy, organization, civilization, or a general law,) has compelled him to deny at least three indisputable doctrines of the Scriptures within the brief compass of this most epitomical epitome of the constitution of man. He has impugned a Special providence, the Fall of man and Miracles.

“I have endeavoured to avoid religious controversy.” The true meaning of the passage seems to be, when illustrated by the author’s proceedings, “My intention is to have a fling at “revelation, but I don’t intend to listen to any arguments “from its advocates.”

Is this, however, a fair mode of proceeding? It does not indeed fall within our scope to discuss these questions theologically; still we cannot refrain from denouncing this worse than Parthian mode of warfare which is waged against believers in the Scriptures. Doubtless a theologian might cite texts of Scripture with the intention of proving that the cavity of the skull is not filled with nervous integuments, but with air; or rather, after the fashion of the accurate philosopher, whose work we are now reviewing, suppose he were to assume this physiological paradox without condescending to argue the point. Let him also, under such circumstances, affect to disclaim all phrenological controversy. What bounds, we ask, would there be to the phrenological indignation of Mr. George Combe? What craniological development would be too animal, what too little intellectual and sentimental to be attributed to so unfair, so jesuitical an antagonist?

The author, notwithstanding, in order to make security

still more secure, takes the trouble to demolish beforehand any theologians who, in opposition to his express desire, should presume to annoy him with any troublesome objections on the score of theology. He remarks, "As the same God presides over the temporal and eternal interests of the human race, it seems to me demonstrably certain, that what is conducive to the one will in no instance impede the other, but will in general be favourable to it also."

Here, then, the existence of eternal interests is allowed. One would imagine, therefore, that there can be no difficulty in advancing another step, and admitting also their superiority in the order of importance. Let it be then for the moment supposed that man is, up to a certain degree, a free agent. Suppose, again, that it is the will of providence that the future realization of these his most valuable interests should be made, to a certain extent, contingent upon his voluntary preference of heavenly before earthly things, *i. e.* of interests which, by Mr. Combe's virtual admission, are of higher, over those which are of lower importance. Suppose it not demonstrably impossible, that before bestowing on man eternal happiness, God should require a proof that he really attaches to so great a boon something approaching to its true value. How, in such a case, should the preference be tested? Surely, as far as human reason may indicate the method, by placing man in such a position during the present life, that his earthly and heavenly interests should be—or what is the same thing in relation to human conduct—should appear to him to be in some degree inconsistent with each other. It would not indeed appear to be indispensable, perhaps not conducive, to the end in contemplation, that temporal and eternal interests should in ordinary cases be altogether and absolutely incompatible: still a certain measure of incompatibility would appear to be requisite, for the purpose of applying a test to human conduct.

Unless, then, it can be shown to be demonstrably certain that man is in no degree a free and responsible agent, or that it is demonstrably certain that the Creator of the world would not impose any test on such a being as the condition of his future happiness, the writer's assumption falls to the ground, if only the preceding hypotheses are allowed not to

be demonstrably impossible. Now Mr. Combe has nowhere disproved the free will of man. On the former hypotheses, therefore, he is shown to be in error. To return however to the hypotheses themselves, we maintain not only that they are not demonstrably impossible, but that they are not even improbable; on the contrary, that they are most probable in themselves. Consequently we, on our part, must be considered at perfect liberty to assume, that the appearance of demonstrable certainty to which Mr. Combe alludes is a mere spectrum—a mere illusion, utterly destitute of all logical reality.

Abstractedly speaking, we do indeed believe not only that the revealed law is essentially and in itself consistent with the highest degree of earthly happiness, but also that in general, as far as men approach to a true and universal application of the spirit of religion, the revealed system will be found, even in a practical point of view, the most conducive to earthly happiness. In other words, we believe that if all men were Christians in heart and practice, the temporal happiness of mankind would be beyond comparison greater than under the operation of any other principle. But this truth does not spring from the fact that religion suffers earthly motives to predominate over, or even to enter into competition with eternal interests. On the contrary, it is because it preserves the due subordination of time to eternity,—earth to heaven. It is, amongst other reasons, because it allows temporal interests exactly their due proportion of influence; because it attributes to temporal happiness its proper, and no more than its proper, elevation in the scale of expediency. It is because it is found in practice the most influential principle in promoting a truly prudential regard for temporal interests within their proper limits. On the other hand, the mere temporalist, by a short-sighted policy, endeavours to raise temporal enjoyments not only to an improper, but also to an impracticable height. The consequence is, not only that he is unable to realise his Utopian projects, but whilst he grasps at the shadow he lets go the substance. He wastes powers and opportunities which might have been employed to a better purpose, in vain efforts to compass impossibilities.

This, however, is a very different opinion from the one which we are combating. Mr. Combe maintains that temporal can in no instance impede eternal interests. On the contrary, we firmly believe, under the present imperfect development of Christian principles, that in a multitude of instances, such as must be familiar to every reader, temporal interests, simply regarded as such, without reference to their relative inferiority, do impede, or at least as far as human judgment can be trusted, appear to impede, and even in some instances to be placed in direct opposition to eternal interests.

Neither is the opinion above expressed by any means coincident with the notion, that temporal interests, pursued as such, are in general conducive to eternal interests. If, as we firmly believe, this life is to a very considerable extent a means to an end, which end is a future existence, it will be at once apparent that there is the most decided difference between the opinion, that the conduct, which is actuated by a regard for eternal interests, is in general and in the abstract conducive to the temporal interests of mankind, and the proposition reversed, viz. that temporal interests are in general conducive to eternal interests. It is just the difference between asserting, on the one hand, that a particular end cannot be so predominantly and exclusively pursued as to prejudice the means; and on the other hand, of maintaining, that the means cannot occupy so large a space in our affections as to prejudice the end.

At the same time, when we have to deal with language of so loose a character, we do not feel by any means confident that the author himself intended to convey an opinion substantially at variance with our own. Be this as it may, the reader will not suffer to escape his notice the modest fallacy contained in the present application of the opinion. It seems entirely to have escaped the author's penetration, when he attempts to silence theological controversy by an appeal to the fact, that our future prospects are compatible with our present interests, that it does not follow, at least as demonstrably certain, that the revealed method of acquiring happiness must, of necessity, exactly coincide with the idiosyncratic notions of Mr. Combe on the subject of temporal expediency:

Let us now proceed to the work itself. To begin with the beginning :—

“ In surveying the external world we discover that every creature, and every physical object, has received a definite constitution, and been placed in certain relations to other objects.”

This is the very first sentence of the work. It is also delivered with the most axiomatic positiveness, and with a dignified brevity worthy of the Delphian oracle. Let not the reader, nevertheless, conceive it too daring in the critic to open his fire unhesitatingly upon a position which the author himself disdains to defend, as if it were of its own nature impregnable. In truth, had this first sentence merely presented one of those instances of fallacious assumption, which it is only due to the author to state that he has scattered around him with the most liberal profusion, we could well have afforded to let it pass unnoticed. We should have made it a point of literary courtesy not rudely to obstruct the current of philosophic impetuosity at its very fountain. But this is one of the fundamental errors which constitute the staple commodity of the district we are about to explore. It is necessary, therefore, that no time should be lost in sifting and exposing its real quality. Our first impression was, that the author could not actually mean to maintain the opinion which the words naturally import : the exaggeration appeared too gross. He might only, we imagined, intend to allude to the probability which exists, that if we had faculties suited for the prosecution of such inquiries, fitted to ascertain the real ultimate constitution of creatures and physical objects, we should be enabled to discern that all objects possess at each successive moment a precise determinate nature. If again our minds were adapted to the prosecution of such inquiries, it would not be improbable that we should discover the relations, in which they stand one to the other, to be capable of being reduced to an equal degree of exactness and certainty. Still this, although by no means an extravagant opinion, appeared to us a little too trite and commonplace for a philosopher, evidently actuated by the philosophic desire of communicating to inferior mortals something of more than ordinary interest and importance.

On further examination, however, it became evident, that this could not be the sense intended. The words are : " In surveying the external world we discover . . . " Now we certainly cannot be said to survey and discover a truth which it is beyond our powers to ascertain, and of which the utmost that can be predicated is, the probability that, if we were gifted with the requisite faculties, we might be enabled to ascertain it. What, however, decides the question, as to the author's intention, is the fact that, on proceeding to thread our way through this chaos of paradoxes, we find not only that the opinion is in 'perfect keeping with other equally gratuitous assumptions, but also that there are arguments, or what we suppose must be for the present dignified with that title, built upon the foundation of this proposition.

This being the case, the first object is to discover the proper meaning of the words used. The sense of the passage then turns upon the word " definite." Definite is a word metaphorically derived from measuring, or tracing out the boundaries of a district. Its original meaning is, *exactly marked out*. When applied in philosophic strictness to any object, it implies in the first place, that the object is in itself susceptible of exact definition. More than this, it implies that it is capable of being exactly described by the exercise of the faculties possessed by man. Still further, it implies that it has been, in fact, accurately determined by man. Lastly, it implies a considerable degree of immutability and constancy in the object thus designated, so as not to falsify, within too brief a period, a description which once was accurate. Now with respect to the first fact implied in the definition, the utmost that can be fairly predicated of objects external to ourselves is, that the sensations produced by them upon our minds, though to a certain degree subject to variation, are yet sufficiently constant to occasion in us an impression that, if by any means we could ascertain their real constitution, we should find it to be definite. It is, however, a perfectly distinct question, whether or not natural objects are definite in relation to the human mind. The simple fact is, that men know nothing concerning the real constitution of

things without them. The utmost scope of human analysis has never extended beyond the experience of the effects produced upon ourselves. Even with those effects we have reason to feel assured, that our acquaintance is at best imperfect. Possibly our knowledge may extend only to a very insignificant proportion of the whole sum of effects which such objects are capable of producing. If then the whole current of human experience tends to prove that we are incapable of defining the constitution of any objects, much less can we be said actually to have described them.

In addition to our proved incapacity of obtaining the slightest glimpse of the ultimate constitution of things, the world and all that it contains is subject to perpetual variation. There are in operation continual processes of increase and decrease, addition and subtraction, improvement and decay, which remove man to a still greater distance from the virtual perception of definiteness in any of the subjects of his experience,—a fact which applies even to what appears to us the simplest and least complicated of the objects in nature. What then shall we say of the most wonderful and astonishing of all direct subjects of our experience,—the human mind? Shall we, who cannot even resolve the smallest grain of dust we tread upon into its elemental particles, shall we treat the soul of man as definite? We cannot even trace the line of demarcation between the mineral and vegetable, the vegetable and animal kingdoms. This inability is indisputable. The self-styled philosopher dare not deny the fact. It is in vain that he attempts to envelop it in a mist of pseudo-scientific disquisitions. It avails him not to express what is unintelligible in terms extracted from the vocabulary of the dead languages. The difficulty is not to be evaded by ever-varying modifications of arbitrary definition. How then can we expect to be able to trace the boundary between the human soul, and what we are pleased to term the instinct of animals? Has a brute a soul? Is it in any degree responsible? Is it immortal? What in short distinguishes man from the brute creation? These are questions which throw contempt on the pride, or rather upon the self-adoring conceit of the speculative, one-thoughted philosopher. How again can the author

dispose of the question of human liberty,—of liberty, which for man to compass would be to confine, to measure would be to limit, to define would be to destroy ;—of liberty, which it is tenfold more wonderful that Omniscience itself should be competent, than that man should be incompetent to define ?

Although, however, man is utterly incapable of attaining to anything approaching an exact or complete theory of the mind, it might perhaps, *à priori*, have been apprehended that he would have a definite practical idea of his own state of soul. Where man is at once the agent and the self-conscious observer of his own feelings, opinions and actions, one might have imagined that practically, at least, he would have understood himself, his own motives, habits and practice. Yet such is far from being the case. Not a day passes over our heads without our performing, or refraining from the performance of, some action ; without our having exercised some act of volition, negative or positive, which has been preceded by a season of irresolution, of doubt and suspense,—a season, during which our own ultimate resolution was as much a mystery to ourselves as to the greatest stranger ; during which we were, in a practical just as truly as in a theoretic point of view, a riddle to our very selves. Let then our consciousness of liberty, our experience of self-willing power, be hypothetically resolved into a delusive feeling. Let the only foundation of the individuality in the human character, of responsibility and of virtue, be for the moment surrendered to the self-degrading importunity of materialism. Suppose man to be altogether and entirely enthralled by the unqualified tyranny of circumstances. Suppose external circumstances, the influence of other men, and what may be termed internal circumstances, or the bodily organization, the abdominal, thoracic and cranial systems, to be the uncontrolled arbiters of his conduct. Does man by that means become definite, *i. e.* definite to himself, or to the comprehension of human philosophy ?

It is true, indeed, that by this means the field of philosophic speculation is contracted within narrower limits. Human liberty and spiritual influence are set aside ; unfortunately, however, their limits are too wide for the comprehension of the human mind. The most comprehensive human

intellect cannot span even the world of materialism. To such a degree is this the case, that every successive combination of circumstances, which impels to action, is in a greater or less degree new to the greatest philosopher the world has seen. Let then the world be nothing more than machinery in use; let men be simply pieces of that machinery, blindly acting and reacting upon each other; let it be the fact, that we go regularly, as clock-work; still, if the works are too complicated to be understood by ourselves, if the intervals of regularity are too vast for our comprehension,—if, in the infinitude of particular variations, we lose the perception of that regularity, we are indefinite to our own apprehensions, whatever we may be to those of a superior intelligence. Let it be supposed that our reasoning faculties are the result of mere organization, of the skilful adaptation of material relations; suppose the mind to be generated by the exquisite construction of physical elements; still, if the organized patient be not endued with speculative reciprocity sufficient to give him a full and clear idea of the principles upon which the machinery of the world has been constructed,—if even the uniformity of his own particular operations is not sufficiently intelligible to himself to give him a perfect foresight of the next evolution he may have to perform, he would be as truly an indefinite creature to his own apprehension as if he were a concrete impersonation of pure independence, with caprice for the spring, and a chaos for the scene of his actions.

It is, however, an insult cast upon the plainest experience, to deny that, in a multitude of instances, as far at least as lies within the scope of human discernment, after the circumstances which prompt, as well as those which restrain, from a particular action have been all presented to the mind, a season of hesitation and indecision intervenes between the contemplation of the circumstances and the act of volition, which seals our determination. In fact, in many instances so protracted is the suspense, that not only whilst the circumstances remain constant is there a doubt in our own minds how we shall act, but even, after we have made our choice, after we have taken our determination, we are conscious of a want of firmness in the resolution itself, which leaves us to a very considerable degree in a state of uncertainty, whether

the determination is or is not so strong as to lead us into action. Sometimes our doubts are only resolved by our deeds. The event is the period of our uncertainty. Whence it is clear, that in all such cases experience goes for nothing, is of little or no value, even if there should be a recurrence of the same identical train of circumstances; for, although the circumstances have supplied inducements, and though the event has given us a result, the connexion between the inducements and the action is broken by the intervention of a doubt. If then that doubt in truth, as well as in our apprehension, represented a real uncertainty, there must have been indefiniteness in the constitution of our minds.

Suppose again the doubt, as far as we could discern, was only resolved by an act of unconstrained will, or by some impulse which was inscrutable to our observation, and therefore called a chance. In that case it was the will, or the chance which was the cause of the act performed: the effect produced by the motives was suspense. Suppose again that the doubt did not represent real but only intellectual uncertainty; suppose it not to be a break in the chain which connects material causes with their effects, but only an inability on the part of man to trace the links of succession: the result is the same, as far as regards the question now in dispute. The doubt really existed in the mind of the doubting party before the event, whether it was the result of ignorance or of the nature of things. Whatever it might be in itself, the relation, which his conduct bore to the circumstances in which he was placed, was to him indefinite. Unless, therefore, after the event, a man has some power of supplying the deficiency in his perception of that relation of cause and effect which, prior to the event, occasioned his doubt, a doubt remains, a doubt in recollection as well as in action. In other words, a man is to himself as truly indefinite on a philosophical retrospect, as during the process of volition. Let it be the truth, that the material circumstances constitute the final cause, and the material action the effect. It is found that experience cannot instruct us in this relation; for experience did not connect the act with the circumstances, but with some unknown or misapprehended cause which put an end to that irresolution, which was the only

effect which our internal experience attached to the circumstances.

There is indeed another kind of experience, which may be called chronic or eventual experience. For instance, a man who contemplates his own conduct, or that of others, may remark that there is a connexion of time or sequence between certain circumstances and actions respectively; that certain analogous combinations of circumstances are accompanied, or followed in an uniform order of time, by a certain mode of action. For our practical reasoning is principally based upon the natural, but in us purely arbitrary assumption, that contemporaneousness, or priority and posteriority in order of time, are the perceptible shadows cast upon life by the substantial but imperceptible relations of cause and effect. If indeed a closer analysis were entered into, it would be discovered, that even the more intimate experience mentioned above differs only comparatively, and not essentially, from the looser experience which we are now discussing. The more accurate distinction perhaps would be to call the former chronic experience by smaller, the latter chronic by larger intervals.

Now this chronic experience by longer intervals, is evidently, as far as it differs, further removed from exact speculative reasoning, than the experience derived from the smaller intervals. Notwithstanding, it often happens that the man arrives at a greater degree of assurance who notices only the more distant, than the one who takes the nearer intervals also into his calculation. Neither on the whole do practical results tend to repress such assurance. For instance, it often happens that one man feels more strongly assured how another man will act on certain occasions, than he does himself. If, however, our perception of the great degree of practical as well as speculative uncertainty, which attaches itself to the process of reasoning by larger intervals, occasions, as it naturally must, a distrust of the perfectibility of human judgment, that distrust must be greatly increased by the contemplation of the circumstance just noticed. For if the approximation to assurance were in every instance proportionable to the minute attention, the analytic precision with which the inquiry was conducted, we might indeed have some slight

grounds for indulging the expectation, that by the improvement of our faculties, or the application of a more rigid process of analysis, man's constitution might be rendered less indefinite to his own apprehensions. When, however, it is ascertained that the mere arbitrary assumption is often attended with less doubt, and answers best in practice, the chance of removing our incompetency to the task of speculative inquiry is diminished, even the very idea precluded, that we shall ever be able to define the relations which exist between man and the circumstances in which he is placed.

It is true, indeed, that the practical expediency of this analogical reasoning is a presumption that the uncertainty of the act is not so great as the doubt of the actor. It prepares the mind also for the reception of the incomprehensible fact taught in the Scriptures, that the actions of men are foreseen by that vast measureless intelligence which, if we may use the technical phraseology of human life, seems to fill, to contain, or to transcend all time and space. It is, however, one thing to moot the question, whether or not human actions are uncertain in themselves, or with respect to God? It is another and a very different question, whether they are or are not uncertain with respect to the imperfect faculties of man?

On the whole, therefore, this circumstance must be regarded as an additional indication of the inevitable imperfection in man's speculative powers. Now materialism cannot remove these difficulties: consequently, the effect of outraging our natural apprehensions by the adoption of such a system is not to remove our incompetency, not to arrive at a definite apprehension of man and his relations, but simply to render our incompetence more humiliating. For materialism undoubtedly affects to contract the field of our observation. It attributes a less degree of difficulty to a subject which remains, notwithstanding, beyond the reach of our capacity. On the contrary, although by the recognition of human liberty and spiritual influences the proofs of inability are multiplied, yet the sense of mortification is diminished.

The following is another instance of the reckless exaggeration in which this work abounds:

"The Creator has bestowed on him (man) faculties to

“observe phænomena, and to trace cause and effect, and he “has constituted the external world to afford scope to these “powers.”

If the author had written that the Creator had so constituted the external world as to afford scope to those powers, no one would have disputed the truth of his assertion. At the same time, in a work of such high pretensions as the present, it might have excited some surprise to find so trite and obvious a remark introduced, and ushered forth in exclusive italics. The words here used, however, imply that the only, or at least the chief object in creating external objects, was to give man an opportunity of observing phænomena, and tracing cause and effect. Is not this, then, rather a rapid and startling conclusion? especially when we reflect that, in support of this precious theory, we are not indulged with the remnants, not even with the broken meats of a lukewarm argument. Let it be for one moment imagined, saving the dignity and self-importance of this indescribable writer, that an articulate cockatoo were to give utterance to the following sentence: “Men, and other objects external to myself, have “been so constituted as to give scope to my faculties of observing phænomena.”

However disgusted one might be with the self-conceit of the impertinent parrot, the justice of the observation would be unimpeachable. There would be living witnesses of the fact, not only producible, but actually produced. On the one side there would be standing open to inspection the remarkable phænomenon — man. Perched over against him would sit the philosophic bird, animated with a laudable spirit of natural philosophication, eying him, and ever and anon fan-tailing his crest in admiration of the singular properties displayed by the “featherless biped.”

Suppose, however, the yellow-crested philosopher were to repeat the phrase with a slight variation, “The Creator has “constituted man, and more particularly astute phrenologists, “to give scope to my faculties of observation.” In this case the cockatoo might fairly be called upon to explain. If again the explanation were not forthcoming, it would be more than suspected that the bird had only got the phrase by rote, and could not assign a reason. It strikes us in fact that there

are human parrots, who, if they are fortunate enough to have escaped similar imputations, are more indebted to their classification in the order of the animal creation than to any intellectual distinctions, albeit sometimes too hastily accorded to individual specimens of their genus.

We may select, as a familiar illustration, the freezing of a lake. Doubtless ice is a natural subject of curiosity. It may to a certain extent be regarded as an interesting phenomenon to the natural philosopher. When, however, the author, as he is bound to do in consistency with his own theory, proceeds to declare that the ice was constituted to give scope to our power of tracing cause and effect, it is only necessary to appeal to a few facts in order to resolve the theory into a great and gratuitous exaggeration.

To come at once to the point: What is the cause of ice? The philosopher may say, frost. Yet he knows not either what ice is in itself, nor what frost is. He knows of no *a priori* reason, why frost should produce ice. He may fancy he knows that frost makes the fingers ache and alters the thermometer; but even supposing him to have good speculative grounds for this belief, these are only particular effects of frost. He may say, that he means by frost a certain temperature of the air; still the same question recurs: What is meant by this temperature of the air? No better answer can be given, than that it makes the fingers ache and alters the thermometer; but can it be said to follow as a logical inference, that, because the fingers ache and the thermometer is lowered, water must be converted into ice? The philosopher may indeed declare that he finds by experience, that when the temperature of the air is below a certain point water freezes. But is he, therefore, in a speculative point of view, justified in drawing the inference, that the temperature of the atmosphere causes the water to freeze? Dare he maintain it to be a speculative conclusion, whenever one thing takes place simultaneously with another, that the one is the cause of the other? To make the case even stronger in favour of the philosopher, when one thing repeatedly recurs at the same time with, or at constant intervals from another, what right can he have to assume on speculative grounds, that the one is cause and the other the effect?

If then it is conceded, that a simple coincidence in point of time is not sufficient to establish the fact of a relation subsisting of cause and effect, it is only extending the concession a little further, to admit that any incomplete experience of uniformity in the relations of time and place is insufficient to prove the relations of cause and effect. Universal experience again is beyond the reach of our faculties. Speculatively speaking therefore, the philosopher utterly fails in his attempt to prove that frost is the cause of ice.

It may indeed be said, that the mind of man is so constituted, that we are naturally inclined to suppose such to be the case; in other words, though we are unable to discover why it is, or that it is the case, and though we ought to be fully aware that, notwithstanding the inclination we feel to suppose the fact, it may not be the case, yet we suppose it to be the case. This supposition then, to whatever other principle it may appeal, is not founded on any deductions of speculative philosophy.

Again, we find by experience, that our belief is approved by subsequent confirmations in practice. The incidents of daily life serve to prove the utility of this process of reasoning. We find that such a supposition is at once natural among mankind, useful, and even necessary for the business of life. But this fact does not reverse the nature of what is to our intellect a mere arbitrary supposition. The assumption remains as truly arbitrary as if it had been utterly inapplicable to the purposes of life. For an opinion may be both natural and useful, and yet at the same time be, to the apprehension of him who entertains it, purely arbitrary. It is, therefore, a mere empty boast to assert that ice was constituted to give scope to the power of tracing cause and effect. It is infinitely more probable that ice should have been constituted to serve those practical purposes to which we find it is adapted, than that it should have been intended to serve a mere speculative end, to which it is in fact totally inapplicable. Suppose, however, another definition be given to frost. Suppose it no longer to be defined as a specific temperature of the atmosphere. Suppose it to be said, we observe a certain regularity—a certain order in the midst of change. We observe that frost and ice come and go by turns, and always

preserve the same relative connexion in time and place. This regularity generates a belief in our minds, that there is some cause for that uniformity. This cause may be the hidden constitution either of air or of water; it may be the relation which the hidden constitutions of the phænomena bear to one another. Again, the connexion may result from the relation which each of these elements bear to some other material cause, which is external to both. When, therefore, we use the term frost, we mean this cause.

According to this definition we remain, as before, utterly ignorant of the cause. We know not what it is. We do not even know that it is connected in any manner with that concatenation of effects, to which we give the name of air or that of ice, or whether in fact that cause may not be the will of some superior being. We observe indeed an actual connexion between the temperature of the air and the consistency of water, which connexion we attribute to a cause, whilst at the same time the most perfect philosopher remains as truly ignorant what the cause is, as the most ignorant rustic.

It is clear, therefore, that although Mr. Combe asserts, that he traces cause and effect, that in the case of ice, as in all other cases, he is utterly ignorant of the cause. He does indeed give the name of air to certain effects which are produced upon his senses, and the name of water to other effects. But it is beyond his powers to ascertain which of them, or whether indeed either of them, stands to the other in the relation of cause to effect. It becomes, therefore, little less ridiculous than a street puff, to assert that ice is constituted to give scope to his power of tracing cause and effect.

Again, when the author alludes to our faculty of observing phænomena and tracing cause and effect, there can be little doubt that he intends to allude more particularly to such branches of knowledge as natural history, natural philosophy, physiology, mental science, phrenology and medical science. Now it cannot but appear somewhat remarkable, that although the external world, as we are bound to believe upon this writer's authority, was constituted to give us scope to trace cause and effect, that we, notwithstanding, should be so constituted as to be utterly unable to do the very thing for doing which all external nature was constituted to afford us

an opportunity, viz. to trace cause and effect! The simple fact is, that we experience a certain relation in the order of what we call time and place, between different phænomena. That the one impression produced upon our minds stands in the relation of a cause to the other impression, is a mere supposition of our own,—in many cases indeed a natural supposition, and one which is indispensable to the business of life, but as far removed as possible from the nature of an exhibition of scientific excellence. The truth is, the cause is unknown; neither is man able to discover, as such, one single link of the chain which connects the cause and the effect.

The author next favours us with his opinion upon the state of the world with respect to happiness. In this case it is no paradox, no exaggeration which he utters. He remarks, “that the constitution of this world does not look like a system of optimism.” It is true—it is more than true—it is a truism. Here there is no fallacy of exaggeration. It is, however, an understatement, or fallacy of diminution: although true in words, it is false in spirit. Though it does not exaggerate, but even extenuates the misery of the world, it insinuates, by implication, a most extravagant exaggeration of earthly happiness. As a man’s reputation may be damned with faint praise, so may a truth be mystified by a faint acknowledgment.

Let any man of common sense, or common feeling, walk the hospitals of this metropolis—let him mark the condition of hundreds of his fellow-creatures—let him observe the poor wretches writhing with pain, racked with the terrible variety of human diseases—let him mark the knit brow, the wild eye, the heaving breast, the one expression of fierce pain stamped upon every feature and upon every limb—let him reflect upon those types of human suffering, to whom death, to whom annihilation would be a relief delightful beyond expression;—then let him ask himself whether it belongs to human sympathy, or whether, common feeling apart, it be common sense to remark, “This is not optimism”? No! He could not give utterance to that unmeaning phrase. It would be a bitter sarcasm upon the sufferings of mankind. It would imply a more than idiotic apathy of judgment. It would be a lie in terms of truth.

Again, let him traverse the haunts of the destitute—let him visit the crowded alleys of the richest city in the world—let him mark the scenes of filth, and want, and fever—let him follow the drunkard from his street-frolic to his cheerless home, or weigh in equal balance the opium-eater's brief moment of delirium with his hours, his days of gloom and horror—let him calculate, if he can, how many are wasted, muscle by muscle, nerve by nerve, hope by hope, with incessant toil; how many sink under the agonies of mental suffering—let him cast a hasty glance over the statistics of suicide—let him reflect upon the meaning of that act—let him observe for himself whether self-destruction is for the most part the result of a fit of momentary impatience, a freak of transitory phrenzy; whether it is, as more technically styled by the duodenisms of legally-accredited mental philosophers, *temporary insanity*, or whether it be not the deliberate, long-delayed, often-postponed resolve of a mind which has examined, with a penetration too painfully acute, which has sifted too closely, and too exclusively, the things of earth. Let him reflect whether it is the symptom of sudden discontent; whether it is a slight and temporary alienation from the pleasures of the world, or whether it be not the final consummation of many a violent but unseen struggle; whether it be not frequently the result of a deep-rooted aversion to life—an habitual preference of death—which has eluded the tricks and subterfuges of procrastination, which has overcome the dread of physical pain, which has at last overborne the repulsive associations of the silent and lonely, damp and loathsome grave, and even dared, with impious and unequal strength, to bid defiance to the powers of eternity.

Yes! It is true this is no state of optimism! Yet it is not the truth; it is but a poor and meagre earnest of the truth. To think this, and think no more, is grievous error,—a skin-covering to a festering, fatal wound.

He proceeds however to offer, what we suppose he intends to be accepted as proofs, that man is constituted on the principle of slow and progressive improvement.

It is worthy of remark that this author professes a kind of respect for revelation, and he nowhere, as far as we are aware, attempts to dispute the historical credibility of the sacred

writings. It cannot therefore be conceived unfair to cast a glance upon the scriptural account of man, in order to ascertain how it agrees with his theory. We apprehend that Mr. Combe himself would not dare openly to deny that virtue and happiness are the two principal objects of human attainment; so much so, that when they, on the whole, are augmented, man's condition is improved; when they are diminished, his condition is deteriorated, whatever may be the tendency of subordinate considerations. The scriptural account then is as follows: "God created all things good, and man after his own image." We are given to understand, that man was in the first instance created perfectly innocent and happy, free from pain and death. This, then, is the starting-point. Let us now search for the improvement. The first event of importance, affecting the condition of mankind, is the transgression of Adam, and the consequent entrance of sin and labour, pain and death into the world. The next important event on record is the destruction of all mankind, save eight persons, by the Deluge, on account of the great and universal depravity of mankind. The next and last general incident recorded respecting the whole race, is the building of the tower of Babel in defiance of the Almighty. The consequence of this was the curse of different languages, and the consequent division into separate nations.

After this, the covenanted portion of the human race may be regarded as the representatives of their condition. The Jews then began their national career as a pious and prosperous people: their nationality was terminated by the most terrible disasters which ever befell any nation. If, too, their own historian may be trusted, the inhabitants of Jerusalem were as remarkable for their crimes as for their misfortunes.

The next covenanted people are the Christians. The history of Christianity, however, has not yet arrived at its close. It is, however, not obscurely intimated in the prophetic portion of the Scriptures, that in the day of judgement they will be found wicked, as in the days of Noah.

Now, humanly speaking, every man has a right to dispute the authenticity of the Scriptures. He has not, however, a right to take for granted, that a work, of which the historical credibility is so widely and so implicitly received, is merely a

mass of fables, without producing some grounds, some reasonable foundation for his scepticism. Theology falls not within our scope. Still, as impartial asserters of the laws of criticism, we are bound to declare that, independently of all higher grounds, the mere fact of the general reception of the Scriptures as true history, is sufficient to make inquiry into the grounds of that reception imperative on those who reject them, and to attach the stigma of presumption to any one who, like this author, shall treat their statements with unreasoning contempt.

Let, however, a reference be made to the general tenour of profane history. What is the account which is there presented of the presumed tendencies in the human race towards improvement? Surely the one lesson which it teaches us is not the improvement, but the perpetual fluctuation and oscillation of mankind. Now one nation, now another, emerges from obscurity. Nations are born, grow up to maturity, and then decay. This was the case with the Assyrian, the Egyptian, the Persian, the Grecian and the Roman empires. There have been cosmic also as well as national fluctuations. Such a fluctuation is familiar to all readers of history under the title of the dark ages. Does it not then appear strange that any author, in the face of the obvious, striking and undeviating testimony of history, without attempting to invalidate that testimony, should publish authoritatively a theory in direct opposition to the whole current of past experience? Is it not strange that Mr. Combe should assume, almost as an axiom, that the world is constituted on the principle of slow and progressive improvement? Can any one contemplate the present condition of Egypt, Babylon, Persia, Arabia, Palestine, Constantinople, Greece and Rome, without being struck with the boldness, the unexampled effrontery of this assumption, by which all history, sacred and profane, is dismissed, as utterly unworthy of notice? It is time, however, to allow the author to speak for himself. Let us be permitted, merely for the sake of indulging the natural curiosity of our readers, to bring forward an example of the method which the author adopts in his application of history. Let us ascertain by what procrustean artifice he makes it subservient to his own theory.

“At the time of the Roman invasion the inhabitants of Britain lived as savages, and appeared in painted skins.”

Really we are not disposed to dispute the fact, that we of the present age call the ancient Britons savages, and ourselves civilized*; nor do we attach much more importance to a dress than a name.

“Now however have come the present arrangements of society, in which millions of men are shut up in cotton and other manufactories for ten or twelve hours a day, others labour underground in mines, others plough the fields, while thousands of higher rank pass their whole lives in idleness and dissipation.”

This, the author's own description of nineteenth-century progression, needs no comment on our side of the question.

“Man, ignorant and uncivilized, is a ferocious, sensual and superstitious savage.”

We presume that when the author, in his usual loose style, strings together such epithets as ignorant and uncivilized, that he refers to the ignorance which attends a state of barbarism. Now we are not prepared to deny, that a certain kind of ignorance attends this stage of a nation's existence; but the author should have shown that savage ignorance is attended with greater evils than civilized prejudice. The author states that man, uncivilized, is a ferocious, sensual and superstitious savage. That the savage, in a certain sense, is more ferocious, we are not prepared to deny; still it is to the civilized man that we should attribute the greatest, the most studied and systematic cruelty. That the savage is, or can be, as sensual, we deny.

The author again designates the savage as superstitious. This remark again we take to be utterly unfounded, as implying that civilization is opposed to superstition. We take the most civilized nations of ancient times—Athens, Rome, Corinth, etc., to have been most superstitious. Nor is it any refutation of our opinion to say, that infidelity prevailed to a certain extent amongst certain classes in these cities. Infidelity and superstition, in a certain aspect opposed to one

* N.B.—As it is not our desire to ride off upon points of verbal criticism, we are compelled to use civilized in the same loose inaccurate sense in which the author has employed the term.

another, are almost inseparable companions. Wherever there is much superstition, infidelity also will prevail. It may be true that actual idolatry is not prevalent in modern times; but this is owing to a principle of which the author, in this very work, attempts to undermine the foundations, viz. to Christianity. Yet even from this stain, glaringly as it contradicts the Bible, civilized Europeans of the present day can scarcely be regarded as altogether free. What was Romanism in ages which can scarcely be termed savage, and not even barbarous? Was it not idolatry? Even if the charge of idolatry were withdrawn, was it not such a mass of superstitions as cannot with justice be said to have been heaped together by any savage nation? At the present day, even if there be a difference as well as a distinction between idolism and idolatry, what is the nature of Romanism in many civilized countries?

How many Anglicans again regard tithes as the church! How many attach an idea of holiness to days, to brick and mortar, and to plots of earth! How many worship political idols instead of Christ! By how many is an hebdomadal session, in a so-called consecrated building, on a so-called consecrated day, in addition to a certain passive compliance with one rite before and another after consciousness, crowned with the prospect of holy burial in holy ground, conceived to be equivalent to the performance of the whole duty of man! We cannot help regarding such a misconception, even in a member of the Anglican church, as a proof of superstition.

Another instance, which is still closer in point, may be cited in illustration of the fact. We cannot apply any more appropriate term than that of superstition to that gullible portion of the British public who place reliance upon the wild, phrenological prophecies contained in this work,—who bow down before this most clumsy idol of philosophy or civilization.

On the whole, in commenting on Mr. Combe's opinion, we have to remark, that comparison between the men is not fair; the comparison ought to be instituted between their respective circumstances. The influence exercised upon man in general by savage and civilized institutions respectively, is the proper subject of study to the philosopher. Even when this ground is occupied, we maintain that, although the cir-

cumstances of civilized life do, for the most part, tend to check open violence, they do also tend to form a more systematically cruel character. Such institutions again, instead of diminishing, tend to increase sensuality and superstition.

The author, after appealing to history in favour of the tendency of mankind to improvement, and to our experience of the effects of civilization, next enters upon a course of phrenological prophesy. He gives magnificent, though, as usual, exceedingly vague descriptions of the felicity and perfection of what he terms the new era. To the eye of this philosopher the world appears capable of its own rectification.

We will suppose, not only what we are inclined to believe, that the general principles of phrenology are correct—we will suppose also, what we are inclined to doubt, the accuracy of the more minute subdivisions which have been made. We will even suppose, what in our real opinion we repudiate, as a notion utterly untenable, that man has no free will, and is not subject to spiritual influences; or, what we equally disbelieve, that the physical organization in ordinary cases is too powerful to be resisted by these two other principles of action. All these points being conceded, in order to place the phrenologist upon the highest vantage-ground of argument, we maintain, notwithstanding, even on this supposition, even upon merely phrenological grounds of reasoning, that this system offers less rational prospect of improvement than any other system. The fact is, that the only practical suggestion of any importance which has been thrown out by phrenologists, is the proposal to adopt what may be termed a stock-breeding plan of improvement. In other words, they propose that those only should marry whose crania are well organized.

Unluckily, it happens that, according to the acknowledged principles of phrenology itself, except in a most comparative sense, there does not exist a single well-organized cranium in the whole world. For the phrenologists declare that, *cæteris paribus*, the size of the organ is the measure of the energy of the faculty: they allow also that the intellectual faculties are, as it were, indifferent and impartial in their nature; according as one or the other shall happen to pre-

dominate, they will act in subordination either to the animal, or to the human or higher sentiments: at the same time they allow, that in all crania the animal predominate over the sentimental faculties. Hence it follows, that in all, even the very most perfect heads in nature, the animal organs, and consequently the animal faculties, must predominate; hence, according to the phrenological system, the best man on earth must be more bad than good. By what process, then, of stock-breeding ingenuity is a good breed to be obtained from a bad stock?

It may be said, however, that although a good breed cannot be obtained, yet the race can be considerably improved by attention and judgement. Now this is a vast declension from the magnificent phraseology indulged in by Mr. Combe; but let us inquire a little into the foundation of this opinion. Phrenologists allow, that not only is all organization bad, but that, to a considerable extent, even the good, by comparison with the worse, are rare; that the bad, even the bad by comparison, preponderate. If then they breed promiscuously as at present, the change must evidently be from bad to worse. If, on the contrary, the worst organized individuals are to be prohibited from marrying, will phrenologists inform us by what means such a prohibition is to be enforced? Is it by Act of Parliament? But the majority of electors and of elected, of lords and of sovereigns, must be of the number of the worse organized, and are therefore on the opposite interest. A St. Bartholomew's massacre, we apprehend, would scarcely be justified by the warmest phrenologists. Or is it the mere knowledge of the effects of human organization which will be sufficient to insure the desired result? We have daily experience of the efficacy of this kind of knowledge. It is known that insanity, scrofula, consumption and other diseases, are hereditary; it is known that the marriage of near relatives usually brings into the world beings who are imperfect, both in body and mind; yet how small, how trifling is the effect produced by this knowledge!

Yet in fact this opportunity, as far as it extends, is much more favourable to the amelioration of the species than the phrenological experiment. For the fact is, that these fami-

liar instances of hereditary taints on the constitution fall vastly below the number of those families which are free from any such objection ; consequently it would, comparatively speaking, be but a slight sacrifice, a slight exercise of self-denial for those who were free from any such malady, to avoid such unpropitious unions. Under such circumstances, those who were unfit might be compelled, by the mere self-interested prudence of their neighbours, to remain single.

On the other hand, under the circumstances contemplated by phrenologists, if knowledge is to work the cure, the majority of mankind would be called upon to make a voluntary surrender of the strongest propensity in nature. If then knowledge does not at the present moment induce mankind to make a sacrifice, which is as nothing compared with what would be required to satisfy the phrenological conditions of improvement, what rational being would expect the greater sacrifice to be made under the influence of corresponding knowledge ? This, as far as we are aware, is the only effort of any importance which phrenologists propose to make for the advancement of the species. Their educational schemes have neither sufficient originality, nor even sufficient pretensions, to deserve notice with reference to the question now under discussion. It is then for our readers to form their own estimate of the magnitude of the revolution which will, by these means, be effected in the world.

We have taken into consideration the grounds upon which our author founds the theory, that the world is framed on a plan of progressive improvement. It is only necessary to add, that the object of this precious affectation of philosophical argument appears to be partly that of discrediting the scriptural account of man's degradation, partly with a view of obtaining a transitory popularity on the fashionable puffing system. It is now time to return to his philosophical speculations. He writes, "Every mode of action, which is said to take place according to a natural law, is inherent in the constitution of the substance or being."

We have already shown, that it is beyond the power of the human intellect to discover the real constitution of any substance ; we have shown that we are unable to trace cause and effect ; we have shown, that even when we are naturally

inclined to infer, from a connexion of time and place, a connexion between substances, that we are utterly unable to decide whether there is any inherent aptitude in the relations subsisting between these substances, or whether each effect, is simply the result of an act of particular volition on the part of some superior being ; or whether it is the effect of a general, a standing volition of that being. In other words, we are utterly unable to ascertain, by the exercise of our unassisted faculties, whether any mode of action, which is said to take place according to a natural law, is, or is not, to any extent, inherent in the constitution of the substance or being.

Another notion, which the author parades as something original and of vast importance, is what he rather ludicrously styles the independence of the laws of nature. This he declares to be the key to the divine government. It is remarkable, however, that he also affirms, that the physical, organic and moral laws are in harmony with the constitution of man ; in other words, they are studiously, they are designedly adapted to the constitution of man. Now it follows, that if these three laws are in harmony with the constitution of man, they are, at least as far as that constitution is concerned, *i. e.* to the whole extent of the operations of those laws which are at present under consideration, in harmony with each other. In other words, they are, either in a mediate or immediate sense, designedly adapted to each other. These laws must, therefore, either have adapted themselves, or must have been adapted either to each other, or to the constitution of man, by external agency. If they have accommodated themselves to the constitution of man, the probability is, as far as human investigation can extend, that they are dependent on the constitution of man. If they have accommodated themselves to each other, there must be either a subordination of the rest to one, or a mutual subordination or compromise. On all these suppositions they are not independent, but to a considerable degree dependent.

If, again, a superior will has accommodated them one to another, or to the constitution of man, it is clearly an absurdity to apply the term independence to laws which are not in any degree free agents with respect to the effects under discus-

sion, but which are all dependent upon another superior power. Thus, then, even if we adopt the inappropriate, unphilosophical phraseology of the author himself, when we treat laws with all the ceremony and respect due to real, but invisible and mysterious potentates, the author refutes himself. The truth, however, is, that this use of the word law is an antiquated, long-exploded fallacy. We have only to ask ourselves what we mean by a law, in order to scatter to the winds the ostentatious sophistry which is used as a cover for an infinity of nothing. For instance, we observe an apple fall to the ground; this is a simple subject of experience—a fact. We observe, that under similar circumstances other apples fall to the ground; here is an experience, not only of the simple facts, but of an uniformity between certain facts. We find, on further experience, that, under similar circumstances, all other bodies of a certain specific gravity fall to the ground. To this collection of experiences we give the title of the law of gravitation. By this law, then, as far as we mean anything which falls within the compass of our faculties, we intend to designate that uniformity which we have experienced to have occurred between the relations of different phænomena. What, then, is the sense of talking of uniformities being independent of each other? Is not the very idea of the independence of the uniformities of physical, organized and moral nature an abuse of language, an outrage against common sense, a personification of nonsense, dressed up in the cast-off suits of antiquated philosophy? The name law may indeed to a certain extent differ from the term uniformity, inasmuch as there is a reference to some unknown cause, or to the power of some unknown lawgiver; but this distinction rather aggravates the absurdity of the author's argument. What should we think of an eminent lawyer, who should write a book for the purpose of showing that the *habeas corpus* act and the law of entail (the mere laws apart from the authority of the legislators) are independent of each other?

The author next proceeds, apparently emboldened by his own astonishing felicity in the art of philosophication, to declare with oracular brevity and authority, "that the mode of

“ action described is universal and invariable wherever, and
“ whenever, the substances or beings are found in the same
“ conditions.”

By conditions the author evidently infers the same apparent, external, physical conditions. It of course implies a denial of the scriptural as well as all other miracles, and the doctrine of Special providence. These theological questions do not fall within our province; but we doubt not that those whose high object it is to defend the scriptural doctrines, will be found fully competent to the task of demolishing the objections of the phrenological sage. Our own part is simply to test the truth or falsehood of the notion in a philosophical point of view. We have before proved, that every substance is to our apprehension highly indefinite. We have shown that we are utterly unable to trace cause and effect. Lastly, we have shown that the argument from analogy, or the belief that what has repeatedly happened according to our experience will happen again, resolves itself simply into an inclination which we feel to indulge the expectation,—an expectation, which is fostered and encouraged by our experience, that it works well. For instance, our expectation that the sun will rise tomorrow, is a natural propensity, prior to, independent of, and unsupported by, human reason, but which is found convenient in practice.

Again, we are so constituted as to be naturally inclined to suppose, that what usually happens under certain circumstances not only will happen, but has usually happened under similar circumstances. Next in order, and founded upon these natural propensities, comes another natural propensity, to believe that there is a virtual connexion between those things between which we have observed that there exists an uniform proximate relation of time and place; hence we presume, that when we feel a certain sensation, which we call heat, on approaching the fire, that fire is the cause of heat, the effect. This may be called the practically-convenient fiction (for to our faculties it is no more) of cause and effect. Let it then be distinctly noticed, that the argument by analogy, and the attribution of cause and effect, are founded simply upon the basis of natural inclination. Abstract reasoning and investigations into the ultimate foundation, or the essential

truth of such processes of inference, if they have any tendency, must have that of shaking rather than of confirming our confidence; for the nature of the subjects, when regarded in this light, is altogether beyond the reach of our faculties.

Suppose, therefore, that on any given morning we should see that the sun did not, or rather not see, because the sun did not rise, (we use the popular description of the occurrence to express our meaning,) what would be the inference we should draw? Here is on one side an inclination to infer by analogy, that the sun must have risen; on the other side, a natural inclination to believe the evidence of our senses, that the sun has not risen. Here then is a conflict of two opposing inclinations of our nature. What is the result? Clearly a natural inclination to follow the stronger of these to the prejudice of the weaker inclination. In other words, we should trust our senses for the fact that the sun had not risen. Precisely the same reasoning also would apply to the evidence of our senses in any particular instance, as for example, that the fire did not produce heat.

Instead, therefore, of Mr. Combe's most unphilosophical assumption, that "the mode of action which is said to take place according to a natural law must be universal and invariable," we find the simple fact to be, that we are actuated by an inclination to believe that the mode of action will be uniform under ordinary circumstances, which inclination we also find is subject to, and liable to be overpowered by, the inclination to trust our own senses. From this consideration it follows, that the baseless and arbitrary *à priori* decisions of philosophers by profession, from Hume down to his humble plagiarist Mr. Combe, can have no weight with any sensible man in determining what is simply a practical question, the solution of which entirely depends upon the comparison of the respective influences which certain particular inclinations naturally exercise over the human mind.

The question having been thus simplified, we may carry our researches a step further. We may proceed to inquire, whether the natural inclination to trust the testimony of other men is weaker or stronger than the inclination to expect uniformities in the operations of external objects? In our opinion, then, man appears to be naturally so constituted,

that the inclination to believe testimony, where there is no reasonable ground for distrusting either the sincerity or the judgement of the witnesses, does appear decidedly to preponderate over the inclination to accept analogical reasoning. We believe that the inference drawn by Paley from the case of the twelve witnesses is not only practically correct, but also that, as far as the state of our knowledge and of our faculties admits, his method of reduction is philosophically exact.

It must also be remembered, that as there is a natural tendency in the human mind to expect uniformity, so there is a natural tendency to expect miracles,—a fact which even Mr. Combe recognises in his system of phrenology. It is not, therefore, by any means more supposable, that a propensity for the marvellous, or an organ of wonder, any more than a propensity for uniformity, should be created for no practical purpose, or simply for the purpose of promoting delusion. If then, in addition to the natural weight of testimony and the love of the marvellous, the theologian can show, that by the Christian miracles a natural inclination to look forward to a future state was gratified in the only manner in which we could possibly expect that it would be gratified, we cannot conceive by what rules of equity and common fairness he is to be debarred the use of his legitimate weapons. We cannot regard it in any other light than that of dogged, unfair, purblind obstinacy, as far removed from true philosophy as the north from the south pole, for any assailant of the Christian miracles to refuse to listen to the arguments of its defenders.

These considerations will also suggest the inference, that though the practice of imputing motives (such as those of pride and immorality) may be in the heat of controversy liable to abuse, they are by no means unphilosophical, as applied to scepticism of this description. Undoubtedly, where the natural inclinations to belief in any degree approach a state of equilibrium, the moral and immoral propensities have a powerful effect in modifying not only the practice, but that practical judgement upon which the decision of questions of this nature entirely depends.

We now come to another of the harlequin twistings and contortions of this most singular specimen of the genus

Philosophicum. After asserting, with the spirit of a true lover of liberty, the independence of the laws of nature, he now turns round and declares, that the organic is superior to the physical, the moral to the organic law. They are independent, yet one of them is superior to the other! In what then does this superiority consist? It cannot consist in power or authority, for this surely would be too direct a contradiction of the author's other opinions. It must then assuredly be an aristocratic distinction. Natural laws are politically independent of each other, but there are social distinctions. The moral law moves in the most select circle. Ye aristocrats of England, know that ye are not alone in your exclusiveness; ye are encompassed with a host of exclusives—of exclusives not indeed discoverable by the uninstructed senses, but clear, evident, palpably visible to the eye of philosophy! Believe it, there exist spiritual aristocrats, in other words, aristocratic uniformities!

It may be well, however, to allow the author to explain his own meaning, more particularly as we are constrained to confess, that we are hardly able to explain it ourselves. It will be necessary, however, to assure those who have not read this remarkable publication, that we are not substituting a burlesque of our own in place of the author's words. It is no garbled extract. It is word for word, letter for letter, order for order,—the veriest copy of the paragraph in question.

“The organic laws are superior to the merely physical. A living man or animal may be placed in an oven along with the carcass of a dead animal, and remain exposed to a heat that will completely bake the dead flesh, and yet come out alive and not seriously injured. The dead flesh is mere physical matter, and the decomposition commences immediately; but the living animal is able by its organic qualities to counteract and resist to a certain extent that influence”!

Let us examine, with the utmost seriousness and gravity which we can command, the author's argument in favour of the superiority of the organic law. He informs his readers, that organized laws are superior to physical laws, because the subjects of physical law are sooner baked than the subjects of organic law. We presume that, as this is the only test of superiority with which the author has supplied his readers, the same argument holds with respect to the moral law.

A moral agent will take a longer time to bake than a mere organized body.

We have had no opportunity as yet of according our author even the smallest tittle of praise. We rejoice, therefore, that we have now an occasion for congratulating him on the originality of this idea. It is an impression novel in its design, issued fresh from the intellectual mint, and doubtless will meet with due appreciation in the currency of the philosophical world.

It will serve too to explain many other difficulties. For instance, we have occasionally wondered that certain ancient religionists should make it part of their worship to scamper through a blazing fire. We now perceive that it formed a part of their church discipline. It served, doubtless, as a test of the sincerity of the convert, and the practice was founded on true philosophy. The same kind of philosophy also appears in the ordeal of red-hot ploughshares. A marvellously ingenious test it must have been of the morality of the criminal!

During our residence in this world, or to speak more scientifically, during our sight-seeing in this large collection of curiosities, this pantological museum or spacious show-room of philosophy, we have had occasion to remark many varied specimens of aristocracy. We have observed superiorities of all kinds; birth-ocracies, rank-ocracies, plutocracies, democracies, shop-ocracies, and so on to infinity. We have often admired the subtlety and ingenuity displayed in forming distinctions where we could discover no difference. Justice however requires that we attribute the palm of this species of invention to the present author. A *pistrilloeracy* is indeed an eminently acute discovery. Away with waste-paper pedigrees! Away with wealth, or style, or talents! A one-lined certificate from a respectable baker, "—— —, baked two hours and came out alive," is sufficient to raise a man to the highest rank in the aristocracy of morality!

At the same time, there are a few objections which we hope to see removed by the future explanations of our philosopher. In the first place, is a dead man a piece of mere physical inorganic matter? Or in the first instance, is

the only difference between a live and dead man a spiritual difference, or a difference of degree? Is it only the difference between vital and perfect organization, and imperfect or inanimate organization? We take it for instance to be the fact, that a dead man may have his brain perfect, his cranial development entire. It does therefore seem strange, that those who attach so much importance to that portion of the organic structure, should class a dead man with mere lumps of physical matter. This does seem to be a strange idea to be entertained by those who, though they do not say in words that the organization of the brain is the mind, are yet perpetually using arguments which can only be justified on such a supposition.

Let us, however, inquire whether it be not possible to institute other experiments upon the comparative resistance to heat of the respective subjects of law physical, and law organic? Let us for instance select Mr. Combe himself to be experimented upon, in behalf of the laws moral and organic, against the physical. And, by way of making this experiment as favourable as possible to the interests of those exalted laws, we shall assume the phrenological champion to be a perfect model of exquisite organization, and that in morality he is as fireproof, as asbestic as is compatible with human infirmity. On the other hand, we will select as a champion in the cause of that respectable and independent, but withal less dignified functionary, the physical law, a contemptible little piece of platina,—a bit of platina, with the least possible pretensions to organization, and none at all to morality. Is the philosopher willing to stand the contest? Is he perfectly confident that, without disturbing either his own composition or composure, he can await the decomposition of that small and comparatively speaking unimportant piece of physicality? If not, we conceive that the writer should have, to a certain extent, varied his experiments before he committed himself by publishing his theory.

We must now, however, draw our remarks to a close. We have not space enough to devote to the refutation even of a small proportion of the multiplied absurdities with which this publication abounds. We shall therefore briefly advert to the few tangible practical measures which the author re-

commends. The stock-breeding improvement has been already discussed.

With respect to education, the author recommends that the system should be entirely remodelled, with a view to making the natural laws the chief object of study. Now we have a great respect for all species of information, and more particularly for those branches of philosophy which are calculated to be of a certain, though perhaps of subordinate utility. Still we must altogether denounce the scheme of making compliance with the natural laws the supreme object of individual education. In the first place, the scheme is impracticable; for to a considerable extent the laws are in fact inconsistent with each other; and therefore, if not subjected to higher principles, are in fact, to all human apprehension, incompatible with each other. It is unadvisable in another point of view, because it happens that knowledge is not practice, nor in fact the chief educational means towards practice. We take such a scheme to be, to the last degree, pernicious; because to recommend compliance with the laws of nature in our present comparatively disordered state, would be in effect to undermine benevolence, justice, patriotism and religion; in short, to degrade and trample under foot all the nobler principles of action.

Again, the author recommends that clergymen should introduce the interesting brood of natural sciences to their congregations. Now whatever may be the value of the sciences, whether it be greater or less than that of religion, it is obvious that the ministers of religion have full employment in the exercise of their proper functions. Consequently, nothing can be more absurd than to expect of them to become the mouth-pieces of propaganda of phrenology, physiology and the kindred sciences.

Another practical innovation is obliquely indicated, though not directly recommended, in the equalization of labour.

This expedient, when practically considered, will be found necessarily to involve an equal distribution of property. Now we are perfectly willing to admit, that evils attend the present striking inequality in the division of property; but so also we are fully assured, that its own class of evils will attend every practicable apportionment of wealth. On the other

hand we feel, that the principle of private property constitutes at the present moment the one great bond and ligament of society. When, therefore, it is proposed to violate this principle without substituting another principle—some principle of, and experienced to be of, at least equal practical efficiency,—we maintain that the abolition of private property is equivalent to the disorganization of society. This however we presume is one of the recondite discoveries which make Mr. Combe's book so much in favour with the disciples of Mr. Robert Owen.

On the whole, we cannot place the practical suggestions of this author any higher in the scale of merit than his philosophical speculations. Before taking our leave of our readers we must repeat, that the one apology for devoting an article in this periodical to so shallow a production, is the extensive circulation, and the injurious tendency of the work—a tendency which must be, to a certain extent, expanded in proportion to the reception of the work, however much this may be owing to the depravity of the reader rather than the talents of the author.

ARTICLE V.

Poems by the Rev. R. C. Trench.

MR. WORDSWORTH is eminently the initiative poet of his age, whether we regard his own productions, or his influence upon the works of others. In the lyrical spirit he has infused into recent poetry he resembles Petrarca, and bids fair perhaps to rival him in the number, the zeal and the general excellence of his followers. And his example has been the more salutary, since he is inaccessible to copyists, and can be imitated only by ascending into similar regions of thought, or penetrating into similar recesses of feeling. The perma-

nence, indeed, of any school of art is exposed to various accidents. It may be superseded by higher genius and more perfect execution, as Milton, by "excess of light," obscured the Fletchers and Du Bartas. It may be eclipsed for a time by corrupter fashions, as Shakspeare for more than a century ranked no higher than the authors of the 'Broken Heart,' and the 'Chances.' It may be worn out by the servility of its disciples, as the Petrarchists brought into disrepute the style, and even the name of their illustrious master; or the current of popular taste may at first set strongly against it, and a poet may have appeared too early, as well as have fallen upon an age too late. From some of these impediments Wordsworth has already extricated himself. His contemporaries have acknowledged his vocation. The grateful homage of a younger generation has been tendered both to the poet and the critic; and whatever vices of diction, or overgrowth of mannerism, may now or hereafter encumber the surface of poetry, the wells of pure English, so long as his works are studied, can never again be sealed. It remains to be seen whether his followers will be wiser in their generation than the Petrarchists, and copy the spirit rather than the letter of their exemplar.

In two of the principal departments of poetry, the prospects of the present age are full of hope. If the drama has not regained her earlier strength, she has given indications of vigour more remarkable than any which appeared throughout the eighteenth century. Mr. Serjeant Talfourd alone would put a host of Rowes and Murphies to flight, and the worst of Mr. Knowles's plays is better than 'Douglas,' or the 'Wheel of Fortune.' But the principal improvement in the spirit and the form of poetry is perceptible in *lyrical* verse; and from the 'Ballads' of Wordsworth to the volumes of Trench, Tennyson, Milnes and Sterling, there is a long and various series of excellence and of promise. Our selection of these names arises from no wish of invidiously distinguishing them to the exclusion of others; but because they fairly represent the lyrical tendencies of the age, and are certainly *not inferior* to any other quaternion of recent poets which might have been adduced. In their writings, and even in more ephemeral productions, we meet with a range of thought,

a general purity of diction, and a perception of the true functions of art, which have their parallel only in periods remarkable for depth and activity of imagination, and are utterly unlike the mechanical creations of the century and half preceding our own. Nor is the change confined to the spirit of poetry, it is equally perceptible in the forms also. If writers no longer impose upon themselves the fantastic and burdensome laws that fettered the intellects, and depraved the judgment of English and Italian poets, especially in the seventeenth century, they avoid equally the monotonous measures, and the merely logical brilliancy of the next age. The renaissance of poetry is accompanied by the growth of philosophical criticism: the greater works of Goethe and Wordsworth are nearly contemporary; and the poets we have named have attained a clear insight into the laws of resonance between thought and language, and, with a few exceptions, discriminate successfully between what is accidental and what is universal in the works of their predecessors.

Together with a tendency to lyrical composition, Wordsworth has imparted to the age the reflective character of his own genius. The sonnet he has rendered familiar, and justified his preference for that difficult form of composition both by his own massive and full-toned execution of it, and by the effect of his example on later poets. We may admit the inferiority of the modern sonnet to the Tuscan, and at the same time claim for our contemporaries a high degree of excellence in its construction. From Mr. Trench's works alone we shall presently produce instances, not so much of difficulties overcome—a questionable triumph at best where they may be avoided—but of natural and harmonious evolutions of thought flowing into the sonnet as their proper mould and setting. Of the philosophical ode, the highest form of lyrical art, Wordsworth is not so much perhaps in our language the restorer, as the originator; since perfect as, without doubt, are Spenser's 'Epithalamium,' and Milton's 'Ode on the Nativity,' or beautiful as are many passages in the 'canzones' of Drummond, Carew and Habington, they none of them rest on such ample bases of thought, or perform such wide and solemn gyrations of feeling. Mr. Trench, however, will furnish us with more than one instance of sus-

tained and even majestic composition in this department; while among the humbler lyrical forms he moves with an ease and self-possession that indicate both original powers, and diligent and successful cultivation of them.

We have hitherto traced the influence of Wordsworth upon contemporary poets in general, and with particular reference to the volumes which are placed at the head of this article. Before, however, we proceed to a closer examination of Mr. Trench's general character as a poet, it will be proper to notice briefly what appear to us less favourable symptoms in the poetry of the age; since, as his influence will probably be an abiding one, it is desirable that Wordsworth's followers should early awaken to whatever is least salutary in his example. In two important points he departs from "the ancient ways" of poetic composition, and almost excludes from his works every epic and erotic element. It is in these points also the works of recent poets are especially deficient; they point a moral, but they have shown little skill in "adorn-
ing a tale." Even the poets of Germany, the most catholic of our age, have produced no poetic narrative which can take its place beside the *Gierusalemme*; and the theory of narration, the science of character and event, to which Tasso devoted such intense study, appears to be quite neglected and thrown aside. The reflective energy of Wordsworth has operated unfavourably upon the objective portion of his poetry, and his followers, as well as himself, are apt to confound the logical relations with the imaginative affinities of ideas. We could produce from Mr. Trench's poems several instances of his postponing in the process of composition the desire of Beauty, the artist's one and indivisible aim, to the desire of announcing a doctrine or impressing a truth. The result is false in art, however seductive to one who feels so earnestly as Mr. Trench the moral vocation of poetry, or however authorized by high example. The exclusion of the erotic element, however indicative of Wordsworth's idiosyncrasy, is injurious to the subjectivity of poetry, and deprives lyrical composition especially of its native and most nourishing aliment. Whatever, in an advanced state of intellectual cultivation, renders poetry less catholic, diverts it from its proper aim, and disturbs the continuity of the art.

Wordsworth indeed, by his intense idealism in other provinces of poetry, eludes the full consequences of his theory in this. But it is not the less defective because he has so avoided them; and if implicitly obeyed by his followers, his example will narrow the legitimate circle of the imaginative mind.

We have placed Mr. Trench beside Wordsworth, in obedience to that law which, by some mysterious process, subjects to a common influence all the writers of any particular age. But had Wordsworth never written, Mr. Trench would have been a poet impelled by a calm, contemplative, yet earnest nature, by active sensibilities and deep aspirations for the Beautiful. In no sense of the word is he an imitator; he tries with too much severity the movements and promptings of his imagination to adopt consciously the thoughts, much less the peculiarities of manner, of another. In the author of 'Justin Martyr' and 'Sabbation' we have indeed an instance of Wordsworth's influence in its most legitimate form—the reasonable homage, the intellectual attraction of a generous and lofty spirit to the creative and regenerating mind of the age. It is impossible to read many of Mr. Trench's poems without being aware of his preference for the *reflective* portion of his art. Yet this predilection is tempered in his writings, especially in the earlier of the volumes before us, by much vivid and accurate delineation of natural beauty, by various knowledge "hived in" from travel and from books, and by liberal employment of the objective wealth he has derived from manifold sources from within and from without. In his second volume he has devoted a larger space to the moods of his own spiritual life: the poems in it are less picturesque, less sensuous, and, if our foregoing remarks on the proper balance of the constituents of poetry are correct, they are, as a whole, inferior to those of the first. If however we regard them as indicative of a transitional period of his mind, as a preparation for a higher lyric tone than he has yet struck, their calmness, self-possession and intense truth may be accepted as a compensation for a somewhat feebler colouring, and an occasional distrust of his imaginative powers. Truth and reality are indeed so inseparable from Mr. Trench's feelings, that they not only form the principal

characteristic of his writings, but are the cause also of what is defective in them. He defrauds his conceptions frequently of their legitimate ornaments, that nothing may interpose between the reader and the doctrine he would impress, or the emotion he is delineating. Hence he sometimes reasons rather than represents in verse, and sometimes expends his powers upon subjects like 'Honor Neale' and 'The Widow' of his second volume, *sermoni propria*, suited rather to moral illustration than to poetical treatment. But no one, we are persuaded, will ever rise from a thoughtful study of these volumes, unimpressed with a high idea of Mr. Trench's qualities as a lyric poet, or without a full conviction that he has rightly understood and chosen his vocation.

We may indeed regret in portions of them that the outline is not firmer, the form more developed, the language more enriched, or that the subject is taken from the inner rather than from the outer world. We may lament that some of the finer perceptions of the poet's earlier productions have been sacrificed in the latter to a scrupulous care for subjection, accuracy and purity of doctrine. But the moral earnestness, the intellectual discipline, the religious tone, the truthfulness and harmony of sentiment, will abide every test, and to the thoughtful reader will supply a source of permanent pleasure in these volumes.

Mr. Trench has himself pointed out (*vol. i. p. 130*) two different stages of his spiritual growth, in which his conceptions of the aim and offices of poetry were also different. We shall present our readers with productions of both; and the first shall be a lyric poem of high promise, and which, for fullness of emotion and the solemn flow of the rhythm, comes not far behind the fifth canzone of Petrarca,

"Nella stagion, che 'l ciel rapido inchina," etc.;

or the choral ode in the *Hercules Furens* of Euripides, beginning

"Ἄ νεότας μοι φίλον ἄχθος δὲ τὸ γήρας αἶε."

"ODE TO SLEEP.

"I CANNOT veil mine eyelids from the light;
I cannot turn away
From this insulting and importunate day,
That momentarily grows fiercer and more bright,

And wakes the hideous hum of monstrous flies
 In my vexed ear, and beats
 On the broad paues, and like a furnace heats
 The chamber of my rest, and bids me rise.

“ I cannot follow thy departing track,
 Nor tell in what far meadows, gentle Sleep,
 Thou art delaying. I would win thee back,
 Were mine some drowsy potion, or dull spell,
 Or charmed girdle, mighty to compel
 Thy heavy grace ; for I have heard it said,
 Thou art no flatterer, that dost only keep
 In kingly haunts, leaving unvisited
 The poor man’s lowlier shed ;
 And when the day is joyless, and its task
 Unprofitable, I were fain to ask,
 Why thou wilt give it such an ample space ?
 Why thou wilt leave us such an ample scope
 For memory, and for that which men call hope,
 Nor wind in one embrace
 Sad eve and night forlorn
 And undelightful morn ?

“ If with the joyous only were thine home,
 I would not so far wrong thee, as to ask
 This boon, or summon thee from happier task.
 But no—for then thou wouldst too often roam
 And find no rest ; for me, I cannot tell
 What tearless lids there are, where thou mightst dwell.
 I know not any, unenthralled of sorrow,
 I know not one, to whom this joyous morrow,
 So full of living motion new and bright,
 Will be a summons to secure delight.
 And thus I shall not harm thee, though I claim
 Awhile thy presence—O mysterious Sleep !
 Some call thee shadow of a mightier name,
 And whisper how that nightly thou dost keep
 A roll and count for him.—
 Then be thou on my spirit, like his presence, dim.

“ Yet if my limbs were heavy with sweet toil
 I had not needed to have wooed thy might,
 But till thy timely flight
 Had lain securely in thy peaceful coil ;
 Or if my heart were lighter, long ago
 Had crushed the dewy morn upon the sod,
 Darkening where I trod,
 As was my pleasure once, but now it is not so.

"And therefore am I seeking to entwine
A coronal of poppies for my head,
Or wreath it with a wreath engarlanded
By Lethe's slumberous waters. Oh that mine
Were some dim chamber turning to the north,
With latticed casement, bedded deep in leaves,
That opening with sweet murmur might look forth
On quiet fields from broad o'erhanging eaves,
And ever when the spring her garland weaves,
Were darkened with encroaching ivy-trail
And jagged vine-leaves' shade ;
And all its pavement starred with blossoms pale
Of jasmine, when the wind's least stir was made ;
Where the sunbeam were verdurous cool, before
It wound into that quiet nook, to paint
With interspace of light and colour faint
That tessellated floor !
How pleasant were it there in dim recess,
In some close-curtained haunt of quietness,
To hear no tones of human pain and care,
Our own or others : little heeding there,
If morn or noon or night
Pursued their weary flight ;
But musing what an easy thing it were
To mix our opiates in a larger cup,
And drink, and not perceive
Sleep deepening lead his truer kinsman up,
Like undistinguished night, darkening the skirts of eve !"

Mr. Trench, in his altered mood, will account this poem "not the utterance of his present heart," but among those in which the reader will find

"Some notes of jarring discord, some that speak
A spirit ill at ease, unharmonized."

But its inherent beauty remains, although he himself has passed into healthier and happier conditions of feeling.

In the 'Introductory Stanzas' to his second volume, Mr. Trench records the change that has taken place in his views of the legitimate province and vocation of the 'poet.' As we intend, so far as our limits will permit, to make him his own chronicler, he shall next speak in a more cheerful but not less earnest tone. After describing the helplessness of poetry alone, when called upon to make good its "large words of promise," and read the great enigma of life, until a higher

power than its own had renewed the fountains of the inner life,

“ So that he counted her an idle thing
Who, having promised much, could no true succour bring,”

he proceeds—

“ And I turned from thee, and I left thee quite,
And of thy name to hear had little care ;
For I was only seeking if by flight
I might shun *her*, who else would rend and tear
Me, who could not her riddle dark declare :—
This toil, the anguish of this flight was mine ;
Until at last, inquiring everywhere,
I won an answer from another shrine,
A holier oracle, a temple more divine.

“ But when no longer without hope I mourned,
When peace and joy revived in me anew,
Even from that moment my old love returned,
My former love, yet wiser and more true,
As seeing what for us thy power can do,
And what thy skill can make us understand
And know—and where that skill attained not to ;
How far thou canst sustain us by thy hand,
And what things shall in us a holier care demand.

“ My love of thee and thine, for earth and air,
And every common sight of sea and plain,
Then put new robes of glory on, and wear
The same till now ; and things which dead had lain
Revived, as flowers that smell the dew and rain :
I was a man again of hopes and fears,
The fountains of my heart flowed forth again,
Whose sources had seemed dry for many years,
And there was given me back the sacred gift of tears.

“ And that old hope, which never quite had perished,
A longing which had stirred me from a boy,
And which in darkest seasons I had cherished—
Which nothing could quite vanquish or destroy—
This with all other things of life and joy
Revived within me—and I too would seek
The power, that moved my own heart, to employ
On others, who perchance would hear me speak,
If but the tones were true, although the voice were weak.

“ Though now there seems one only worthy aim
For poet,—that my strength were as my will !—
And which renounce he cannot without blame—
To make men feel the presence by his skill

Of an eternal loveliness, until
All souls are faint with longing for their home,
Yet the same while are strengthened to fulfil
Their work on earth, that they may surely come
Unto the land of Life, who here as exiles roam ;

“ And what though loftiest fancies are not mine,
Nor words of chiefest power, yet unto me
Some voices reach out of the inner shrine,
Heard in mine heart of hearts, and I can see
At times some glimpses of the majesty,
Some prints and footsteps of the glory trace,
Which has been left on earth, that we might be
By them led forward to the secret place,
Where we, perchance, might see that glory face to face.

“ If in this quest, O power of sacred song !
Thou canst assist—oh never take thy flight !
If thou canst make us gladder or more strong,
If thou canst fling glimpses of glorious light
Upon life's deepest depth and highest height,
Or pour upon its low and level plain
A gleam of mellower gladness,—if this might
Thou hast—(and it is thine)—then not in vain
Are we henceforth prepared to follow in thy train.”

With this address “To Poetry” should be compared the lines entitled ‘Antignosticus,’ at page 71 of the same volume. We have not room for them entire ; and an extract would mar their truthfulness and integrity.

What the Platonic philosophy was to Petrarca and the Italian poets, the doctrines of the Church are to Mr. Trench and some of his contemporaries. The great lyric poet of Christendom was indeed eminently religious both in his feelings and character ; but his poetic employment of revealed truths was objective, rather than doctrinal or contemplative. The virgin, the saints, the angels appear to him in vision as ministrant spirits, but the teaching of the Apostles and the Church is superseded by the tenets of Plato and Cicero. In recent poetry, however, an angel, or a father of the Church, would be as little in place as Phœbus Apollo himself ; and indeed one of the most difficult problems in modern art is to discover a probable mythology. Yet philosophical, or even religious ideas are indifferent substitutes for the old mechanism of poetry, when neither relieved by graceful and accredited

fiction, nor veiled as formerly under a lofty and mysterious symbolism. Mr. Trench has sometimes injured his conceptions by his desire to enforce them as spiritual truths; yet in a much less degree than either the author of the 'Christian Year,' or the contributors to the *Lyra Apostolica*, whose gift of versifying a text is both extraordinary and unpleasant. He has better discriminated the essentially religious nature of poetry from its accidental fitness for conveying opinions. We take, almost at random, the following instances of skilful expansion of scriptural sentiment and imagery from his second volume.

“ THE LAW OF LOVE.

(Kings II. ch. iv. 1—6.)

“ Pour forth the oil, pour boldly forth;
It will not fail until
Thou failest vessels to provide
Which it may largely fill.

“ But then, when such are found no more,
Though flowing broad and free
Till then, and nourished from on high,
It straightway stanch'd will be.

“ Dig channels for the stream of Love,
Where they may broadly run,
And Love has overflowing streams
To fill them every one;

“ But if at any time thou cease
Such channels to provide,
The very founts of Love for thee
Will soon be parched and dried.

“ For we must share, if we would keep
That good thing from above;
Ceasing to give, we cease to have,—
This is the Law of Love.”

“ ON THE BAPTISM OF

“ On Easter Eve how beautiful a sight,
On that day's vigil which the Lord had made,
To have beholden in their vestments white
The happy troop of Neophytes arrayed,
New washed, and waiting now with joyful cheer
To hail that morn, the gladdest of the year!

- “ Or on that other not less solemn day—
Day when the Lord his promised Spirit gave—
It must have been fair prospect to survey
His snowy flock ascending from the wave,
Thenceforward under their true Shepherd’s care
To living streams of water to repair.
- “ But if for thee is no such solemn rite,
Yet neither one, dear babe, done carelessly
In vacant aisle, and huddled out of sight—
But all the whole assembly standing by,
In hope and trust that many faithful hearts
Will in those earnest pleadings bear their parts.
- “ And may the honey and the milk be thine,
Known to thy spiritual taste, the first fruits sweet
Of that rich promised country, land divine,
Whither thou travellest now with pilgrim feet—
As babes by milk, so nourished by the word,
Its honey sweetness to all else preferred.
- “ As though the lighted tapers in thy hand
Had been placed duly, so henceforward live ;
By the true light illumined take thy stand ;
Thyself a light, bright light about thee give,
Issuing with furnished lamp and ready feet,
The bridegroom in the middle night to greet.
- “ Thou too must toward the orient turn thy face,
Since the way lieth Paradise, whose gates
Have been to thee re-opened by this grace ;
And turning him that way the watcher waits
The rising sun to cheer him and to bless—
Emblem of Him, our sun of righteousness.
- “ And we will see thee in white robes arrayed,
The mystic garments of pure innocence ;
Oh ! might their primal glory never fade !
That thou might’st keep them still without offence !
Pledge of yet brighter robes one day to be,
The glistening robes of immortality.
- “ Thine too the anointing with the holy oil,
That thou may’st struggle through the contest hard,
Not shrinking from the burden and the toil—
A Christian Athlete—and at his award,
The master of the games, in time to wear
The victor’s wreath, the amaranth garland fair.

“ And thou shalt early learn what right is thine,
 Upon thy lips to take the dearest name
 Of Father, kneeling at the inner shrine,
 And all chief blessings of God’s house to claim—
 ‘ Our Father,’ with all confidence to say,
 And boldly use the childrens’ prayer away.”

The two following poems belong to a different class, yet harmonize in depth and beauty of feeling with the mood of the foregoing. The longer extract, for its impressive and living truth, may stand beside the ‘ Matthew’ of Wordsworth.

“ Our course is onward, onward into light ;
 What though the darkness gathereth amain,
 Yet to return or tarry, both are vain.
 How tarry, when around us is thick night ?
 Whither return ? what flower yet ever might,
 In days of gloom and cold and stormy rain,
 Enclose itself in its green bud again,
 Hiding from wrath of tempest out of sight ?
 Courage ! we travel through a darksome cave ;
 But still as nearer to the light we draw,
 Fresh gales will reach us from the upper air,
 And wholesome dews of heaven our foreheads lave ;
 The darkness lighten more, till full of awe
 We stand in the open sunshine unaware.”

“ A WALK IN A CHURCH-YARD.

“ We walked within the church-yard bounds,
 My little boy and I—
 He, laughing, running happy rounds,
 I pacing mournfully.

“ ‘ Nay, child ! it is not well,’ I said,
 ‘ Among the graves to shout,
 To laugh and play among the dead,
 And make this noisy rout.’

“ A moment to my side he clung,
 Leaving his merry play,
 A moment stilled his joyous tongue,
 Almost as hushed as they.

“ Then, quite forgetting the command
 In life’s exulting burst
 Of early glee, let go my hand,
 Joyous as at the first.

- " And now I did not check him more,
For taught by Nature's face,
I had grown wiser than before,
Even in that moment's space.
- " *She* spread no funeral pall above
That patch of church-yard ground,
But the same azure vault of love
As hung o'er all around.
- " And white clouds o'er that spot would pass,
As freely as elsewhere ;
The sunshine on no other grass
A richer hue might wear.
- " And, formed from out that very mould
In which the dead did lie,
The daisy with its eye of gold
Looked up into the sky.
- " The rook was wheeling over head,
Nor hastened to be gone ;
The small bird did its glad notes shed,
Perched on a grey head-stone.
- " And God, I said, would never give
This light upon the earth,
Nor bid in childhood's heart to live
These springs of gushing mirth,
- " If our one wisdom were to mourn,
And linger with the dead,
To nurse, as wisest, thoughts forlorn
Of worm and earthy bed.
- " Oh no, the glory Earth puts on,
The child's unchecked delight,
Both witness to a triumph won—
(If we but judged aright)
- " A triumph won o'er sin and death,
From these the Saviour saves ;
And, like a happy infant, Faith
Can play among the graves."

In his 'Century of Couplets' Mr. Trench has embodied much pregnant wisdom, and some very beautiful sentiments. We are not quite sure whether compelling thought into such brief limits, and occasionally into rather quaint forms, is not a squandering of the poetical wealth of longer compositions. Yet there are ample precedents in favour of the 'Couplets,'

among which Mr. Trench's may take their place, 'Solon' and 'Theognis', the more earnest of the Greek epigrams, and the Venetian epigrams of Goethe. A few of those before us contain perhaps in themselves no justifying reason for their being written in verse, and in a second edition might be exchanged for more imaginative forms of thought. The following appear to us to possess great merit :—

" Lovingly to each other sun and moon give place,
Else were the mighty heaven for them too narrow space."

" God's dealings still are love ; his chastenings are alone
Love now compelled to take an altered louder tone."

" From our ill-ordered hearts we oft are fain to roam,
As men go forth who find unquietness at home."

" Envy detects the spots in the clear orb of light,
And love the little stars in the gloomiest, saddest night."

" Wake not a dreamer, if, his vision being fled,
Thou canst not give him aught of truer in its stead."

" Till life is coming back our death we do not feel ;
Light must be entering in our darkness to reveal."

" Ill fares the child of heaven, who will not entertain
On earth the stranger's grief, the exile's sense of pain."

" I heard a man proclaim all men were wholly base ;
One such at once I knew there stood before my face."

" Each dark unloving thought the mirror helps to stain,
Which should God's image true give back to us again."

" All noblest things are still the commonest ; every place
Has water, light and air, and God's abounding grace."

" Oh ! wherefore in such haste in men's sight to appear ?
The cedar yields no fruit until its fiftieth year."

Our last extract from Mr. Trench's volume shall be a poem which combines in a few stanzas every excellence of his style, clearness of expression, truthfulness of sentiment, and simplicity of form.

" TO AN INFANT SLEEPING.

" Oh ! drinking deep of slumber's holy wine,
Whence may the smile that lights thy countenance be ?
We seek in vain the mystery to divine ;
For in thy dim unconscious infancy

No games as yet, no playfellows are thine,
To stir in waking hours such thoughts of glee,
As recollected in thine innocent dream
Might shed across thy face this happy gleam.

"It may be, though small notice thou canst take,
Thou feelest that an atmosphere of love
Is ever round thee, sleeping or awake :
Thou wakest, and kind faces from above
Bend o'er thee—when thou sleepest, for thy sake
All sounds are hushed, and each doth gently move :
And this dim consciousness of tender care
Has caused thy cheek this light of joy to wear.

"Or it may be, thoughts deeper than we deem
Visit an infant's slumbers—God is near,
Angels are talking to them in their dream,
Angelic voices whispering sweet and clear :
And round them lies that region's holy gleam,
But newly left, and light which is not here ;
And thus has come that smile upon thy face,
At tidings brought thee from thy native place.

"But whatsoe'er the causes which beguiled
That dimple on thy countenance, it is gone ;
Fair is the lake disturbed by ripple mild,
But not less fair when ripple it has none ;
And now what deep repose is thine, dear child,
What smoothness thy unruffled cheek has won !
Oh ! who that gazed upon thee could forbear
The silent breathing of an heart-felt prayer !"

Our extracts have been made from neither of the poems which respectively give their titles to these volumes, nor from the beautiful legend with which the former of them concludes : for since every reader will have his own objects of preference, the utmost we can do is to point out the leading characteristics of an author, and the general principles by which he should be tried. By our quotations we have attempted to define and give an idea of Mr. Trench's qualities as a poet, and we hope they have been such as will induce the reader to continue for himself the discovery of further and perhaps higher excellencies. But the longer poems, 'Sabbation,' 'Gertrude of Saxony,' 'The Story of Justin Martyr,' etc., although the space they occupy is not great, would have exceeded our limits, and at the same time have been injured by partial transcription. Nor, since the story has in each case

been borrowed, could these poems have been produced as specimens of invention and narration. From the skill, however, with which the poetical features in the legends of the 'Monk and Bird' and 'Gertrude of Saxony' have been seized by Mr. Trench, we are disposed to think highly of his powers in narrative poetry; and among his future productions we shall gladly welcome any which assume this continuous form. For although "an excellent ballad" may be better than a score of indifferent epics, yet the habit of breaking up imaginative thought into brief unconnected forms renders the poet unadventurous, and narrows the compass of art. The stanzas which usher in the cantos of the 'Orlando' and the 'Faëry Queen' might singly have been minor poems of exquisite beauty; but in their present position they are the graceful portals to lofty and continuous structures of "compact imagination." The example of Petrarca may indeed be alleged against us; but the simple elements with which he works, and his deep idealism, impart to his sonnets a subjective unity which no other lyrical compositions possess. The lamp of Catullus burns sometimes with intenser light than the orb of Virgil: yet should we therefore prefer the 'Atys' or the 'Marriage of Thetis' to the *Georgics* or the *Æneid*? "Amplitude of dimensions," it is well remarked by a profound living critic, "is requisite to constitute the greatness of a poet, besides his symmetry of form and his richness of decoration."

In his narrative poems Mr. Trench has entered upon a field capable, we are persuaded, of affording rich materials to future art. 'The Story of Justin Martyr' indicates the source from which it is derived. 'The Monk and Bird'—which, perhaps, of all his compositions, shows the richest fancy and the greatest metrical skill—comes from a "huge and antique volume,"

"That by two solemn clasps was duly bound,
As neither to be opened or laid by
But with due thought profound."

'Sabbation' and 'Gertrude of Saxony' are taken, the one from the Hebrew tradition of the sabbatical river, the other from a medieval legend, and both are deeply imbued with the imaginative beauty that at intervals surprises and glad-

dens the student of ecclesiastical and rabbinical literature. Setting aside, as comparatively better known, the great prose epic of Augustine, 'The City of God,' and the grand lyrical tones of his 'Confessions,' the Latin fathers especially abound in *disjecta membra* of solemn, passionate and sublime thought. But what is apt in them for poetical uses, must be redeemed from the barren waste of controversy, and from the turbid dross of a rapidly declining idiom, by some hand as skilful as Mr. Trench's in the art of reproduction. Whether, however, his genius prompts him to this or other tasks, the merit of his present volumes is such as to ensure to his future works, from all thoughtful readers, a ready welcome and no ordinary expectations. His first volume has already reached a second edition; his later one is, we understand, out of print. We dare not call him a *popular* author, for the term implies either an eminence he would be the first to disavow, or qualities he would eagerly reject. But here is evidence that his faithful delineations, his earnest piety, his pure taste and his graceful and dignified language, have already found "fit audience," and awakened in many hearts the grateful resonance of kindred feelings.

ARTICLE VI.

1. *Wesen und Geschichte Der Oper, etc.* Von GOTTFRIED WILHELM FINK. Leipsig, 1838.
2. *Memoirs of the Musical Drama.* By GEORGE HOGARTH. 2 Vols. Bentley, London, 1838.

NOT the least interesting sections in the domain of Art are those which, as it were, skirt the borders of its several provinces: where dramatic Personification has affinity to Sculpture; or where Sculpture and Painting lie closely side by side; or where the artist with his colours and the poet with his words so closely illustrate each other, that either standing alone would be incomplete and want significance; or

where Music claims a near kindred and connexion with all the above-mentioned developments of The Beautiful,—as in Opera, our object of remark and examination.

The present moment is peculiarly fitted for such a task. There is a pause in the lyric drama, as regards invention and creation. Its giants in composition have passed away: their successors are ingloriously silent or over-scrupulously dilatory,—its great singers in Italy and Germany, as a generation, are waning rather than exhibiting the hopeful promise of youth. We have been living in times of peace, which are times of a cosmopolitan interchange of national fancies and commodities. Germany has been of late content to receive her opera-music from the Académie Royale and Opéra Comique of Paris. France has sent forth her singers to acquaint themselves with the vocal mysteries of Italy, and to replace in San Carlo and La Scala the Grisis and Rubinis and Lablaches. These, again, the Milanese and Neapolitans are obliged to yield to the temptations of French and British gold; while England has been bestirring herself to bring home and to understand those master-works of European renown, which, if she knows late, she loves well. What if some of those changes and convulsions which periodically sweep the earth, clearing the atmosphere above it, be required to awaken national genius, by quickening national ambition? To predict new inspirations for the Italian, German, or French lyric drama, as the result of a war, may, however, be more of a paradox than a prophecy. Were it the latter, and sibylline in its far-sightedness, who would desire its fulfilment? Without imagining such a momentous event as necessary to the flourishing of a peaceful and poetical art, we cannot regard the present time of expectation in Music as betokening its decay and extinction; but as a period in which breath is taken and energy mustered for new achievements, and seed sown, the harvest from which shall be sound and abundant. To believe that there shall be no more Beethovens, Webers and Rossinis, no more Pastas, Malibrans and Lablaches, would be to close our eyes to experience and reason; and, with a fond and irrational prejudice, to repeat the complaint made one hundred and twenty years ago by Benedetto Marcello, when, in his satirical *Il Teatro della moda*, he indulged

his spleen by holding up his contemporaries to ridicule, under pretence of propping the tottering edifices of the lyric drama and uplifting a true man's lamentation over its impending and inevitable downfall.

In speaking of the present position of Opera, some slight view, of course, must be taken of the immediate steps by which it has reached its resting-place. To indulge in speculations upon its birth and earlier pilgrimage would lead into labours too voluminous to be reducible within any reasonable space,—too visionary to have much determinate value. The series of facts hitherto collected on the subject is not sufficiently complete to enable the essayist, by distillation, to present in a small space the essential causes and circumstances which coloured and formed the music of the three European schools when they assumed a separate existence. The history of the lyric drama in Italy, it is true, is tolerably circumstantial. We know how the Church, in the first instance, availed herself of Music and Personification, as also of Painting, to maintain her own influence over the people, by connecting the satisfaction of those desires of the imagination, in which the ear has its part of craving as well as the eye, with the shadowing out of the mysteries of Christian faith and tradition. We know how the Oratorio, acted in churches and convents, gradually began to be alternated with more secular entertainments given by the nobility in their *palazzi* on state occasions;—how saints and scriptural personages were exchanged for the goddesses and the heroes of antiquity;—how the grave and impressive phrases of ecclesiastical psalmody (probably in the first instance the model of all declamatory music) were melted and secularized into a less solemn and more excursive recitative: while the national instinct for melody and appetite for rhythm made inevitable a further introduction of those symmetrical movements which have subsequently been accepted, not merely as episodal, but also as essential to the expression of the passions of the lyric drama. And such knowledge brings us to the middle of the seventeenth century, when a taste for the Italian opera spread itself into France and Germany; and the amusement, laying by its exotic character, began, like other naturalized plants, to derive a recognizable individuality of trait and colour.

from the soil and the climate in which it had taken root. But how the ground was prepared in either country, we can do little more than guess. Here and there in the annalists and historians we meet with a name, but the facts are few. We are told of this and the other epoch, without being presented with the slightest distinguishing characteristic, save such as Fancy permits itself to form, by reasoning analogically upon the influence on Art which national manners, temperament, climate and political position exercise, and have always exercised. Most remarkable is it, that even from that distinctive period we have mentioned, at which Germany began to possess a national school of composition, we are almost entirely left to conjecture for the best part of another hundred years, as to what was going on therein. Betwixt the names of Opitz and Schütz, who, about the year 1630, adapted the 'Dafne' of Rinuccini to the German stage, and of Gluck, how long and all but Cimmerian is the blank in the history of German opera! A notice or two of the Hamburg Theatre, where the children of the earlier "gesangspiele" were presented with great preparation and splendour, and the names of Gryphius, Dedekind, Theil—who exercised his talents upon no less primitive a subject than the story of Adam and Eve,—Franck, Krieger, Keiser—as voluminous an opera manufacturer in his time as Donizetti,—have come down to us, but almost entirely unaccompanied by traces of their music. Surely, in these days, when active research into the earliest attempts of the artist is deemed little less essential to the student than theoretical acquaintance with the first principles of Art, some labour were well bestowed on the disinterment of these entirely forgotten works, and on the collection of the few and disjointed traditions and anecdotes of their performance that may still exist.

Necessity then, no less than discretion, confines the argument of this article to the more recent days of Opera. Till within the last hundred years, indeed, it had hardly been matured into such a form as brings it upon the debateable land betwixt Music, Drama and the *belles lettres*, where the general critic may meet it. This assertion is not advanced in forgetfulness of the cumbrous and magnificent pageantries of

ancient French opera, for which Quinault wrote the verses, and Lulli and Campra and Rameau the music. But it was a pageant for the eye, rather than the ear or the heart. The *arti Francesi* of the singers, and the crudity and formality of the orchestra, overlaid such intrinsic idea or grace as the music might possess; while the march of the drama was interrupted by those pompous interludes and ballets, which must have suspended to extinction all the interest which the fortunes of Titan and Aurora or Atys could inspire. French opera was then little more than a swathed and trammelled infant laid out in a diamond cradle. Even Italian opera, which was far in advance of all its contemporaries, was, at the epoch at which we commence, purely vocal. The resources of Music, as applied to the stage, had been most imperfectly developed. The lyric drama had singers, but as yet no orchestra; actors, but without fitting occupation. Nor is it difficult to assign a reason for this disproportion. Though the gifts of melodious invention and vocal facility would seem to be closely akin to each other, and bestowed upon the children of the South in no common measure, the one ripened far faster than the other; and while the musician was labouring in his cell among his chords to clothe in a rich and worthy dress the airs which some wind or sunbeam had brought him from the vineyards or the blue seas of Italy, and to master the powers of an orchestral language, to the alphabet of which every new year added a new letter, the singer, already fortified with rules and traditions and having his voice within a thought's summons, was winning golden opinions from the world, and loving his task best when he could most largely ascribe to his own skill and his own inspirations the glory of his triumph. How great was that skill, and how enthralling that inspiration, not only the musical chronicles teach us, but also the less exclusively artistic records of the time. The Italian singer has indeed always been a distinct figure, not only in the history of Music, but in the chronicle of European society: the same unchanged and strongly-marked compound of impertinence and passion, with impulses of genius sufficient to constrain the sympathies of the coldest, and splendour of natural endowments to dazzle the judgment of those least easily led astray.

The bitterness of the sneer which, from time to time, satirists "without music in their souls" have vented against these spoiled children of fortune, is not the least emphatic testimony to their individuality and their consequence. What a life, divided between stage tinsel and court favour, has been their common lot! A Farinelli bandying courtesies with the grandees of Spain; a Galli, counting on her knees the Duchess of Ossuna's homage of expensive trinkets, "carelessly heaped up," to quote Beckford, "upon a magnificent salver of massive silver, two or three feet in diameter;" a Gabrielli, in her moods as changeful and magnificent as Cleopatra herself, shut up in a state prison for capriciously refusing to enchant the ears of royal personages; a Crescentini decorated with honorary insignia by the hands of the modern king-maker, Napoleon; a Malibran received with royal honours; a Lablache made matter of correspondence among the crowned heads of Europe!—can it be wondered, that the pampered and unintellectual egotism, the consciousness of supreme power to delight or to deny, the necessity for flattery and homage, which such a position must tend to engender, should also leave traces not to be mistaken in the progress of Art?

Though strong men, such as Pergolesi and Leo and Durante and Jomelli, could from time to time make the *maestro* as well as the singer heard in Italian opera, nevertheless, as the epoch receded, when, the sacred and secular drama being one, a basis of grave theoretical knowledge was demanded of him who wrote for the stage,—we shall find the Italian composers as a body yielding to the temptation of pleasing at a small expense of labour and skill; abandoning themselves to their melodic instinct; and confining themselves to furnishing for the favourite of the hour such canvas as he might best embroider with all the fancies which his natural organic gifts or his imagination enabled him to produce. Be it remembered too, that orchestral composition, that strong counter-check to the predominance of the singer, has never been followed up in Italy to any extent. The concertos of Corelli and Scarlatti are probably the most recent instrumental works of any pretension which have been there listened to with approval. The national temperament is

opposed to it. With the Italians music is a sense, a passion, an instinct—not a thought; and by the time that the great German masters had begun, by invention and combination, to give to mere instruments a pertinence, a meaning and a value hitherto unexplained, their southern neighbours in Art had become riveted in *dolce far niente* preferences as to Music,—a state, in which the introduction of new and vigorous elements of contrast and colour would have been felt as a too rude disturbance of their genial abandonment to all pleasurable sensations.

Once more, in his own circumscribed sphere of action, subservient as he was to the singers, the musician was bound under other shackles, tending to the enervation of his race. It is enough to remind the student for how long a period the Italian composer was, by a process most Mezentian, as regarded the vigour and truth of his thoughts, united with that unnatural coadjutor,—the artificial *soprano*. Fashion, for once on the side of pure taste, has abolished this; but, with the caprices of Nature at her side, she has since in turn espoused *contralti* of a tenor depth, and tenors of a *soprano* height, and ordained that these shall be provided with employment for their preternatural resources as peremptorily as she would of old have commanded war-songs for a Rubinelli, or given over the affecting part of the father in “Agnese” to the peacock-like pathos of a Marchesi.

The singer, acting through the composer, exercised his despotism on the least seen, yet not least important member of the dramatic partnership, the poet. Alone, there was little temptation for the latter to wrestle for strength and originality. “Like the beasts of old entering Noah’s ark two and two,” says Father Prout quaintly but forcibly, “the couplets of the Italian versifier pair themselves of their own accord without the least trouble.” Nor was the decay of manhood in the society of his country likely to give him nerve and tone in performing his task of *libretto*-making. If the adorers of the popular vocalists were contented to hear the august heroes and matrons of their own Rome (within the very shadow, as it were, of its ruins,) sigh out their “*Dimmi’s*” and “*Dove’s*” in strains only befitting the Mirtillos or Dorindas of an Arcadian pastoral,—if to the musician

a text was sufficient provided it included a sufficient quantity of "*dolce speme*" and "*Felicità*," and the other catch-words and magical syllables upon which the singer finds it so pleasant to rest or so brilliant to flourish,—what ingredient of force was there in the opera-poet's composition to rescue him from the feeblest common-places of language, from the most obvious or most absurd stage effects, in place of the deeper and less hackneyed combinations of passion and action? What was there to save him from a neglect of all construction, save such as sufficed to bring the Signor or the Signora of the hour sufficiently often before the public for its satisfaction and that of the artist's own vanity? Metastasio, indeed, brought to his task the ambition of a scholar and a poet, instead of the indifference of a manufacturer; besides a genius for dramatic contrivance and such a power of versification, that his separate *arie* were, when written, set to music by the sweetness of their own harmonious syllables. But even Metastasio was not strong enough entirely to hold himself superior to the trammels, which the artificial canons of Art ill-understood, shaped by Taste presumptuous in its ignorance or emasculated in its frivolity, threw around him; still less was he one of those vigorous men, belonging to no country, whose genius, like that of Handel and Haydn and Gluck and Beethoven, moves in advance of its epoch. We find him, nearly seventy years ago, lamenting with Dr. Burney, "that theatrical music was become too instrumental, and that the cantatas of the beginning of this (the seventeenth) century, which were sung with no other accompaniment than a harpsichord or violoncello, required better singing than the present songs, in which the noisy accompaniment can hide defects as well as beauties, and give relief to the singer*." And it is owing to these conditions of his time

* See also Metastasio's letter to Jomelli, upon the latter having availed himself of the then recent German discoveries to *balance* his compositions by enriching their orchestral parts. And yet, in a letter to Farinelli, written in 1750, the dramatic poet shows glimpses of apprehension as to the influence which the great vocalists of Italy might, even then, exercise upon the music of that country. "In Italy, at present," says he, "there is a taste for nothing but extravagance and vocal symphonies, in which we sometimes hear an excellent violin, flute, or oboe, but never the voice of a human creature: so that music is intended now to excite no other emotion but that of surprise. Things are carried to such an extent, that, if not soon reformed, we shall jointly become the buffoons of all other nations. Composers and

—to this conviction of the overweening importance of vocal display, and the sacrifices which, on principle, he made to it, —that he has been unable to leave behind him in his opera-books dramas possessing sufficient inherent strength and vitality to survive the labours of the creative and executive artists to whom they were entrusted, the Anfossis and the Caffarellis of his day.

Let us exhibit one specimen of the trammels to which an Italian opera-poet, at the middle of the last century, was compelled to submit.

“In the structure of an Italian opera,” says Mr. Hogarth, speaking of the period in question, “the number of characters was generally limited to six, three of each sex; and, if it was not a positive rule, it was at least a practice hardly ever departed from, to make them all lovers. The principal male and female singers were each to have airs of all the different kinds. The piece was to be divided into three acts, and not to exceed a certain number of verses. It was required that each scene should terminate with an air; that the same character should not have two airs in succession; that an air should not be followed by one of the same class, and that the principal airs of the piece should conclude the first and second acts. In the second and third acts there should be a *scena* consisting of an accompanied recitative, an air of execution, and a grand duet sung by the hero and heroine. There were occasional choruses; but this and other concerted pieces were unknown, except in the *opera buffa*, where they were beginning to be introduced.”

A long account of the “different kinds” of airs is subjoined: these were the *aria cantabile*, the *aria di portamento*, the *aria di mezzo carattere*, the *aria parlante* and the *aria di bravura*. Lord Mount Edgumbe, though he, too, “notices that a *prima donna* would formerly have complained at having less than three or four airs allotted to her,” gives a different, though no less arbitrary receipt, according to which the compositions of a later period were constructed. “In serious “operas,” he says, “while they were in three acts, the two “first were ended by a duet of the first man and woman (or “first and second *soprano*), and a *terzett* with the tenor; the “inferior singers never joined in any concerted piece.”

performers being ambitious only of tickling the ears, without ever thinking of the hearts of the audience, are generally condemned, in every theatre, to the disgraceful office of degrading the acts of an opera into *intermezzi* for the dances, which occupy the chief attention of the spectators. And it is to you, my good master, that this degeneracy is owing. It is your happy and wonderful powers, which all are striving in vain to emulate.”

The days of these absurd and artificial distinctions are gone by. They were already passing, indeed, some sixty years since: but the composers and opera poets of Italy, not shaking off the subservience to the singers, gained freedom without gaining strength. Indeed, if the reasoning deduced from the facts we have rapidly sketched be not sophistical, its result must be to establish as one characteristic of Italian opera—an admitted indifference on the part of both composer and dramatist to propriety of character and progression of incident. Nor in stating this is forgotten the strong line of demarcation between *opera seria* and *opera buffa*—between the legends of classical heroism and the whimsical modern conversation-pieces arranged in lyrical form. Save the rapidly-uttered strings of words given to the singers in their scolding or jocose scenes, there is hardly a characteristic which is not as common to the tragic as to the burlesque opera-music of Italy. On the other hand, our allusion to these lighter compositions, which on the stage sparkle with lively grace and busy drollery, recalls to us a singular evidence of the disregard just stated,—a carelessness and want of enterprise in the choice of subjects for Opera. It is impossible, in running over the thousand Italian *libretti* betwixt the days of Piccini and Ricci, not to be wearied by the platitude or shocked by the unfitness of the stories selected for musical illustration;—not to feel contempt at the poet's meagreness of invention, when it is recollected how rich his literature is in *Novelle*, where whimsical and surprising adventures abound, ready made for the dramatist's uses. It is strange, indeed, to find Richardson's Pamela and Garrick's Mrs. Heidelberg figuring on a stage which might have shown the "*audaci imprese*" of Boccaccio's cavaliers,—or the adventures of the less vivid, but still sprightly and picturesque creatures who animate the stories of Bandello and Sacchetti. It is strange, that the sources which could yield Portia, the Lady of Belmont, and Giletta of Narbonne the physician's Daughter, and Hero "done to death by slanderous tongues," and the gentle shipwrecked Viola, and Imogen, fairest of all the fair, to our Shakspeare, should have been left comparatively untouched; while the less romantic tales of English household life and manners,—from which all delicate

and characteristic traits must be erased, ere outlines are revealed broad and simple enough for the musician's purposes,—should in preference have been selected as inspirations for his lovely and honeyed melodies. It might have been thought, that even the gambols of Arlechino and Colombina, those racy and picturesque children of the soil, would be more attractive to the Italian than feeble translations of the *esprit* of the Figaro and Susanna of Beaumarchais;—than the sayings and doings of those more threadbare personages of the English *comédie larmoyante* or the vulgar farce,—the angry father, and the jealous guardian with Lydia Languish for his ward, and the lover after the Belville or Claremont pattern, who still figure in their opera-books! Neither have the marvels of Fantasy been much more in favour with the Italian librettists: else had they long ago found in the *Fiabe* of Carlo Gozzi—those delicious mixtures of human passion and supernatural machinery, than which the *Fantasiestücke* of Hoffmann themselves are not more enchantingly extravagant,—a store of faëry lore enough to have kept alive a century of carnivals. The most promising opportunities, if fallen upon by chance, are unimproved: Cinderella, besides being deposed from the glories of her pumpkin-coach and its team, as rare in its way as the “little atomies” which drew Queen Mab’s chariot, has been allowed, in their indolent and unbelieving hands, to lose her glass slipper! And—to return for a moment to grave subjects—how has all the sublime mystery of the finest fate-tragedy of modern times, the ‘Bride of Lammermoor’—how have the prophecy and the vision of the Mermaiden’s Fountain, and the three hags crouching on the churchyard stone, and the changed pictures at the ball (all incidents of the deepest dramatic interest), been overlooked in the miserable love-tragedy based upon Scott’s novel! These two pieces excepted, it would be hard to cite an Italian opera in which a supernatural or fantastic subject, of a later date than classical mythology, has been attempted. Can it be, that modern superstitious Italy—where the *jattatore* still exercises the authority of the Evil Eye; where lucky days* and numbers are still anxiously

* An illustration of this disposition occurs to us, which, from its close connection with the subject of this article, is not to be resisted. It is furnished in one of

studied, and the prophecies of the fortune-teller—that degenerate descendant of the Sibyl—are implicitly credited,—has neither ghosts, save, perhaps, the White Lady of Coll’ Alto, nor fairies? Our question is worth an answer.

The task in hand is neither a history nor a *catalogue raisonnée*; and to mention, were it ever so transiently, the names of all those whose works make up the sum of fact, from which conclusions may be drawn, would be a thriftless labour—composers and opera-poets having most of them proved as ephemeral as the voices that breathed their notes and words. Yet a name or two must be dwelt upon as marking a period, or as associated with permanent achievement. The first within our limit is that of Jomelli, who in his later works had advanced so far before his time and his public, that his music, according to Mattei, was denounced by the Italians “as too rough and German, and pleasing them less “than the songs of the *gondolieri*, and airs with few accompaniments and many graces and divisions.” Alas! how little of even Jomelli has survived, save a few of his ecclesiastical pieces, and the *Chaconne*, copied out in many an old music-book! And what has become of the contemporary high-priest of the lyric Thalia—the gay and popular Piccini, whose ‘Cecchina’ gave fashions of dress to the Italian *Conversazioni*, and signs to shops and *osterie*, and was praised by Jomelli as an invention, because in the separate portions of that composition new and effective forms were given to familiar combinations of characters? Piccini,—who possessed a clear-sightedness as to the nature of the means in a musician’s command, not often confessed and not often felt by his contemporaries, if we are to put faith in his delicate

Madame Malibran’s letters from Venice, dated March 28th, 1835, and published in Madame Merlin’s flimsy memoirs of that most wonderful of modern singers. “I must relate to you,” says the letter-writer, “an incident that occurred previous to our arrival. You are aware that they have a lottery in this city, and that, as in Naples, the lower orders are fond of trying their luck in it. Like the Italians, full of every kind of superstition, my coming appeared to them a happy omen; they therefore combined the four numbers connected with my appearance: ten, the cantatrice (*there being ten letters in the word*); seventeen, the day of the month when I was first announced; twenty-four, the date of my *début*; and six, the number of my performances. Would you believe it? the four numbers turned up prizes, and the very lowest gainer won nine hundred Austrian livres. From this circumstance, my arrival was regarded as a happy augury to the city of Venice, and I am followed about and cheered by the people accordingly.”—*Memoirs of Madame Malibran*, by the Countess de Merlin, vol. i. p. 216. (Eng. edition.)

and thoughtful classification of qualities and uses of the instruments of the orchestra, reported by M. Ginguéné?—He too is as good as forgotten. Is it not fair then to assume that there must have been something essentially perishable in the materials with which these gifted men wrought;—something insufficient in the canons of their school,—a deficiency of loftiness of aspiration, or of depth in foundation? We cannot admit, as some have fancied, that the nature of all opera-music is but to endure for a score of years; we shall have to speak of works destined, according to all appearance, to a far longer immortality; nay, turning back, we may point to opera-songs of Handel's, which, though their text be changed, are as fresh in public favour as on the day of their composition, because they have had *idea* to keep them alive. Without idea, as distinguished from the outward and more sensual graces of form and colour, no work of musical art can hope to be long remembered.

The name of Cimarosa recalls in good time an evidence that an Italian opera need not of necessity be obsolete because it was composed before the reign of trumpet and drum accompaniment, "and crude German harmony," began. It is most pleasant, after drawing out a character, which may by some be thought harshly pedantic, to do homage to this fascinating composer, the mantle of whose genial spirit and natural melody has had but one wearer since his departure. Cimarosa's music lives because it is vigorous as well as genial and natural; simple in its ideas, but not sickly. He gave himself, with all the devotion of his countrymen, to the display of those delicious voices which are lavished so bountifully upon Italy; but, whilst ministering to the fullest luxury of their development, he preserved his own place, his own importance; he held fast his own clear, if not very profound, view of the subject before him. That he could be passionate himself, as well as affording scope for the passion of his interpreter, that magnificent well-known scene, *Deh parlate!* testifies. This the student of expression can hardly study enough when he is in an Italian humour; for that there are other modes of rendering the deepest emotions in music, he will find when his German sympathies lead him to Agatha's great scene in 'Der Freischütz.' In 'Gli Orazi,' too, there

are passages of a majestic inspiration, bearing upon them the stamp of no period, belonging to no chosen soprano or contralto or tenor, but in elevated strains breathing the heroism of the gorgeous days of the Eternal City ;—in their melodious and rhythmical forms as essentially national as the Saints and Graces of—we should have said—Titian ; but he has his closer parallel in Cimarosa's successor, the yet more abundant and florid Rossini ! Needs it to specify the *terzetto Quando nel campo*, the duet *Se torni il vincitor*, the scene *Qual densa notte*, the grand final duet *Svenami* ? Those to whom these fine compositions of the older school are strangers, will find in them a loftiness of idea, an all but entire absence of mannerism*, and a propriety of adaptation of sound to sense, difficult, after their kind, to surpass. It must, however, be borne in mind, that the most vigorous and deep-thoughted among the Italians never apply themselves to that close and literal illustration of passion and expression by treating every separate word with the tone presumed appropriate, which has been employed so felicitously by some of the Germans, though on narrow and partial views of Art. The student will find Cimarosa sparingly resort to the minor, never to the extreme keys ;—will perceive how his accompaniments move in busy and graceful figures, but with little more attempt, on the part of the composer, at using the instruments as colours, than is made in the old and direct association of the trumpet to deeds of arms ;—will learn the full value of his recitative if it be compared with some of the specimens thrown out by popular *Maestri* of the day. It would have been easier for Cimarosa to have imagined the most noisily crowded *finale* completed by these, than for them to rise to the height of the simple but admirable climax of the declaimed dialogue between Orazia and Curiazio, which precedes their last duet, the *Svenami*, already mentioned.

* The number of *florimenti* indeed contained in these compositions is singularly small, and those employed are of the simplest and most familiar forms, which never grow old ; how different from the interminable trills, and beats, and Corelli-passages, in which Cimarosa's predecessors sacrificed to Farinelli and Marchesi, etc. etc. ! The use of the *appogiatura*, however, as the composer of 'Gli Orzi' constantly employs it, is now very nearly as obsolete as the venerable turn, under cover of which so many of the English singers sought to evade the responsibility of Handel's long-drawn notes, or as the sickly reiteration of the last note but one of the phrase by the newest Italian singers will be ten years hence.

With all these excellences, however, Cimarosa's serious opera has stood the tests of Time and Change less triumphantly than his comic master-piece, 'Il Matrimonio,' that gayest, freshest, most *genuine* of comedies, as far as comedy can be rendered in Music; for the story, save inasmuch as it is complicated and made droll by Don Geronimo's hopeless deafness (and who that ever saw Lablache in that part will forget it?), is but a weak transcript of a faded original, admitting of no adventitious pomp of scenery or array of chorus to amuse the eye or to relieve the ear. Here again, and more signally than in any other entire Italian work we could cite, the composer has forborne to sacrifice his own individuality to the singers. The airs would be sufficiently gay and captivating without the introduction of a single ornament, yet skilful embroidery does not spoil them; the concerted pieces bear out the humours of the several situations with apparently as hearty a carelessness of form and preconceived pattern, as if form and pattern were utterly thrown to the winds, according to the new fashion of the French romanticists. Witness the *stretto* of the ever-young trio *Lei faccio*; and the finale, where the "womankind," as Jonathan Oldbuck called them, raise their voices, with one consent, to the shrill semblance of talking:—their united strength all too weak to penetrate the dense barrier which stands between the angry old gentleman and the simplest fact! 'Il Matrimonio' is a model, taking into account the time of its creation; and it speaks well for the world's constancy to models, that it is so frequently presented and so thoroughly appreciated as not to claim that more extended analysis which its spirit and its delicious melody would else so well deserve.

By the side of Cimarosa's flourished a gentle, graceful, sprightly genius; as much fainter and paler than his, however, as the mellowest moonlight is than the cloudless noonday sun. Sweet and delicate as were Paesiello's melodies—canvas for the singer (again to borrow Lord Mount Edgumbe's figure), in which every thread of the tissue was of the smoothest and purest gold—their slightness precluded their long life. The 'Nina pazza,' the only one of his operas ever thought of in these exacting days, owes the very modest place of esteem it occupies in the repertory (being even there jostled by Cop-

pola's weaker and more modish music to the same story) to the scope given by its fable to the pathetic powers of the actress who represents the love-crazed heroine. The *libretto* of the 'Nina,' moreover, claims notice as standing among the first of these romantic operas, in which suspense and pathos were exhibited in persons less august than a Semiramis or Medea; and in which the lover, no longer an Antony or a Jason, presented himself to the audience as the sentimental soldier or student of modern tragi-comedy. The success of such an appeal to the familiar sympathies could not fail to lead to imitations; and the feeble but pathetic novelists of the day, who had succeeded the coarser or more heroically picturesque tale-tellers of an older date, were thenceforth ransacked by the librettists. Mrs. Opie's 'Father and Daughter' gave to 'Agnese' a story far darker than the 'Nina,' but coming too close to our own hearth-stones in its time, and manner, and circumstance, to be otherwise than shocking when presented in action. Subsequently we have seen the tragedy, 'Maid and the Magpie,' wrought up into a "wondrously tearful farce;" and we must not forget that prettiest of the four stories—the adventures of the sleep-walking village-girl. Surely, however, the group illustrates the position laid down concerning Italian opera poets; namely, that when released from ancient restraints and formalities their licence tends to absurdity—their freedom is only feebleness.

With the above passing mention of 'Agnese,' some notice might naturally be expected of Paer, its composer; but we have been obliged to pass over too many names of merit, and exclusively Italian, to linger upon one, whose music, however charming, is still, to a certain degree eclectic in its beauty, and, as such, marks no peculiar period, nor illustrates the appearance of any new principle in the art. It is true, that in certain works by Paer a distinct foreshadowing will be found of some of Rossini's peculiar effects; and yet, in the history of Music, they but occupy the place of the single acanthus leaf, with reference to the abundant circlet which crowns the Corinthian pillar; hence they have generally passed into an oblivion, from whence their recall is less to be expected than the revival of compositions by earlier masters, simpler,

and of a more clearly-marked individuality. The 'Agnese' alone lingers on the stage for the sake of its story and the beauty of one piece—need the duet *Qual sepolcro* be named?—which, of its class, is a model. In accordance with the plan laid down, a like cursory mention must have sufficed for the operas of Simone Mayer, another of the meritorious composers whose works filled the blank between the epoch of Cimarosa and the appearance of the wearer of his mantle, did not Mayer's name, as composer of the 'Medea,' tempt us to digress; that opera having furnished to the chronicles of the Italian lyric drama such an instance of dramatic conception and vocal execution combined, as its records nowhere else contain. To commemorate the other great singers is beyond possibility; but there is no omitting from an article like this a remembrance of Pasta:—more especially as the story of her successes, besides showing the Italian lyric artist in that character's loftiest and most perfect development, possesses a moral value, as illustrating the power of genius and perseverance combined, not only to triumph over defects and obstacles, but to render them absolutely means of triumph. An imperfect voice, naturally ungracious and inflexible, an undignified figure (to say nothing of personal drawbacks, which will be raked up by some future biographer of a like spirit with Horace Walpole, who delighted to declare that Mary Stuart was lame, and had red hair), are no slight hindrances in the career of one who has visions of Semiramide, Desdemona, and Anna Bolena before her. But Pasta, by hopeful and incessant assiduity, could convert the hoarser and veiled tones of the lower register of her voice into the thrilling whisper of terror, the discordant outburst of emphatic scorn (witness her *Tutto detesto!* in Desdemona's first cavatina), the melancholy utterance of a proud, deep-seated sorrow, for which clearer and more argente notes were unfit; and so extend and work out her higher tones, that no brilliancy was too audacious, no variation of the most voluble grace, when change of position required change of expression, impossible to them. And who could ever remember that her natural gait was ungraceful and halting, when she swept the stage as the Assyrian Queen, or the Colchian sorceress? What caviller dared whisper that

the Romeo, passionately drooping beside the tomb where his heart was lying,—that the Tancred, giving full vent to his high-souled enthusiasm upon saluting the shores trodden by his ladye-love, was but an awkward, undersized woman? The ‘*Medea*’ of Simone Mayer has been singled out for her sake. Its incantation music is already forgotten, as weak and colourless; but not so the stern brow of the enchantress, and the eye gleaming with dark resolve, and the arm outstretched as though it wielded the sceptre which could command Fates and Furies. The recitative and the *agitato* of the subsequent scene, where the sacrifice of her children is determined and all but executed by the frantic princess, have not in themselves a tone or a phrase to distinguish them from numberless other passages of passion and revenge in the Italian drama: but her figure will never be forgotten, as half stupified, half inebriated by her terrible purpose,—the hatred of the woman for her fugitive betrayer, for a moment mightier than a mother’s pity for the infants of her love—she staggered past the spectator, hiding the weapon of vengeance from herself and her victims under “the wandering strings” of her hair escaped from its diadem. Excited Fancy still shudders to remember the concentrated expression of agony and revenge thrown into those suppressed and quivering notes, in which, by the means of all-powerful genius, the most common-place and inexpressive of all ornaments (the shake) was employed in aid and enhancement of the most tremendous conflict of emotions which the tragedian can ever be called upon to embody in utterance. That scene seems to us as the most powerful testimony to the supremacy of the artist over the composer, which the records of Italian opera could furnish in justification of the character here sketched, not in a moment of thoughtless paradox, but after some reflection and comparison. Another example, hardly less signal, associated with the name of Pasta, presents itself in the one surviving song of Zingarelli’s ‘*Romeo e Giulietta*,’ the well-known *Ombra adorata*; in itself a serene melody, without any remarkable melancholy or exaltation of character, though distinct enough to have niched itself far more deeply in the memory than the *cantabiles* of Mayer just passed. It became, however, in her lips a hymn so exalted, so pas-

sionate—the last breathings of Love, looking beyond the chasm of the grave to the unfading world, where broken ties are reunited, and aching wounds healed for ever—as to be raised in our admiration to a height which its own intrinsic beauty and fitness entitle it not to occupy. The weakness and strength of the Italian lyric drama, indeed, are forcibly typified in these two scenes; first analysed in the abstract, and then remembered as animated by the most remarkable lyric actress of the modern stage. Further to illustrate, though it involve a slight anachronism, the reader may be reminded that Pasta's greatest parts, Semiramide excepted, were those in which her mind, towering over that of the composer, could create his music anew. Occasionally, it is true, she was willing to interpret, as in the third act of 'Otello;' but, save in the magnificent *Sono innocente!* she has been surpassed by younger and less majestic Desdemonas. For the most part, however, she preferred the music which allowed her the utmost latitude, or which, as that of the 'Anna Bolena,' or the 'Norma,' had been written expressly to exhibit the royalty of her vocal and histrionic triumphs in all its full glory. Pity it is that dramatic artists so often forget, that by thus forsaking their own position, and giving laws where they should receive them, they are ministering to their own immediate dignity only in proportion as they are lending themselves to the depreciation of that which is permanent and lofty in their art.

To specify by name every step down which, after Cimarosa ceased to compose, the opera of Italy had to descend in the scale of artistic value, would be to engage in a catalogue of mediocre puerilities, disheartening the hope, and stupifying the judgment. The acceptance of Mozart's classical works, it is true, was followed by the efforts of many German imitators, who, like him, wrote for Italian artists;—and the production of whose compositions in succession, hindered the stage from being fatally overrun with newest frivolities, manufactured to suit the humours of the newest singers. But these more or less bear the marks of their more robust Gothic parentage to be numbered in this part of our chronicle; and of Pucitta, Portogallo, Guglielmi, Ferrari, etc. we have no right to speak, save to remind those who lament over Italian

Opera's present state and will not be comforted, how low it was at the moment when Rossini burst out upon the world. We cannot forget that Catalani, in England, had reduced its *corps* to herself and *cinq poupées*, and its composition to a mere manufacture of bad *sofeggi*. It mattered not: the schools of Music have always had their ebbings and flowings of invention, independent of the march of mechanical resources; and in this respect differ from those of Painting, which appear for the most part steadily to have followed the law of foundation, flourishing, and decay, and to have completed the circle of existence within no very extended period. Most especially, with regard to Italian music, if we comprehend its spirit rightly, it would appear as if general health in its condition was not required for the development of a new and vigorous genius, who should carry its triumphs higher, and spread them wider than they had ever before been uplifted or borne abroad. The flame would seem one not requiring to be kindled and cherished, but to burst forth, fresh and brilliant, where it lists. If Pasta be the highest expression of the Italian lyric artist which has appeared in our time,—Lablache, though with a wider range, being a degree less high, from not having refined his vocal gifts so exquisitely,—Rossini is no less eminently the type of the modern Italian composer. His life is worth an instant's glance for its significance. There is as much of the reckless, voluptuous South in it, as in his music. No elaborate scientific training is there; no patient learning of rules; no starving upon high ambitions; no such burning desire for success, as hastened the spiritual Pergolesi to his grave; no resolute clambering of the "steep where Fame's proud temple shines afar;"—but an outpouring of melody, without question as to its origin, without stint as to its quantity. The great cavatina in 'Tancredi,' according to severe critics, was stolen from a Roman mass, and composed in the short interval between the ordering of the rice and the appearance of the same at dinner. The 'Pregghiera,' which saved 'Mosè,' was scribbled in a half serious, half comic answer to Poet Tottola's bravado, that he had written the words in half an hour. Self-denial was exercised by Rossini, not to procure time and means for

composition, but by composition to procure time and means to enjoy wine in the bottle and fire on the hearth. It was for no ambition's sake, but for food and raiment, that the *maestro* was fain to betake himself to bed, by a few hasty scratches of the pen to satisfy the clamorous *impresario*, so easily satisfied, and who paid so little. What a whimsical and gay contempt, too, of the public discloses itself! what an inequality of favour shown by the public towards the works that streamed from the brain of the young Pesarese, between the time when he began his Italian career at the Teatro Valle at Rome, in 1812, with 'Demetrio e Polibio,' and ended it, only eleven short years afterwards, with the 'Semiramide,' at Venice,—having in the interim revolutionized Europe!

It seems like doing violence to all high principles of Art, to assert that works, thus indifferently thrown out, could have any beauty or permanence beyond the hour; that the man of pleasure, whose lively sayings in defence of his own laziness, or in avoidance of all grave and thoughtful discussion, and whose cool self-assertions in presence of the great and celebrated, form as prominent a figure in his memoirs as his voluptuous appetites, should have been able to enrich the world's store of Music,—to subdue and to fascinate the sternest and most prejudiced,—finally, by one strong effort, to place himself among the most august, who have deliberately and with meditation devoted themselves to the lyric drama. Yet such has been Rossini's fortune. Not only was the intoxication of his spell strong enough, for the moment, to entice, even in Germany, the worshippers of their own great men from their allegiance, but even now, when the first frenzy has passed, when the Beethovens and Webers wear the aureole of sanctity and their smallest sketches and sportings of the pen are reverentially treasured, the adorers of 'Fidelio' and 'Euryanthe' are still constrained to admit 'Il Barbiere' as the gayest and most sparkling musical comedy ever thrown off in the effervescence of an affluent and fertile genius; and the third act of 'Otello' as one of the sweetest, most melancholy, and most moving of music's interpretations of the close of a tragedy. Of 'Guillaume Tell' this is not the place to speak. Wonderful must have been the genius that urged the Germans to overlook such mannered and incorrect

forins of instrumentation, that could cause lips to smile, and ears to listen, and hearts to grow warm, in spite of the indefensible frippery of enormous and unmeaning cadences—in spite of a self-plagiarism as cool in its complacency as the unscrupulousness with which he who repeated himself borrowed from others also! Wonderful is the conviction, that, with all the faults and flaws which the fashion of times and his own temperament have imprinted on Rossini's works, parts of them should still be destined for a longer life than the more correctly-balanced and deliberately-studied constructions of cooler brains; and that such may be the case it were pedantry to question. 'Il Barbiere' and 'Otello' have been instanced: but a thousand exquisite passages from other operas claim their record. There is the delicious opening of 'Cenerentola,' where the ill-used girl, by her fireside, beguiles the sense of oppression and sordid toil with snatches of her old ballad: there is the scene where, with her *Signor! una parola*, she pleads to take the humblest part in the coming revel, with an innocent earnestness indicating how she could enjoy the gaiety of the ball, were the weight of tyranny but removed for *una mezz' ora*, and telling how she is helped through all her trials by the blessed elasticity of youth, that most beneficent of all protecting Fairies! And how many duets come back to us between the one rescued from the forgotten 'Armida,' and the magnificent series in the 'Tancredi' and the 'Semiramide'!—how many grand pieces of concerted music! Among others, in 'Mosè,' the opening, and the quartett *Mi manca*; in 'Zelmira,' the terzett *Soave conforto*; in 'Bianca e Faliero,' the quartett *Cielo il mio labbro*; in 'Ricciardo e Zoraide,' the *Cruda sorte*; with a hundred more. Vivacity and voluptuousness of colouring; expression, if sometimes meretricious, always vivid; splendour and simple harmony in combination,—a predilection for what is human, palpable, and tangibly appealing to the senses and sympathies in preference to what is spiritual and mystical:—was it unjust, bearing all these attributes in mind, to reserve the works of the gorgeous and fertile Titian as parallels to those of Rossini?

In this delightful series of operas, let it be observed, that the singer, though a principal agent, can never wholly step

into the composer's place. The melodic ideas they contain, besides being of themselves prominent beyond concealment, are so decorated with arabesques, that the vocalist changing the decorations must still replace them by ornaments of the same school, or, besides destroying his author, he fails in his own effects. It is this excess of floridity that places Rossini as much below Cimarosa in one cardinal point of excellence, as he is superior, in fancy, in the use of rhythm, and in the originating of ideas. This feature made many of them quickly pass out of favour with the singers; but the few which remain, we are inclined to imagine, will last. Not only, as has been noted, have they won over their severe classical censors; they have also run the gauntlet of the severest ordeal, which is the immediate desertion of their friends to a rival thoroughly different in manner, and offering to the executive artist precisely such temptations as were wanting in themselves. At all events, they are now regarded with an approval which well replaces the first irrational enthusiasm they excited, and which may excuse the critic for indulging in what Lord Brougham so pithily designated "a dangerous expenditure of mind," namely, prophecy as to their future endurance.

Less permanent will be the name and the influence of him who succeeded to Rossini at that exact moment when something less arduous, more languishing, broader in outline, and simpler in form than the songs and *scenas* of 'Mosè' and 'Zelmira,' was demanded by a generation of singers that had been touched, though they knew it not, by the influence of an arch magician. As Paganini had taught the violin strings to wail and to tremble like the human voice, they in their turn valued the human voice as it wailed and trembled like the strings of Paganini's violin. To the vast sensation produced by that prodigious instrumentalist is to be ascribed much of the most modern Italian style of execution and expression, and consequently of creation. It is everywhere present in Rubini's singing and in Bellini's operas. Much is it to be regretted that the latter composer was called away at a moment when symptoms were revealing themselves of a determination not to rely wholly on his graceful gift of expressive melody and the scope it gave to the vocalist, but to study

the Drama as a whole, in which something more was demanded than honeyed long-drawn tones, or *bravura* movements, set a-going by a symphony on the *cornet à piston*. Though in his peculiar mannerisms, Bellini's last opera, 'I Puritani,' offends even more largely than its predecessors, because it was written absolutely under the inspection of those who were to execute it, (separated from whom it has never been successful,) it also contains, in the less-noticed links which bind its parts together, traces of care and intention, which Time might have ripened to good result. Bellini could never again have written 'La Sonnambula,'—for that is young music, delicate, artless and spontaneous, and as such possessing a charm independent of scientific merit, not to be reasoned away by any conviction that such a part of it is common-place, such another an absolute theft;—but he might have raised himself nearer to the level of such higher subjects as befit mature powers. There are traces of his possessing qualifications for the task in the first and last scenes of 'Norma.' In considering his works, it is necessary, on the one hand, wholly to separate them from the artists who have executed them, but on the other not to be repelled by a narrow and one-sided precision from recognizing what they contain of sweetness, grace and melody, because they are Italian in the extremest sense of the word,—the least substantial canvas possible for the singer to embroider. In Bellini's dialogue-music, particularly, the national characteristic of inattention to character is pushed to the furthest possible point. What, in itself, save for a break or two in the rhythm, can be tamer or more insipid than the grand duet between Norma and her faithless lover?—what more exciting than the situation? On the other hand, it is only fair to point to the exquisitely voluptuous tone, by the simplest musical means, given to the former dialogue between the Priestess and Adalgisa, where the confession of the younger nymph recalls to her monitress her own days of enchantment and passion, and softens her frown. It requires some courage to declare that there is anything worthy of consideration in the music of Bellini; some self-sacrifice to admit that the popular idol of those who listen without understanding, is not wholly beneath the notice of

those who weigh, and compare and penetrate; for there is a pride and pleasure in keeping aloof, among the select, far more consolatory to man's nature than a liberal joining of the throng in admiration. But that rigour which tends to exclusiveness, in place of that strict conviction which is firm enough to afford to be charitable, is delusive and pernicious. He will not understand Shakspeare the worst, who can take up Corneille without a sneer at the hoop and periwig of French classic tragedy; neither is a man unfit to approach the seven veils of mystery which hide the meaning and the moral of Goethe's 'Faust,' because he has paused to listen and keep time to the musical cadences of Metastasio's canzoni.

With the name of Bellini we close these rapid notices of Italian Opera; for as to the *maestri* who now keep possession of the stage, in the absence of any brighter talent, their names have no place in such a sketch as this. Nothing, indeed, can be less exacting than the modern national taste. "The Italian theatre," says Herr von Raumer, in his recent 'Letters from Italy,' quoting from some notes made by M. Czörnig,—

"is considered, not merely as a treat of art, but rather as a social amusement,—cheaper, more convenient, more diversified, more intellectual than French *soirées* and English routs. It must, moreover, be taken into account, that one neither can, nor desires to see finished works of art only from year's end to year's end; but people put up with such as are of inferior merit, and chat till something worthy of notice bursts forth from the mass of mediocrity. Hence, further, the frequent change of companies, the brief engagement of the artists, the necessity for the manager of beginning everything anew in every town and for every year. The opera-texts are almost, without exception, wretched, and cut out after one pattern, in order to comply with the demands of obstinate singers. Notwithstanding the fondness for the opera, most of the managers and their companies are ruined, unless they are supported by the government. Thus La Scala receives annually 240,000 francs; which allowance, however, is loudly complained of by the other cities of Lombardy. In the year 1832, there were in Upper and Central Italy (without Naples and Sicily) seventy-one theatres,—eighteen of opera and ballet, thirty-three for the opera, one for the opera and plays, one for plays and the ballet, seventeen for plays, one for plays and rope-dancing. In Florence only there appeared a preponderance in favour of the drama. For the year 1838 twenty new operas were composed, and of these scarcely one outlived the second summer. Donizetti has written sixty operas. Gluck, Mozart, and Spontini knew (as Voltaire says) 'que ce n'est pas avec un si grand paquetage qu'on va à l'éternité.'"

In such an unpromising state of affairs, which, indeed, is but the inevitable consequence of the principles we have seen at work during the last fifty years, the question may naturally be asked,—What next? Are we to have a dilution of the diluted imitations of Rossini,—Bellini not having possessed vigour enough to found a school? Are we to lament the decline to extinction of that fascinating amusement, which, for a century and a half, has ministered exquisite pleasure to all civilized Europe? Is the Italian opera indeed to be handed over, with all its imperfections on its head, to the Americans, or to Mehemet Ali? Not wholly so, it is to be hoped. The grave theoretical professor may be loath to do it justice as affording a constant source of rhythmical melody, which has had its value to smooth and to sweeten and to fertilize; the lover of dramatic representation in music may forget how largely we owe to it all the vocal cultivation that more intellectual and classical schools can boast. But those who are willing to accept the good in everything, for the sake of the aforesaid benefits, will not join in the cry of *Delenda!* raised in its present state. Some new Rossini may be wandering on the mole of Naples,—some new Bellini be dreaming under the shadow of Etna, whom a touch of Fate's wand is to produce to us. And on coming to his task, such an one will find far more ample supports and materials, an orchestra better understood, a body of vocal traditions infinitely more various and precious to choose among, than fell to the lot of his predecessors. He will fare none the worse if he appear at a moment when those arbiters of his efforts, great singers, are scarce. It is the bad workman who is curious in his tools: the perfection of machinery has been known to encourage flimsiness of texture. But enough of prognostication.

In entering upon another division of our subject,—the Opera of Germany, some difficulty presents itself; for we by no means can trace its progress or formation as regularly as in glancing back over the Italian school. The Hamburghers, who, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, possessed a magnificent and popular entertainment strictly national, parcel mystery, parcel opera, passed away with their favourite composer Keiser, without exercising any visible influence on their art; while the taste in all those great and small

cities where a court existed to set the fashion, seems to have tended chiefly towards the encouragement and patronage of Italian singers and Italian pieces. Still, in a fragment or two which can be extricated from the scanty and uninteresting pages of the annalists and dictionary-makers, elements may be detected at work, the development of which was essential to the present form of German opera. We find, for instance, that Strunck, who was one of the composers of the Hamburg opera, could excite the surprise of the more widely-renowned Corelli by his superior performance on the violin. We gather from Dr. Burney's judgement upon twelve of Keiser's cantatas, in an old music-book, that, though wanting grace and facility, they were separated from all the other compositions by their ingenuity and modulation. The name of George Benda, who composed for the court of Gotha the music of two melodramas, 'Ariadne' and 'Medea,' is also affixed to "a very beautiful set of sonatas for the harpsichord," in the style of Emmanuel Bach. These melodramas, which are described as very beautiful, and their music excellent, as vividly depicting the various passions and situations of those two legends, were "wholly without singing." And, as he subsequently produced dramatic works with airs and choruses, Dr. Fink conceives that by his agency and that of his contemporary, Anton Schweitzer, for whom Wieland, the delicious and classical author of 'Oberon,' wrote a *libretto*, the great German opera was moved forwards many steps; and only stayed in its advance by the love of the great and the noble for what Herr von Raumer has since contemptuously called "Italian singing," and by a natural preference on the part of the common people for the slighter comic operas based on popular subjects and filled with popular melodies, such as Hiller and Dittersdorf could furnish them withal. Hiller and Dittersdorf are now nearly as wholly forgotten as Benda and Schweitzer, the Germans having recourse to the French for their comic opera. Their influence, therefore, having proved so small, their names are but cited here for the significance of the facts, that the first had learned in his childhood to play on the violin, flute, hautboy and trumpet, subsequently the harpsichord; that he became afterwards not only a singing-master (the teacher of Mara), but also the editor of the first musical journal in

Germany, the composer of church cantatas, and the founder of the Leipsic concerts. Again, the barren notice to be gleaned from a common biographical dictionary concerning Dittersdorf, describes as among the few published works of this merry composer, "fifteen symphonies composed from his feelings on reading the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid."

Few and far between as are these scattered links, they are all of the same metal—of the same workmanship, it may then be presumed belonging to the same chain. They are all traits of thought and invention working through other means than those wielded by the Italians so magically. Each of them is in consonance with the life and studies of him who is almost as distinct an individual as the Italian singer, we mean the German musician ;—a being less exacting, less covetous of gain ; if not less self-indulged, less given to wandering than the vocalists of the South ; more pedantic and prejudiced in his art, perhaps, but less personally conceited than the musicians who mixed up composition with courtiership, and launched a new melody and a new oalembourg at the same time for the amusement of their patrons, the wits and beauties of Versailles and the Louvre. The well-known anecdote of the great Frederick's indisposition to listen to Mademoiselle Schmalzing, afterwards Madame Mara, on the score of her country, is an evidence that vocal gifts were scarce or imperfect in quality in the Northern districts as compared with the South. And the same absence of gracious climate,—such as, without any great flight of fancy, is symbolized by an organic tunelessness,—by rendering a people more domestic, was also not without its influence in directing national taste to what was contemplative and laborious and thoughtful,—to the inner mind of Art, in short, rather than to those more attractive portions of its surface, the cultivation of which belongs naturally to races of quicker passions and more sensitive organization. Hence the popular lays of the country took the form of songs of association—part-songs. Hence harmony was so immediately naturalized and so deeply studied by the Germans. Hence every new discovery was thrown into an instrumental as well as a vocal form ; and while the Voice of the country, limited by Nature, stood still, its head and hands progressed in union till a new power was perfected,

—the orchestra—of a force, a prominence and an importunity which claimed its part in all creations.

Nor is it possible to review the early stirrings of the musical drama in Germany, without remarking as a characteristic, besides the lively part taken by the orchestra in painting passion and situation as early as Benda's time, a certain latitude in the choice of subjects selected by the opera-poet. In addition to the well-known legends of Greece and Rome, which in every country seem to have been most immediately recurred to when scriptural subjects were forsaken, less stilted subjects took their turn. 'Romeo and Juliet,' 'Rosamond,' and fables of similar picturesque class, are more numerous in the catalogue of German serious opera, than either in the French or the Italian repertory. The romantic spirit, in short, may be detected as in the chrysalis, and with it indications of that love for the fantastic and the grotesque, which, of late so disproportionately cultivated, has led some of its votaries to the monstrous length of enthroning the vile, the ugly and the deformed, as needful adjuncts to perfect beauty;—and which, taken in a more moderate portion, resolves itself into that theory of discord (let the word be construed in its widest sense), which is one of the mysteries and animating principles of German music.

However distant and inconsiderable such indications as these may be esteemed, they, at least, point to a ground for Opera far different from the one held in Italy, and promise the melodious, all-entrancing lyric drama of the South, an antagonist bold, vigorous, rude, on the first aspect ungainly, —having the limbs of a giant, but the heart of a man. A sweeping definition is nearly as dangerous an expenditure of ingenuity as prophecy is of reason. Dare we then say, that if the leading principle of Italian opera is graceful beauty, that of the German is vigorous truth? The aphorism, at least, was boldly written on his banners by the first great master of German opera, whose works endure to the present day. The preface to 'Alceste' is so universally recognized in the world of music as a state-paper of the highest value, that even to recapitulate its leading points were superfluous. In this, Gluck boldly avowed his entrance upon a new career. The experience of fifty years, twenty of which had been passed

in writing operas for England, Germany and Italy, had convinced him that dramatic truth lay deeper than the masters of his time had penetrated; that the expression of the great human passions devolved upon the composer rather than the singer; and that a drama otherwise constructed could rank little higher, as a work of art, than the skeleton plays of the Italian stage, the whole clothing of which with flesh and blood—humour or pathos—depended upon the actor's powers of improvisation. It was not till Gluck had reached maturity,—had fathomed and compared and thought, that he began fairly his career as a reformer with the 'Orpheus.' Four master-works on the same principles, widely differing in subject, were subsequently produced in deliberate order,—as a glorious evidence that his ideas partook not of the momentary heat of partisanship, still less that his theory had been constructed in excuse of a fortuitous departure from the usual forms of composition. In spite of the anecdotalage liberally scattered throughout the French memoirs of the day, in spite of a copious record of one of the fiercest controversies ever waged in attack and defence of a new principle, a life of Gluck, with an analysis of his works with the reference to the art among whose crown-jewels they are, is a desideratum. Though that which is true changes not, neither admits of question, the very attribute which imparts to it a substantive and permanent existence, gives it a variety of aspects to a variety of eyes. All know, by his own unquestionable testimony, that Gluck was so grand a composer because he was so deep a thinker; because he could comprehend the importance of the dramatic poet as well as of the singer and the orchestra. His comprehensive mind, perceiving the striking contrasts to be gained by the employment of masses of sound in relief of a contrast to the single voices, could imagine a new occupation for the chorus, and ordain that it should no longer remain an unmeaning and absurd accessory, drawn out upon the stage to afford the heroes and heroines time to repose, but bear its own leading part in the action;—whether as the Furies of the terrible vision of Orestes, tormenting the matricide in his prison with confused threatenings, like the echoes of a crime-vexed conscience, or as the band of more tangible shapes that reared themselves in menacing phalanx

to oppose the quest of Love stronger than Death, until their terrible restlessness and wrath were subdued into a miraculous pause by the entreatings of the divine harmony of Orpheus.

The majesty of the leading characteristics of Gluck has, however, been dwelt upon till some have assumed it his only merit. The strictness of his principles has predisposed many to exaggerate the simplicity of his works into severity, and to represent them, while grand, as above sympathy. Because, in his proclamation of faith, he dwelt emphatically upon the superfluities and mannerisms of Italian melody, there are some who, in speaking of him, confine their admiration to his recitative, as if he reprobated that which he could not or would not approach. And yet there exist melodies in the 'Orpheus,' and throughout the whole part of Pylade, in the 'Iphigénie en Tauride,' and in the exquisite scene in the bower of enchantment in 'Armida,' of as honeyed and delicious a sweetness, as if sweetness alone had been the thing studied. As with Da Vinci in painting, a mellow and temperate richness of colour, and the power of finishing to the last perfection every detail, were it only a stray tress of crisped gold among "the tangles of Neæra's hair," or a passing flush of expectation on the cheek, were as entirely at Gluck's command as the eagle gaze, the bold attitude, the pompous drapery. There are touches, too, of Fancy in its delicate and most poetical forms, which must not be overlooked in this endeavour to balance a character, by bringing its lighter graces into clear light. Beethoven's pastoral symphony contains no more exquisite picture than the luxury of murmuring summer bees and musical waters, and incense-bearing airs, expressed in the orchestral part of the scene from 'Armida' just mentioned. The Echo has been a favourite phenomenon with many descriptive musicians; but when was ever "the mellow mockery" of that sprite used so picturesquely, and so well combined with musical forms, as in the air of Orpheus *Objet de mon amour*, where it mingles with the singer's complaint, like Nature's own reply, and neither as symphony nor *obligato* accompaniment? Nor less masterly, in spite of the thorough familiarity of the musical phrase employed—a mere ascending scale—is the conception of the storm which opens the 'Iphigénie en Tauride,' and pours on its ceaseless wrath,

triumphant over the cries of the priestess and her companions; the very monotony and repetition of the musical figure giving that effect of perpetuity, which is the last and most intolerable heightener of awe and terror.

These, from among many similar examples which the operas of Gluck afford, are pointed out in proof that truth of description in detail was not neglected by him for the sake of general truth of feeling; and that, their date being taken into account, there is no scanty share of romantic colouring thrown over stories, the classical severity of whose subjects might have been accepted in excuse for all abstinence from such seductions as Fancy originates. That the presence of such a genius was not immediately confessed by a visible adoption of his principles in his own country, may be easily accounted for. The court taste of Germany has always befriended the Italians: an Electress of Saxony composed operas in their language, and the second Frederick of Prussia found his favourite post of relaxation within view of the conductor's score of the Italian opera at Berlin. Nay, of later years, we find Beethoven, in his own capital city of Vienna, driven into temporary retreat and obscurity by the intoxicating popularity of Rossini's music. In addition to this constant and traditional tendency, not only may Gluck's residence in Paris during the later and more famous years of his life have, in some degree, disturbed the direct foundation of a school of opera writers upon his model, but his empire among his own countrymen was to be contested by one of those assailants who have the power to fascinate, to win and to convince,—themselves totally innocent of any purpose to usurp and disturb. Almost contemporaneously with the appearance of the '*Iphigénie en Tauride*' in Paris, Mozart had possessed himself of the German stage by the production of his own favourite opera, '*Idomeneo*,' at Munich.

To speak of Mozart and his works as we wish, without being misjudged, is no easy task. We can but beg all enthusiastic fellow-worshippers of his surpassing genius, to bear in mind the particular point to be illustrated in this article—the nationality of three European schools of Opera; and if we attempt to determine the amount of principles originated, confirmed and illustrated in his works, (for the music of Ger-

many is eminently that of principle, as distinguished from that of impulse,) not therefore to imagine that we are sacrilegiously joining the foolish and insensate persons who have questioned the justice of Mozart's canonization on no better grounds than the Athenians found for the ostracism of Aristides—because they are weary of hearing him called the Perfect. It has been assumed that the home-loving, reflective, sincere, sedulous German musician, be his subject ever so fanciful or passionate, is evident in all the works which serve as steps to, and supports of, the temple of German art. Now, to the formation of this character, the education and the temperament of the composer of 'Don Giovanni' opposed themselves. Though, according to the fashion of his country, he wrought upon a basis of profound instrumental knowledge, theoretical and practical, which implies time and industry,—the life of a prodigy, which tended early to ripen one of the most genial and gracious imaginations ever given to a poet, tended also to confirm a careless love of pleasure, and to discourage that strength, if not settlement of mind, which noble intellectual compositions demand for their plan and their execution. It may seem like heresy to declare that the very circumstance which ensured their uncontested popularity,—their displaying a compromise between the fascination of Italian beauty and the vigour of German truth and thoughtfulness, makes Mozart's operas, as entire works, less interesting to the thinker than other compositions of a more strongly-marked nationality. To us the amazing dramatic vivacity and passion of particular passages have always appeared more remarkable than the presence of any sublime master-idea, running through and binding the whole together; and hence, while mentioning Mozart after Gluck, we must assign to the latter the higher place for clearness and force in original conception. In place of this, we have an exquisite and fascinating personality. Who will deny the constant presence of Mozart's self in Mozart's operas, though they embrace every variety of character; for where could a wider range be found than between Sarastro in 'Die Zauberflöte' and Osmyn in 'Il Seraglio,' than between Vitellia in 'La Clemenza,' and Cherubino in 'Le Nozze'? Yet these are seen through one and the same Claude-Lorraine glass: the rude

and the courtly, the colossal and the delicate, have each the same luxurious air of elegance thrown around them. The highest order of artistic minds are those that most entirely merge their own egotism, not individuality, in their creations. The melodies and combinations of Beethoven, for instance, are, like the characters of Shakspeare, discernible as his, because they could belong to no one else. And while it must be remembered, to give circumstances their full weight, that Mozart's most popular operas were written to Italian text and for Italian singers, losing some of their effect even when performed in German, the recitative having to be spoken, a mind such as we conceive his to have been, could not, like Gluck's, uncompromisingly assert the dignity of its thoughts as predominant over the voices of subordinate coadjutors. Even his last, by some thought his most German work, 'Die Zauberflöte,' contains long airs of mere vocal display, that hinder the march of the story; nor is the second act of 'Don Giovanni' wholly guiltless of a like concession, though the breach must be admitted as more honourable than the observance, when from it result two songs so bewitching as *Il mio tesoro* and *Non mi dir*. Nor, if our premises be rightly founded, could Mozart have exercised any very searching deliberation on the subjects proposed for illustration, or their affinity with his peculiar genius. The biographers of Beethoven record that he lamented Mozart's having chosen two stories as unworthy as 'Don Giovanni' and 'Le Nozze.' Concerning the former, it is true, there have been strange disagreements and stranger theories. Some will have it, that while Da Ponte merely treated the 'Ateista Fulminado' of the Spanish stage, or 'Le Festin de Pierre' of Molière, in the thorough Italian fashion, that is, without thought of dramatic purpose or propriety, Mozart restored to it its antique and more mystical meaning; and meant in his music to shadow forth the conflict between the Fiend who tempts the human soul, and the Angel who screens it. Hoffmann (whose analysis is well worth attention) goes even further, and by his peculiar and overstrained view of the character and position of Donna Anna, would imply that the story typifies the temporary triumph of the infernal over the celestial spirit. It is next to impossible to mea-

sure what unexplained promptings may have urged the composer, and thrilled his frame, while he called up the opening midnight scene, in which the hero's licentious remorselessness and indifference are alike fiendish; or when he stood beneath the statue of the Commendatore, gleaming in the moonlight, and arresting the libertine and his familiar by its pronouncing the awful words of doom. But it is difficult to conceive, if such a purpose was as distinctly present to the composer as these commentators imagine, how he could endure the puerility and feebleness of many of its passages: the aimless pursuit of the demon-hero by the injured lady and her sentimental lover, and the broad buffoonery of the scenes, in which the cowardly Leporello shares not only the violent suspicions attached to his master, but the vulgar chastisements which lie in wait for him. The music of the farcical *terzetto Ah taci*, and of the unintelligible *sestett Solo, solo*, is as earnest in its beauty as that of the grand finale to the first act, or the dramatic opening-scene alluded to. This is the case, too, with the entire music of 'Die Zauberflöte,' from the cumbrous mazes of which story, as far as we are aware, no Hoffmann or George Sand has been able to disentangle its meaning. Nor, still further to support our hesitation in ascribing to Mozart the high poetical purpose by some assigned to him in the 'Don Giovanni,' do we find—the supernatural strains of the Statue excepted—any perceptible difference of colour between the music given to so solemn and momentous a tradition, and that adapted to the tale of Figaro, the most heartless comedy of wit and intrigue which the spirit of Revolution and Unbelief could construct—a diamond-pointed missile to pierce a tottering throne! There is no greater levity in the tricks and jealousies of the Countess and the Count Almaviva, than in the vows of vengeance of Donna Anna and the consolations of Don Ottavio. Cherubino's fancy of pagehood is as seriously expressed as the pleadings of Donna Elvira, returning to bid the libertine repent, at the last moment, when spectral fate is already on the threshold! But what wonder, that, in its estimate of Mozart, the world should have taken such small account of an all-pervading manner, when his every work is so instinct with a spirit of melody and expression, and in its forms is so

rarely symmetrical?—what wonder, that the attributes which delight and satisfy the taste, and the qualities which, imbibed, add to its stores of health and vigour, should be for once confounded?

While, however, as a dramatic poet, we must consider Gluck to rank in intellectual requisites above Mozart; in all that concerns beauty of form and enrichment of ornament, the latter has the advantage. The more strongly-marked rhythm of his melodies, the harmonious ordinance and delicious variety of the orchestral parts of his works, give them an attractiveness far exceeding that of the airs and accompaniments of the sterner composer. Though Mozart possibly nowhere equals the august and bold simplicity of the singer and chorus combined, in such scenes as those from ‘*Orpheus*’ we have mentioned, or the grand air of *Iphigenia* in the ‘*Iphigénie en Tauride*,’ where the unison of high female voices taking up the lament of the principal singer produces an effect so noble by means apparently so inartificial,—yet his great concerted pieces, by the contrivance of their harmonies, the combination of their several characters, and the charming melodies which alternate between the vocal part and the orchestra, cloying never, have a richness and a glow which make similar movements by the elder master appear bald and frigid—like bas-reliefs as compared with coloured pictures.

It is hard to imagine what direction the genius of Mozart might have taken had he attained the maturity of years at which Gluck had arrived when he produced his master-works. Their popularity was certain to be followed by the attempts of other composers to recommend themselves to the public by imitating beauties deservedly so warmly admired; but if the theory be sound upon which the above parallel has been ventured, no permanent addition to the stores of German opera could result from their efforts. Hence, though Winter might sometimes approach the composer of ‘*Don Giovanni*’ in the regular sweetness of his airs; though Fesca could bring to his accompaniments a complication of elaborate contrivance, the one still wanted relief, the other a fitting proportion; and the once popular airs and choruses of the ‘*Opferfest*,’ and the scores of ‘*Leila*’ and ‘*Cante-*

mire,' too little known, are gone, we suspect, to be recalled no more. The foreigners, too, who divided the field with the Germans,—foremost among whom may be named Righini and Salieri,—have passed also ; and in the thirty years which elapsed between the appearances of ' *Die Zauberflöte* ' and ' *Der Freischütz* ,'—a stormy epoch for Germany—only one demonstration was made, of any permanent mark or value as regards the progress or enrichment of its lyric drama. That one, however, was the ' *Fidelio* ' of Beethoven.

Had not this work been to come, it is possible that, being unable to produce any modern example equally perfect in its dramatic interest, in its pure and holy moral, and in the strictest and most ample illustration of the musical principles of its school and musical gifts of its country, we might have hesitated a little before fixing so high a standard for German opera as we have done. And as it is, ' *Fidelio* ' stands alone among works of art: first, as a warning to the dramatist, that foul crimes and morbid passions are not the only engines by which hearts may be stirred, and eyes beguiled to rain tears, in these days of satiated appetite. There is a serious mistake, it is true, in the construction of the fable ;—the withholding of one principal character till it be half completed ; nor could this be endured unless the main idea of the work bore in itself an interest not to be destroyed by mismanagement. But so strongly are all hearts engaged for the heroine who comes to deliver and rescue her husband, so closely do all her fears and suspenses cling to us also, so fearful is the gradual certainty which, shade by shade, possesses us, that the unseen captive is one for whom we care, that he is doomed to an unjust and secret death, and that she is to assist at his doom,—that, by the wondrous appeal to human sympathies, his protracted absence from the drama only raises and heightens its interest. Those who are used to decry stage productions, and especially opera books, as necessarily ministering to false tastes and enervating emotions, ought first to have proved themselves untouched by the spell of ' *Fidelio* ; ' but then must they be also proof against that simple answer of Lord William Russell's when on his trial, "My wife is here !" or against those other records of Woman's deep and sacred

devotion, which so beautifully relieve the weary chronicles of crafty ambition and base desire which make up the world's history. The choice of the story of 'Fidelio' justifies the grand master of German music in the somewhat severe rule laid down by him respecting the proper objects of art, when speaking of Mozart's operas,—it was consistent with the whole tenor of his career. Nor is its treatment by the composer less significant. He thought not while writing it of the prima donna's favourite note or *roulade*, nor of the depths of the bass singer, whom, in compliance with an universal musical instinct, he was to plunge into the villany of the piece; nor how the tenor was best to show off the delicious *cantabile* which never failed to throw the fairer part of his audience into ecstasies; but the conflict between hope and terror of the faithful woman and wife was before him, and the stratagems of persuasion and self-command taught her by an intense love. He saw the prisoners at her entreaty released for one hour from their cells, to sun themselves in the warm noon and breathe the blessed air;—he entered with her into the chill and mouldering vault, and heard the dull sound of the spade and the rattling earth, as the two grave-diggers plied their dismal task,—one with death at her heart. In that whole amazing scene there are no forced combinations of the orchestra, no supernatural efforts for the voices; but what a study is it of climax! First, the low, suppressed duet, where the wife, while she forces herself to bear part in the abhorred duty, for the sake of being near him and protecting him for whom she is opening a grave, cannot wholly restrain the anguish that will pass her lips;—then, after earnest pleadings, the transient alleviation she is allowed to give (still unknown) to the hunger and thirst of the captive;—and then that last moment of suspense, when the oppressor appears, and there is nothing to stand between his victim and murder, save her quickness of eye, her command of resource and her womanly courage, reserved till then to assert itself with the strength of a lioness! Nor less wonderful is the change of mood, when relief succeeds to agony, and, at the very moment when Love's intrepidity is keeping the tyrant at bay, deliverance and retribution arrive. To follow the course of such a series of emotions is no light task; nor less-

ened by that constant recurrence to the *idea*, regardless of the executive artist, which German opera demands. For be it remembered, that the scene is not, like the great scenes of Gluck, conducted in that free recitative which, however heightened by the orchestra and thrown into emphatic forms, still lays half the burden of the expression upon the declamatory powers of the actor. The three divisions into which it is separated by fragments of spoken dialogue,—a barbarous admixture, and a serious obstacle to the composer's producing that continuity of progressive effect so essential,—are all thrown into the strict forms of concerted music, moving on, nevertheless, with as much ease and propriety of sound to the ever-deepening passion—as if the master had not been compelled to conform to certain binding usages. The means, in short, are wholly made subservient to the end;—the complicated machinery of modern science directed, and without disorder, by the divine breath of Genius, to do its work of creation. Whether morally or musically, we can but repeat, that the entire second act of 'Fidelio' stands by itself. And the history of the composition, the performance and the first reception of this work, have a double significance; as illustrating not only the different aims of the German and Italian composer, but also the different paths along which those who work for the hour and for the future must be contented to walk. What changes did the fiery and self-asserting Beethoven consent to make! 'Fidelio' failed on its first representation,—was withdrawn and remodelled and again produced, to be then but languidly received, owing to the political disturbances of the city of Vienna. But "Truth against the world" is as safe a motto in music as in morals; and though the opera has not one single *cavatina* which the singer can judiciously transfer from the stage to the concert-orchestra, not one of those piquant and engaging melodies which by their rhythm pass from the theatre to the streets—though there be no scope in it for spectacle or variety of costume—it will be always a drama to which actors of the highest pretensions will love to recur, and it will be long ere it loses that enthusiastic favour with the public of Europe, which, despite the untoward circumstances of its production, it has gained.

It would be difficult, in writing for England, to pass

'Fidelio' by without a notice of the great German artist by whose agency the beauties of Beethoven's work were so well unfolded to us. But in speaking of Madame Schröder Devrient, and in recording the truth and energy and pathos of her performance, we are reminded how comparatively little the national opera owes to its vocalists. While Schröder's vocal attainments, beautiful and powerful as was her natural organ, came but in aid of her dramatic powers, and were only valuable for their strict though not always finished interpretation of the music she had to sing;—Pasta, in right of her entire mastery over a voice far inferior, and the novelty of her graces, was as much of a composer as many of the feeble writers whose works she condescended to complete. The record of German opera, indeed, shows few singers of any high note; and those few have, for the most part, seemed gladly to find occupation in a school of music where their wilfulness could have its full play, and their gifts be shown forth without the check of the severe *Kapellmeister's* counterpoint. Mara's triumphs were principally won in the music written ere the schools had assumed their generic forms, in Handel's opera songs, or in the more dignified strains of his oratorios. More lately, Mademoiselle Sontag, Madame Schutz, and Madame Ungher, have been known as much, if not more, by their Italian than their German personations. Madame Milder, whose name is only associated with the heroines of Gluck and Mozart, and the gentler Emmeline of Weigl's 'Schweitzer Familie,' and who is described in Zelter's Correspondence with Goethe, as being "the only singer who gives one entire satisfaction," ought probably, according to universal testimony, to occupy the highest rank in the national catalogue. Yet we read that "her delicious golden voice, which positively belongs to the class of rarities," was not borne out by such deep musical science as the compositions to which she devoted herself demanded. And there is a significance in the following dry remark from the very letter in which her supremacy is recorded, which, as coming from a thorough German, is not to be passed over: "Hasse," says Zelter, "had, after all, some reason for saying that a German artist "must live every other year in Italy, if he would die contented."

To emulate Beethoven in his noble and national conceptions of Opera, is, indeed, so arduous a task, that we cannot point out any more recent work in which the feat has been even attempted. Hard is it to forgive the Viennese, whose universal enthusiasm for Rossini's music is said to have been largely the cause why the stern, but not insensible recluse, should only dream and talk about the lovely legend of 'Melusina,' selected by him as a second subject. And even the 'Fidelio' had not reaped its full harvest of glory when Europe was startled by the appearance of a new German, who combined with some of the severest peculiarities of his school everything that was calculated to captivate and surprise,—strict science and haunting melody, being moulded together by a fancy original, audacious and romantic. The phenomenon was to be exhibited of an European *furor* for one, in his thoughts, and in his workings, as broadly and boldly and picturesquely belonging to Germany as its old towns, or its noble Rhine and Elbe, careering round the skeleton of the Mouse-tower, or washing the feet of the rock crowned with Königstein's virgin fortress.

It is no wonder if 'Der Freischütz' was, on its first breaking out, as revolutionary as 'The Robbers' of Schiller. The people, not the artists, of Germany, — the people of the *Lied* and the *Märchen* and the Waltz, had never before possessed anything so strictly their own which might claim cousinship with the great works commanded by courts, or vouchsafed them by thinkers. Well was it done of Carl Maria von Weber, to throw into the goblin tale of the wood-rangers such a delicious element of popular mirth and melody; and, among great scenes glowing with passion, which, in the freshness and captivation of their melodies, might challenge the most symmetrical airs of the South, to intersperse ballads and choruses which set the hearts and heels of his honest brethren beating in time, thus giving his scene a warrant of local truth and colour which is not shared by any other operatic composer. An opportunity of displaying these excellences indeed, was what Weber earnestly sought in all his subjects. No one has felt so thoroughly time, place and costume as he. Always romantic—how different is the romance of the Black Forest, in 'Der Freischütz,' from the

romance of the sierra and bolero in 'Preciosa'!—the latter so Spanish in the grace and gaiety of its music, as to make one regret that, instead of an entire opera, it is but the heightening of a melodrama. Again, in 'Euryanthe,' that strange distortion of Shakspeare's legend, where the jealousy of Posthumus and the innocence of Imogen and the villany of Iachimo have been transformed into the weakest of nonsense to suit the strange squeamishness of German prudery, that could deify 'Werter,' but not abide the presentment of the "mole cinque-spotted," by a stolen sight of which in the original 'Cymbeline,' the honour of the chaste and loving wife was lied away—in 'Euryanthe,' how are the old days of chivalry brought back to us! We have there the mailed knights and the goddesses of their worship treading their stately measures; the hero is as able to sing his lady's praise, as to do battle for her when he believes her falsely maligned. There is the high chivalric spirit of hall and bower, plumed casque and device-broidered scarf, in every note. The fortress and the court are as clearly drawn out before us in all their noble and chaste splendour, as those terrible shapes of the Wolf's Glen in 'Der Freischütz,' the thoughts of which make waking children shiver, if an ice-wind rattles the casement. If there be a book of golden precepts for art and artists in the life and discoveries of Gluck, there is a "fytte" of lofty and enthusiastic poetry in 'Euryanthe.' And besides these picturesque merits, that opera contains other characteristics too strongly marked to be passed over. Unlike Gluck and Beethoven, and not possessed of that noblest order of genius which enables its possessor to sympathize with a subject without either losing his individuality therein, or clothing it with his own individuality, this very truth of colour we have been admiring is but one indication how completely Weber possessed himself of the story. Though as intensely *personal* in manner as Mozart, he was more earnest for variety in his character-painting, and this earnestness was wrought out with an ingenious skill entirely unequalled in its pertinacity, and unique in some of its manifestations. Who has not remarked the sudden lurid gloom thrown over the music of 'Der Freischütz,' whatever be its cast, as often as the spirit of Evil appears? But a yet closer application of the same prin-

ciple will be found in the treatment of the character of that false Duessa, Eglantine in 'Euryanthe,' by the recurrence, whenever she comes, of that wonderfully characteristic phrase, like the rustle and hiss of a serpent, which introduces her. Clever and effective as this is, it nevertheless partakes essentially of the artifice which novelists are too apt to employ, of indicating certain people by certain catch-words; an artifice overthrown by Nature, who is nowhere more cunning than in allowing Virtue and Vice to exchange outward speech and semblance, and still to be detected by Ithuriel's unerring spear, which a true mind has ever in its armoury. A like incomplete acquaintance with the most arduous delicate exercise of creative power, has permitted Meyerbeer, in his 'Huguenots' (which answers among his works to 'Euryanthe' among Weber's), to label *Marcel* in a yet more legible character, by the *Corale* of Luther. Hence, too, Weber was led, in trying experiments upon the operatic overture, to treat it as a programme, not a prelude,—and in that to 'Der Freischütz,' so to combine not only the principal melodic phrases, but even the situations about to occur in the drama, that it stands in the stead of the rhymed arguments which announce the cantos of Spenser's 'Faëry Queene.' But the trickery to which a repetition of such treatment must lead, could hardly be concealed from so keen an observer; and in his subsequent overtures, though there be a foretaste of Euryanthe's dream, or of the fairies leaning out from their flower-bells and stooping from their tendril-cradles to watch the sleeping Oberon,—there is nowhere so literal a promise of all that is to happen, as in their predecessor.

'Euryanthe' is eminently the opera of passion in music; for its clogged and confused story offers, but feebly and far between, those situations which, in the hands of a clever composer, can hardly fail to strike the audience. Filling up a tame and crowded sketch, and wherever it pleased him, throwing himself so free of established forms of rhythm that the ear loses its way, unless it is aided by the acted scene before the eye, Weber gave himself up to all the emotions with which he felt the personages ought to have been invested—now to the deep tenderness of the heroine, as in

her delicious *entrata*—now to her ecstasy—now to her despair, as in the finale to the second act, where she is repulsed as untrue by the whole court,—and where, by the force of stormy, reproachful sound, the stage seems absolutely peopled with multitudes. But beyond all these, as an example of the strongest, most delicious hope and rapture, must be cited that bravura near the close of the opera, just before Euryanthe's supposed death, where hurrying eagerness and clamorous ecstasy so break up and quicken the movement, that we are startled and swept away by the torrent of storm and exultation, till we know not and care not whither we are led, or if the footing be firm. Nor less pregnant with vivid life are the parts of Eglantine and Lysiart. The most skilful Italian singer never did more for a meagre arrangement of notes, which issue from his lips as the tones of anger, revenge, or despair, than Weber's tempestuous imagination and audacious use of scientific resources enabled him to do for Madame von Chezy's feeble text. And in spite of this, the opera has lived through the coldness and misunderstanding which awaits all *second* works; for its melody, for its animation, for its wonderful orchestral effects, and the scope it gives to singers of the highest musical skill, enthroned among the master-pieces of European art.

Much might be said of 'Oberon,' where the music, again true and fanciful in its colouring, deliciously alternates between the rainbow colours of fairy-land and the barbaric gold and vermilion of the East. But we have already overpassed our limits. It remains to advert to the impulse which Weber gave to one of the most meritorious writers of modern German opera, we mean Marschner. But 'Der Vampyr' and 'Der Templer und die Judinn' and 'Hans Heiling,' though clever and careful, lack that mark or mind which will give them permanence with the public or place in a record of progress. They are even already sparingly to be heard in Germany, though it would be better for that land if they met with only half as much encouragement and circulation as the flimsy French comic operas, heavily executed, now fatally in fashion there.

Passing, for like reasons, the names of Lindpaintner and of Lachner, with others yet less known, in serious opera, and

the efforts of Gläser and Conradin Kreutzer and Lortzing in lighter subjects, there remains then but the name of Spohr to be added to the list of those who have given new forms to the German lyric drama:—forms, indeed, we may say in the present case, without abuse of the word, inasmuch as the mannerism of a man of science is nowhere so constantly present in music as in the compositions of Spohr. With the composer of ‘Faust’ and ‘Jessonda’ and ‘Der Berggeist’ and ‘Zemira und Azor,’ such mannerism exhibits, to quote Zelter, “one rather skilled in the art of sound than as a musician or as a melodist. Everything is carried out with the utmost artifice, even to the minutest detail, to a marvellous degree so as to deceive, and even to satiate the most vigilant ear. The finest Brabant lace is coarse workmanship in comparison.” This character of ‘Faust’ applies to every note from the master’s hand. The workmanship is of the richest ornament and the most exquisite finish, no matter how trite or how trivial the original phrase be. Let the ear thirst as much as it will for a flight of a fancy, or a momentary escape from all the devices or desires of harmony, reply inevitably follows reply, and melody must be duly accompanied; the richest colours, the most glossy finish must be employed, until the end and the means so entirely change places, that character and interest are lost sight of; and the listener begins to admire with effort the favourite phrases and progressions, reproduced with the same careful predilection in the oriental story of ‘Jessonda’—or to describe the dark sorceries of ‘Pietro von Albano,’ or in the brighter and more fantastic fairyscenes of ‘Beauty and the Beast.’ There is a painter who seems to us to have a singularly close analogy to Spohr as an opera-writer. It is Vanderwerf: there is in both the same conscientious finish, the same smoothness and harmony of colour, but the same heaviness and want of air and light arising from so immoderate a use of hand-work to conceal poverty of fancy and monotony of aim. The very qualities, on first acquaintance so attractive, are in the end, by constant repetition, undervalued; and thus it is that the reputation of Spohr has even in his lifetime been subject to a climax and an anti-climax, which rarely falls to the lot of one in many essential respects so richly endowed, and so carefully culti-

vated. It is impossible for the analyst to single out any one of his operas. The finest duet will be found in one, perhaps, the *Schönes Mädchen*, in 'Jessonda;' the finest terzetto, that for the three female voices, in 'Zemira und Azor;' the finest aria, that in 'Faust,' with the Italian words *Si lo sento*; the most solemn strain, in the priests' burial chant in 'Pietro von Albano.' In all there are carefully wrought finales, in all melodies of a languid grace and cloying sweetness, and here and there, as in the chorus of Portuguese soldiers in 'Jessonda,' or *Mephistopheles' Va sbramando*, indications of a bold and more manly spirit. The last, however, are but episodical, and air and duet and terzetto and chorus reveal the same progressions, the same instrumental heightenings, the same closes; which in themselves are as essentially undramatic as the feeblest and most characterless of Bellini's melodies. And though more meritorious than the Italian music, they are less manageable; because in executing them, no singer, be his own quickening power of conception ever so buoyant and vivid, can disengage himself from among the instruments of which his voice (according to Spohr's calculation) is to form one; and give the semblance of character to what is essentially insipid, or of novelty to triteness, or the passion of life to characters little less automatic in their beauty and motion than the wire and leather Olympia of Hoffmann's fantastic and fearful tale—the 'Sandmann.'

Judging from the time which has elapsed since the production of Spohr's last work, the pause in German opera may be supposed complete, as far even as efforts so little calculated to animate others, or to impress their own mark as his, are concerned. Here then, again, the speculator may attempt from the past to draw some conclusions as to the future. But his speculations are more likely to be lost in cloud-land than when they would deal with Italy. In these travelling days, and in this constant interchange of schools and systems, it is possibly more difficult than formerly for the German musician to hold fast the simple and solid integrity of his national character. The advanced state of musical art being taken into the account, and the characteristic allowed for, that thought must have as much share in his labours as spontaneous impulse, it might possibly be predicated, that an

attempt to be strictly true to his country, in his art, might expose him to the danger of falling into a harsh and conceited pedantry. Nor must the drawbacks be lost sight of, of an admitted deficiency in executive vocalists, of a disposition on the part of the German opera-poets towards heaviness and complexity; hindrances, by contrast, more strongly to be felt than at any former epoch. Happily for all hopers, however, Mendelssohn remains to show Europe that "the ancient spirit is not dead," that the popularity-conqueror need not be a popularity-seeker; that a German composer in his musical guise, need neither wear the antique garb of Albert Durer's days, by way of expressing truth and homeliness, nor the meteoric hair and the called-up frown of young Germany, to establish his claims to poetical imagination. His sacred works, in the first instance unbefriended by singers, are such as the great vocalists of Europe may engage in to their own credit. To Mendelssohn then the world may look for further steps in the path trod already by the great men we have named,—and may look, in the certainty that, when taken, they will be equally clear of a servile want of self-respect, or an insolent extravagance of self-assertion.

We are now to glance at a third operatic estate; one which, in England, has hardly received its due share of respect and consideration from our musical thinkers and historians. With all our boasted love of French fashions, it would seem singular that we have never brought home the French lyric drama;—and sundry performances of 'La Vestale' and 'Guillaume Tell' not forgotten,—that the only two of its master-pieces which have ever become permanently popular on the English stage, the 'Masaniello' and 'Fra Diavolo' of Auber, have owed their success to other qualities as much as their music. The cause of this coldness helps us to more than one characteristic of modern French opera;—that attention to *ensemble* which is indispensable to its success, and which none of our theatres has ever been in a condition to give; as well as to its superior construction in a dramatic point of view, which demands finished actors as well as careful singers. It is high time that all national misunderstandings in Art should wear out. Our neigh-

bours no longer accept as oracles Voltaire's shallow sneers at Shakspeare. Why then, clinging fast to the Rameau-phobia of our great-grandfathers, should we refuse to do justice to L'Académie Royale? Why should we remain, musically, in the condition of him who hated the French because they were slaves, and wore wooden shoes?

Unlike the condition of affairs in Germany or beyond the Alps, where every little town has its own composer, besides the two or three capitals, which each contribute their shares to the store of new creations, the history of French opera confines itself within the *barrières* of Paris; the provincial theatres, nay, and also the opera at Brussels, shining with light reflected from that metropolis. The reflection in the *départemens* would appear to be very faint, unless the state of affairs, as described by M. Castil Blaze, fourteen years ago, be essentially amended; for in his work, 'De l'Opéra en France,' the following anecdote gives the key of his whole chapter on the subject: "Some players," says he, "having represented 'Zaire' at the fair of Saint Laurent, the Théâtre Français, jealous of its rights, sent a notice to the manager of the theatre, expressly forbidding him, for the future, to take such a liberty. He contented himself with saying, 'Gentlemen, it would be unjust to condemn me without having seen my company. The bills announce 'Zaire' for this evening: come to the performance, and if you know the piece again, I consent to play it no more.'" Taking this reply as an exponent, with many qualifications, and allowing for the march of twice seven years, it must be owned that very few signs of animation, none of independent volition, have reached us from the French provincial theatres; the recent performances of new works by MM. Elwart and Boverly at Rouen, and M. Guilloux at Bourdeaux, making the scanty exception.

But though the history of French opera be comprised within a pair of theatres—the Odeon hardly making a temporary episode, and the spectacle at Versailles being a private court diversion—the entire record would nevertheless be fuller and far more amusing than either the German or Italian chronicle. Downwards, from its early days of Lulli and La

Rochois, we should find Royalty not only patronizing*, but taking part in the show ; a maid of honour singing the part of Pomona ; a Duke (the famous Duke de Chassé) making, for thirty-six years, the fortune of L'Académie " by his noble and pathetic acting, and as good singing as could be had in 1740 ;" and a marquis (de Sourdeac) perfecting the machines for the lyric spectacles of a theatre, to which, in turn, Corneille and Molière and Voltaire and Marmontel were to furnish text. Nor have court protection and literary sympathy ever parted company from this national amusement. The days of Trianon theatricals are passed, it is true, but not the *subvention* ; and in place of Madame de Sévigné expatiating to her less interesting daughter upon the admirable things in Lulli's 'Atys,' its decorations and its magnificent dresses, and its vision of Slumber and the Dreams, with an accompaniment of surprising originality entirely given to the basses, and in place of grave philosophers joining the Gluck and Piccini quarrel,—we have to-day a George Sand pouring forth her eloquent rhapsodies in praise of a Meyerbeer. Another peculiarity in French opera is, that from the very beginning, too, we should find the whole philosophy and anecdotage of the solemn art of dancing inextricably combined with its history. Indeed, the only airs in the earliest national compositions which would be allowed to retain the name now, are the airs *de ballet*, the minuet with its *gavotte*, the *chaconne*, and the ruder and more characteristic *bourrée*. This fact gives us another characteristic of French music, which is a predilection for rhythm as independent of melody : and though in the magnificent serious musical dramas, which, in emulation

* In the days of Grétry, even, " when a piece was admitted by the first gentlemen of the chamber, and had been played at court, it had the right of being immediately brought forward at Paris ; without this advantage, new works were only given according to the date of their reception." That the court judgement was by no means infallible, the author of the charming 'Essais sur la Musique' takes occasion to point out when speaking of the success of his 'Midas,' which, having been condemned at court (a rare event with one of Grétry's pieces), was so successful on its being brought before the less aristocratic censors at Paris, as to give Voltaire an opportunity of combining compliment with bitter sarcasm in the following quatrain :

" La cour a dénigré tes chants
Dont Paris a dit des merveilles ;
Grétry, les oreilles des grands
Sont souvent des grands oreilles."

of Gluck's, were successively produced, this feature be less salient than in the comic opera, it will be found always to exist, and the shadow very often to suffice in place of the substance. It is not without reason that Zelter wondered at the "petty melodic forms" of Spontini's 'Ferdinand Cortez,' and again, in characterizing the music of 'Alcidor,' declared that "the parts intended to be melodious seem to me like an outline-drawing." Nor are these remarks applicable only to their subject. If the student look through the five-act operas of a more recent date, and on a more extended scale, by M. Halévy, he will be aware that rhythm is still more exclusively drawn upon, inasmuch as, while every movement is thrown into the *sharpest* forms possible, the very airs for the dancers do not amount to tunes which the ear can carry away. Nay, Meyerbeer himself, who stands a Colossus among contemporary pigmies, owes a part of his great success as a composer to his power of availing himself of this artifice, and of giving threadbare ideas an apparent originality, by piquancy of shape, as well as gorgeousness of colour in their clothing.

It is necessary, on account of its voluminousness, to speak of the grand or serious opera of the French discursively and in the mass, without regard, as in the other schools, to the chronological order of the works produced. There is fair reason for such a mode of treatment; for not only is it essentially eclectic—a composition of many styles, schools and epochs, it is also a structure, almost entirely built by foreign hands. After Gluck came the 'Œdipe' of Sacchini; and though Méhul took an honourable stand, and is probably the next national name that will go down to posterity in its own branch of art, after the name of Rameau, yet the glories of 'Joseph' and 'Andromède'* are already eclipsed by the more permanent and imposing splendours of Spontini's works. More recently still, the brilliant,

* In marking the distinction between the serious and the comic opera of the French, we must not be understood as drawing the line by the theatres, but according to the subjects, and style of treatment. For 'Joseph,' though it was produced at the Opéra Comique, is essentially serious, so also are the 'Romeo' of Steibelt, and the 'Medea' of Cherubini; while 'Le Conte Ory' and 'Le Philtre,' which belong to L'Académie, are at least as light and lively as Herold's 'Pré aux Clercs,' or 'Le Domino Noir' of Auber.

rhythmical, melodious talent of Auber could not so fully possess the ground, but that Rossini was tempted into the arena with the noblest and most thoughtful of his works, the 'Guillaume Tell;' and Meyerbeer ministered still more strongly to the new-born taste for romanticism, by his supernatural legend, the 'Robert,' and his chivalric picture from French history, 'Les Huguenots.' Nor in this enumeration of writers whose works have contributed to the musical glory of Paris, must Cherubini's name be forgotten, though his finest works were, by a strange chance, produced at the Opéra Comique, because not containing the *ballets* which the Grand Opera demands as an integral part of its representations. In short, so preponderant is the number of gifted foreign composers who have been tempted by the magnificent means and appliances of the Parisian theatre—by its orchestra, its chorus, its *corps de ballet*, and the rigorous attention which presides over the combination of these into an *ensemble* of the most imposing splendour; by the excellence as dramas of the opera-books furnished them; by the high pecuniary rewards, and the covetable social position, which in Paris await the successful artist;—that, in reviewing the result of their labours, some indecision ensues as to the exact point where the exotic plant merges in the naturalized growth. It may in part excuse the analyst from entering upon a subject too wide and variously compounded to be treated in detail within any compassable limits, if it be remembered that the English have never dared to appropriate Handel—though his most characteristic and immortal works—of a class, too, which, if not originated, was perfected by him,—were all of them written in this country, to English text, and largely for English singers. One or two characteristics, however, will, with little exception, be found to distinguish the works, whether of the Italians or Germans, who have been sufficiently pliant to lay aside their nationality, and adapt themselves to the French public: an elaboration of detail, a sharpness of chiseling, a pungency given to the Italian *cantabile* or *bravura*, the severity of deep German harmony mitigated by certain acts and usages and coquetries, as conventionally far beneath its dignity as the *Madame*! of Corneille's queens, always seems to us

beneath the plain and passionate utterance of natural tragedy. This is peculiarly the case with the master-works of Rossini and Meyerbeer. Those who compare the 'Guillaume Tell' with the 'Otello,' for instance, in the portions admitting of comparison, will detect, apart from the local colour skilfully thrown over the former subject, a strange and marked difference in the melodic, yet more in the harmonic treatment. We need but point to the thorough distance existing between *Sombres forêts*, Matilda's song, and Desdemona's *Assisa*, or between the *stretti* of the two grand trios. Thus, also, in Meyerbeer's wonderful Consecration of the Swords in 'Les Huguenots,' the central movement of which almost approaches Handel's grandeur, the last stupendous effect is but produced by a *ritornel* with change of accompaniment. Again, the celestial exultation of the final trio between the three martyrs, in the same opera, is rather owing to the winged brilliancy of effect given by a mass of harps, than to any intrinsic elevation in the phrase itself. Let these two movements, in illustration of our remark, be compared respectively with the chorus already spoken of in the second finale of 'Euryanthe,' and the quartett in the second act of 'Fidelio;' nor let it be answered that Meyerbeer is incapable of the high thoughts of Weber or Beethoven:—the difference of manner in attacking a French and a German audience, the clothing of the idea, is the matter in question. That these characteristics, however, will remain constant to the serious opera of France, is difficult to imagine, when we find a persevering and forcible and intellectual iconoclast, like M. Berlioz, endeavouring to make a revolution in its temple by the overthrow of all the seductions of rhythm, of all the established forms of question and answer, and by parodying almost to ferocity the severities of German harmony in pursuit of new dramatic effects. He may not succeed, it is true, being, if we divine rightly, not gifted with that original spirit of melody, which is as necessary to the opera-composer as a voice is to a singer;—but he is the apostle of a school increasing and gaining converts. Should the time of its ascendancy arrive, it is to be hoped that the skilful vocal traditions of the Italians, and the rich orchestral experiences of the Germans, which on the one hand have mellowed, on

the other given solidity to French Opera, will not be swept to chaos in a senseless determination to work out originality by a blind and violent destruction of all established things.

Not anticipating, at least for the present, such a doleful result, let all honour be done to the Grand Opera of Paris as an institution on the grandest possible scale, for which some of the master-works of Music have been produced, and where, on the national basis of a taste for pageantry, and a love for rhythm illustrated by the art of motion, has been built German excellence of orchestral performance and thought in orchestral composition, and Italian melody and vocal cultivation, till the want of neither will any longer be dispensed with in a new French composer or artist. Let us point it out to English operatic musicians, actors and managers, as a school all will do well to enter who care to divest themselves of the national defect of slovenliness in musical thought, personification and ordinance of a whole. Having done so, we shall speak in somewhat more detail of that more unmixedly French section of French opera, which is as national as the Palais Royal itself, or as the *grisette* that trips down its galleries, or as the flasks of champagne daily detonating therein,—the spirit whereof can brighten the slowest understanding into wit, and the gloomiest temper into gaiety—for half a minute!

Neglected though it be by the Italians for its want of sentiment in music, despised by the German critics for the frivolity of its romances and couplets, the Opéra Comique has a separate existence and character and *bouquet*, which ought to interest all such as would see, in the art of every country, its manners and habits and fancies reflected. Its grander rival has more or less illustrated the changes of the faith and philosophy of France, and in its time has laid aside the classic tragedy of the ancients, so dear to the Encyclopedists, for the picturesque melodrama so eagerly adopted by *la Jeune France*, and for such mysteries as would even seem to forebode the singular phenomenon of a revival of the antique miracle-play in days of Pantheism. But the Comic Opera has preserved its old spirit, and—save for an occasional inroad of such brigandism as looks fierce at a *bâl masqué*, or such history as might be told over the costume figures on a fan, or such fairy-work as Madame Danois might have contrived, guilt-

less of traditional knowledge or rural enthusiasm,—it still holds the even tenor of its genteel mirth and elegant love-making,—still gives us the same credulous old men, and the same arch and innocent heroines, and the same buoyant and scheming lovers;—the same Pantaloon, Harlequin and Columbine, in short, as when Grétry took the wand out of the hands of the Italian conjurors who had established themselves and their works in Paris, and by judiciously waving it so as to set native singers as well as actors in motion, gave the *opera buffa* a shape and a speciality and an attractiveness, which fascinated not merely the gentle and simple of France, but those of Europe also, to look and to listen.

The memoirs of this charming composer remain to us as one of the most delightful contributions to the history of Art which literature possesses. Apart from the personal interest attaching itself to every story of a life autobiographically detailed with grace and vivacity, they are valuable even on the too severe assumption, that their author merely *thought* he was thinking; as revealing the changes and transformations which the old romance and couplet passed through in an eager and fertile mind ere it assumed a dramatic form. Till Grétry came, the comic music of the country of his adoption was as much too frivolous as the tragic music was too ponderous before Gluck undertook its reform. The actor had been as much too prominent on the one hand as was the pageant-maker on the other. Endowed with a genial Flemish musical organization (we may not here digress to illustrate the significance of this definition), which had been cultivated and matured in the land of melody, Grétry likewise possessed clear-sightedness enough to perceive, that with such a language, such executive means, and such a public as Paris afforded, something in the shape of opera was attainable, finer and more piquant in its spirit, and more sprightly in its tone of colouring, than had yet been attained. The composer must be a man of *esprit* as well as of melody, especially so long as the vocal powers of his *corps* remained comparatively weak; the women shrill, the men nasal. Scope must be given to a neat delivery of the text, and phrases contrived which should enchant from lips less honeyed than those of a Caffarelli or a Mingotti. Grétry's airs, then, we find to be such a

slight and agreeable tissue of notes, as accompany, without distracting, an adventure recited or an apothegm illustrated, the sweetest portion reserved for the *réfrain*; the first-mentioned form, indeed, is so consonant with the requisitions of national taste, that the narrative couplet has been employed to assist the development of the plot in the grandest French operas,—those by Meyerbeer. Grétry's concerted pieces, again, are remarkable for a simplicity of form and phrase, to which the least ambitious singers could hardly fail to be equal, with so much feeling for the situation, that the deficiencies of an ungracious voice might be covered by clever action. Paradoxical as the judgment may appear, there is an intellect in what now appears to us Grétry's shallowness, which, under the circumstances, no studied profundity could have manifested; while the facility and freshness of his melodies betokens an affluence in the natural spring, and the tasteful delicacy of his harmonies displays the channel through which its issues pass, to have been diligently cemented and polished, if not deeply hollowed. There is a staple of character, in short, in his music, which has caused its memory to survive the no less pleasing but feebler airs of his contemporaries, Daleyrac and Philidor and Monsigny, to which the heroes and heroines of the Opéra Comique exchanged their vows, or narrated to one another perils past and hopes to come.

But Grétry, though never to be forgotten, has been doomed to submit to the common lot of the discoverer; namely, that the *terra incognita* he had brought into a state of order should receive from his successor that richer and more thorough cultivation, which younger energies, with new and improved implements at command, can effect. He was not to be pushed into the limbo of forgotten things by Boieldieu; but the latter was to become more popular in his day than even the author of 'L'Huron,' or 'Le Tableau Parlant,' or 'Zémire et Azor' had been. Boieldieu was assuredly the Cimarosa of France. More learned than Grétry in combination, more liberal in his use of the orchestra,—which indeed was now beginning throughout Europe to assert its claim importunately upon the dramatist's notice,—not more affluently gifted perhaps with a vein of melody, he was able—thanks to the improved condition of the world of French

singers—to throw it out in a more exuberant and continuous stream. Yielding to the national predilection for rhythmical forms, with a frankness and gaiety not ventured by his predecessor, his works are the classics of French comic music; and the good town of Rouen has done well to assert its rights as his birth-place, by erecting a tribute of honour to his memory. And though—or were it not worthier to say *because*?—nationality is in his works at its *acme*, it is remarkable to observe, how the Germans, with the echoes of Mozart's song of the swan in their ears—the grave Germans, whose humour never degenerates into frivolity, whose philosophy is too intimately felt and too deeply studied to endure that amount of wit and *badinage* in its discussion which the French were so slow to dispense with—seemed to close the avenues to success and favour of their own comic opera writers by the eagerness with which they naturalized the 'Jean de Paris,' and 'Le Calif de Bagdad,' and 'Le Petit Chaperon Rouge' and 'La Dame Blanche' of our composer. Unpatriotic it might be thus to stifle and destroy national aspiration, if we take the querulous view of those who demand monopoly as necessary to the well-being of Art, but it was surely not irrational. The weeping philosopher himself, unless organized like the stern mathematician who denounced the art as "proving nothing," could hardly remain proof against Boieldieu's music—in its thoughts so gracefully symmetrical, in its *toilette* so elegantly, yet not meretriciously, coquetish. The critics of our island, who have discovered nothing more substantial than quadrille-tunes in French opera, would be puzzled to produce an *entr'acte* for a prima donna more courtly than the air of *La Princesse* in 'Jean de Paris,' a finale more consummately wrought up, after its kind, than the close to the first act of the same opera, or a melody more delicately expressive than the Troubadour song in the second part. In Berlin or Vienna it were like telling over the alphabet to recapitulate these pieces, and yet neither metropolis has held its head low among the musical cities of Europe! It has been too much the fashion with us to satirize in Art what we will not take the pains to study. We could dwell with no less profit upon 'La Dame Blanche,' that first musical homage paid to the enchanter of Abbotsford:—

though the English Aristarchi, here accused of one-sidedness, might find legitimate cause of complaint in the characteristic bewilderment and indifference to all things not French, which permitted its composer, when desirous of being exact as to local colour, to introduce into a Scottish story couplets adapted to an Irish air, 'Robin Adair.' But had Boieldieu been more cosmopolitan in his experiences, his music must have lost that exquisitely national character which distinguishes it. English grossness of taste has ruined the cookery, German mysticism (according to some) the wit and philosophy of France. Let us not quarrel then with Boieldieu, if even Jockey and Jenny in the 'Bush aboon Traquair' and the 'White Cockade' are so dressed up and patched and rouged and *chaussées*, as to be identical with the *Rose* and *Colas* of the old Feydean; let us not whisper, that in Auber's 'Muette de Portici' we have a picture of the gay, stirring, brilliant city of Naples with its *aves* and *barcarolles*, executed with the touch rather of Watteau than of Rosa, and with the passions, not of Vesuvius, but of Béranger's *Paris plein d'or et de misère*, speaking in the outbreaks of the whole *lazzaroni* crew of insurgents!

Passing Isouard, though tempted by delightful remembrances of his 'Joconde' and 'Cendrillon,'—passing, too, Berton, with his 'Reine de Golconde,' the last specimen of the intense but not displeasing *egotism* of the genuine Parisian composer, must be introduced,—and with it the closing figure of this gallery of musical sketches. If Boieldieu be the Cimarosa, Auber is the Rossini of France. Archer, but not less glowing than his southern prototype—wittier, but not more substantial, he makes love in music less passionately, perhaps, but more daintily; he illustrates dramatic situations as promptly, but more poignantly. Let the critics revile his levity as they will,—what is it but the crystal atmosphere of Paris, which permits the dyer's hues to be brighter than with us, and which gives the artist a keener sight and a quicker step and a gayer voice? Though his constitution lead him to prefer subjects requiring less serious thought and a lighter hand, he is neither heartless nor powerless if great scenes and deep passions are to be touched. Let us instance the third act of 'Gustave,'—and in 'Masaniello,' the

prayer at the Angelus, and the fisherman's song over Fenella where she lies asleep. Let us instance the treatment of the convent scene in 'Le Domino Noir,' where the passionate exclamations, drawn from the love-crazed pursuer of his unknown lady-love by the hymns and harpings of the nuns, among whom he conceives himself to have for ever lost her, produce an effect which is nothing short of pathetic, and that in the midst of a story where a gay and tantalizing strain of comic suspense is maintained till the last chord. It is true that the buoyant and the jovial are far the most in accordance with our author's genius; that his *folletto* seems ever to have ready some strain of a remembered dance for his excitement; and that, after toying and coqueting with the temptation for half an act, Auber rarely fails to throw reason and probability overboard, and to indulge in his animal spirits by yielding in an open and barefaced manner to the seduction. But in the *mezzo termine* between his heroics and his freaks, he will be found clear, natural, playful, keeping attention awake by surprises which bear no sign of being "far-fetched and dearly bought,"—using with a master's hand that most certain engine of dramatic effect which lies in climax, and carrying out his designs by orchestral means, which are often captivating, rarely exaggerated. His fancy, if not select, is inexhaustible, and in certain of its excursions is wholly independent of aid or prompting; his treatment of rhythm is eminently French, but exquisitely artful: witness the effect of the cross-emphasis in the theme of the duet which closes the first act of 'Le Domino Noir;' witness the delicate quaintness of the pauses and suspensions in the Spirits' march in the 'Lac des Fées.' As regards his overtures and preludes, he has the advantage of Rossini (the magnificent overture to 'Guillaume Tell' always excepted), in the superior variety of form which they possess; while in his treatment of the airs he naturalizes there is just so much of the *leavening* process adopted, as to bring them harmoniously into the structure of the work. Auber has a style, in short, which is his own, belonging to his own time and his own country; an artistic completeness and consistency, claiming no very exalted merit to move mighty passions and deep thoughts, but owning the charm to gratify and amuse in no common

manner. To deny him honour because Beethoven and Weber have written, seems to us nearly as sensible a proceeding as the student would make, who, because he had been nourished on Cicero, would not away with Voltaire.

It is impossible to leave Auber, whose remembered airs and graces come so pleasantly like a *dessert* to graver and more serious speculations, without remarking, as a characteristic of French opera, how skilfully he has been seconded in his tasks by the authors with whom he has been associated. The intrinsic dramatic interest of the French opera-book may be gathered from the fact of its having furnished successful dramas to foreign stages when stripped of—only all its music! Not much, it is true, is to be said in behalf of the probability of the intrigues and dilemmas and adventures over which his care has been extended. But in this matter the modern world of play-goers is liberal; otherwise, where were the ‘Hunchback,’ and the ‘Hunchback’s’ competitor in popularity, the ‘Lady of Lyons’? For maintenance of interest, for a due and alternate employment of the musical personages subject to musical forms (a difficulty only undervalued by those who have never tried to meet it), for a sprightliness of repartee, which is to true wit what the finest crystal is to the diamond, better models could hardly be proposed to the dramatist who deigns to meditate opera-books, than the repertory of the Opéra Comique would furnish. All sources have been ransacked: now one of Hoffmann’s fantasy tales; now a Chinese tradition (the *feuilletonists* of the time were impertinent enough to say that ‘Le Cheval de Bronze’ was pleasanter to read than to hear); now an English anecdote strangely transmogrified; now an episode from the life of an artist. Nothing comes amiss to M. Scribe and his brethren. The skill of hand shown in these trifles is marvellous; and perhaps, to excuse our own coarseness and inefficiency in so delicate a manufacture, it is only to be accounted for on the ground of the Irishman’s excuse for his wooden leg, that it “runs in the blood.”

But it is high time to rise from our musical *dessert*, since, possibly, the slight and sprightly nature of the fare most recently presented has tempted us into a corresponding familiarity of style more free than welcome. To believe that,

in the remarkable revival of a poetical and artistic spirit which has pervaded France during the last ten years, the Lyric Drama will not have its share of benefit, would be a morose and uncalled-for despondency; but let not Paris be made too earnest and too profound to enjoy and maintain her Opéra Comique. The times are not such as enable us to dispense with Mirth and Fancy, and never do they move more pleasantly in conjunction than when they call upon Music to give them language, and a Frenchwoman—no matter what be her age—to interpret them to the public.

We have now done. It is needless, we trust, in closing this very rapid and imperfect sketch, to remind the reader, that to give an entire outline of a subject so wide has been impossible in so limited a space. If but a few points have been laid down, which, when combined by the thinker, offer our idea of the leading characteristics of Italian, German and French Opera, the proposed task is accomplished. There is hope in every school as regards the future. The limited powers of the human voice, which must of necessity have a principal share in the entertainment, will restrain the wildest instrumentalist who wishes to impose the vast mechanical improvements of the age in extravagant proportions upon the dramatist and the singer. Neither is it to be reasonably feared that Sense-in-Song will die Tarpeia's death, and be smothered beneath the caparisons and trappings of Spectacle. There has been nothing since so outrageously magnificent in its pomps and vanities as Domenico Freschi's 'Berenice,' produced at Padua in 1680, with its chorus of a hundred virgins and a hundred soldiers, a hundred performers on divers instruments, riding and walking, with lions, elephants, "*six coaches for the procession*," and, to crown the whole, a stupendous globe descending from the heaven, "on which were seen allegorical figures of Fame, Honour, Nobility, Virtue and Glory." These glories have long since mouldered; but not so the gentler sympathies awakened by 'La Sonnambula' and 'Fidelio' and 'Le Philtre.' On these we have a reliance to keep Music from utterly falling into the hands of the property-man and the ballet-master, whether in Italy, Germany or France.

ARTICLE VII.

1. *Orlando Innamorato di Bojardo; Orlando Furioso di Ariosto: with an Essay on the Romantic Narrative Poetry of the Italians, Memoirs and Notes, by ANTONIO PANIZZI.* London: Pickering, 1830–1834. 9 vols. 8vo.
2. *Matteo Maria Boyardo's Grafen von Scandiano, Verliebter Roland. Zum erstenmale verdeutscht und mit Anmerkungen versehen von J. D. GRIES.* Stuttgart, 1835–1839, 4 vols. 8vo.
3. *L'Orlando Innamorato, di Matteo Maria Bojardo (per cura del Dottor Adolfo Wagner).* Lipsia, 1833. 4to.
4. *Zur Geschichte der italienischen Poesie, von RANKE. (Gelesen in der Akademie der Wissenschaften am 5 Nov. 1835.)* Berlin, 1837. 4to.

THE titles of the works mentioned at the head of this article are set forth in their chronological order of publication, and, for reasons which will appear in the course of our observations, we shall speak of them in the same order. It is not a little curious, that these editions, either of the poems of two ancient and famous bards, or of observations on their writings as well as on those of some of their most distinguished countrymen, should be the production of the German and English press, most of the observations themselves written in German or in English; the latter language being preferred even by the Italian editor and author of the volumes mentioned before the others. This is as creditable to the Italian scholars of Germany and of England as it is disgraceful to the natives, who seem to have forgotten Bojardo, whom Ariosto avowedly followed and not seldom imitated.

In the essay which Mr. Panizzi has prefixed to his edition of the two Orlandos, he has first of all endeavoured to account for the origin of this sort of poems, and his theory is briefly as follows. The earliest historians are poets who sing the feats of arms, more particularly of the warriors of heroic

or chivalrous ages ; and these poems are transmitted to posterity.

“ The songs in honour of heroes being, in fact, the national annals, the descendants of those thus celebrated were anxious for the preservation of such records. The nation at large had an equal interest in perpetuating the memory of ancient glories, as the most powerful means of exciting the descendants to imitate their forefathers. Hence, in the earliest ages, the praises of heroes were made the means of awakening noble emulation, and were sung at the moment of attacking an enemy. This preservation of the songs commemorative of ancient warriors, was one of the occupations of Charlemagne.

“ From these popular songs the long prose romances have been derived, and to the latter the Italian poets were indebted for the subjects of their poems. The poetical romances of any length and well-ascertained antiquity, are but improvements on the originals now lost, which must necessarily have been brief, since the committing them to writing would have cost more trouble and expense than most men could afford, and the only means whereby they could have been preserved was to learn them by heart. The fact of the prose romances having been taken from old popular songs is so repeatedly avowed even in the books themselves, that no doubt can be reasonably entertained on the subject. And even were it not thus openly admitted, the bulky black-letter volumes afford sufficient internal evidence of it. The rhymes in question passing thus from mouth to mouth were subject to many alterations, partly owing to the ignorance, and partly to the fancy of the *minstrels* who sang them ; not unfrequently attributing the feats of one hero to another ; shortening or extending the lay, or adding to it lines from some other ballad*. Thus it is that in old romances we are often perplexed by finding the same hero the son of different fathers, or living in two different countries, or even in two ages widely distant. On the other hand, it seems inexplicable how writers could so unblushingly copy from each other some of the most important events concerning their respective heroes. A striking illustration of this remark may be seen in the madness of Sir Launcelot and Sir Tristram.

“ The ancient songs being short, those who turned them into prose, and formed a long book from them, were obliged to make a kind of patchwork of their materials, in the best way possible, without much regard to the sources from whence such materials were taken. Hence subjects the most various, from several small poems, were arranged side by side, without any previous connexion having subsisted between them. This will account for the piece-meal peculiarity of the old romances (the *Amadis* excepted). No kind of order is observed in these compositions ; and frequently the hero, from whom the work takes its name, is more rarely mentioned than many others in the book. Moreover, the prose romances, written in this style, abound in sudden starts and transitions from one subject to another ; and

* Sir W. Scott, ‘*Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*,’ vol. iii. p. 269.

we have reason to be grateful when the author deigns to apprise us of his intentions to change the subject. We must be content if he does not enter on a topic altogether new, or recur to that which he so abruptly broke off, just when, after great trouble, we were becoming familiar with it. Writing, as these compilers professedly did, to reduce into prose the stories which were already recorded in verse, and fearful lest they might be suspected of altering their text, they often referred to their originals, whether this were requisite or not; sometimes even for the purpose of sanctioning some alteration which they took the liberty to introduce. This will explain the formula so frequently to be met with at every other line: 'or dit le conte, or dit l'histoire, or dit le livre,' &c. The popular story-tellers and romancers took, at a still later period, their compositions from these disjointed prose volumes, and by a rigorous adherence to the forms there adopted, the romanesque narrative poems gradually acquired a peculiar character, and constituted a distinct species of epopee. Their unconnectedness, their frequent interruptions, and their quotations from Turpin or Alcuin are thus accounted for."—*Essay*, p. 29, *et seq.*

With respect to the Carlovingian heroes celebrated by the Italian poets, there is direct evidence that lays existed celebrating them. There were songs respecting Oel, Count of Nantes, as also Charlemagne himself, and Roland, which, being mentioned by writers of the twelfth and thirteenth century, must have been of considerable antiquity*. The deeds of Charlemagne were preferred to those of Arthur (of whose exploits, however, songs as old as those respecting Charlemagne are recorded†) because the wars made by Charlemagne against the Saracens rendered his name venerable as the champion of Christianity, and popular with those whom he had successfully led against a ruthless and implacable enemy; whilst his victories had given him a fearful and heroic fame‡. The traditions respecting Charlemagne, Orlando, and Olivieri possessed moreover a national interest in Italy, which was not equally felt in the traditions respecting Arthur§, from which, however, many hints, episodes, ornaments, and secondary stories are taken||. Another reason of the popularity of the Carlovingian events and traditions was, that the Italians were considered to have taken a considerable part in

* *Essay*, pp. 26, 54, and 148.

† *Essay*, p. 55.

‡ *Essay*, p. 50. "Fiovo alcuna volta udiva biasimare il re Artà perchè non avea acquistati molti paesi e fattoli fare Cristiani."—*Reali di Francia*, lib. i. cap. 23.

§ *Essay*, p. 49. The *Reali di Francia*, according to the romance of this name, originated from Italians.

|| *Essay*, p. 48.

them, a circumstance which has escaped Mr. Panizzi's attention. In the poem *La Spagna* (c. 22), we read that the city of Pamplona had been in vain besieged by Charlemagne and his heroes, when the Lombards, led by Desiderio, their king, joined the besiegers with ten thousand horsemen and twenty thousand carpenters or engineers, who made so many engines of war, that by their assistance a breach was made and the fortress stormed by the Italians alone, to the great astonishment of the rest of the army. This is probably taken from the first crusade, in which it is recorded that Jerusalem was chiefly conquered owing to the engines of war made by the Italians*. With respect to the romances concerning Charlemagne, Mr. Panizzi thinks there are peculiar historical grounds for supposing that the lays relating to several individuals were applied only to one. These grounds are, 1st, the succession of French sovereigns of the name of Charles, who are still frequently perplexing; 2nd, their making war against infidels of various kinds, although at different times, at the same place, and against chiefs of the same name. The Lombards did not join Charlemagne against the Saracens, but they did join Charles Martel, and assisted him in driving the Saracens from the coasts of the Mediterranean and in chastising the faithless vassals, who, like Lupus at Roncesvalle, in the time of Charlemagne, had betrayed their religion and their country to the Saracens.

"The name *Rinaldo*, or *Rinaldus*, or *Reginaldus*, is very common in the earlier Carlovingian annals. * * * A count of that name is mentioned in history, but he lived later than Charlemagne, having been killed in 843, under *Charles the Bald*. But for this circumstance his history agrees very well with what we know of the Rinaldo of the romancers. He was a distinguished chieftain under the banner of Charles, was from Aquitania, bore the title of Count of Nantes†, and fell in a battle against the Britons, in which the Franks were defeated with great loss. The cause of this disaster was the treachery of *Lambertus*, or *Lanibertus*, who went over to the enemy. The name Lambertus occurs before this, in the annals of *Charles the Bald*, and of his father, under whom he appears to have enjoyed credit and power,

* Guillel. Tyr. lib. viii. ch. 10.

† Close to Ancenis, to the west of Nantes, is Clairmont, and on the east, at the mouth of the Villaine, we find, La Roche Bernard. Rinaldo's family name was Clairmont (Chiaramonte), and Bernard of Clairmont or Clermont was his grandfather.

nothing inferior to that possessed by Gano, under Charlemagne, according to the romancers.

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"We must bear in mind that these surnames were given to the princes in question after their death, and that, during life, they all were alike known by the common name of *Charles*. Confusion must necessarily have arisen from the repetition of this name. In two or three centuries, the ballads in which the name of Charles was mentioned must have been considered as all relating to one individual; so that of *Charles Martel*, *Charles the Great*, *Charles the Bald*, *Charles the Fat*, and *Charles the Simple*, one single Charles being made, he was naturally supposed to be the most famous of the name, i. e. Charlemagne. The same very probably occurred with respect to *Rinaldo*. In this manner one Hercules was formed from three or four, or perhaps a dozen different heroes of the same character*.

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"The romancers tell us in their own way, by the patriarchal and fabulous age, which they suppose him to have attained, that their Charlemagne is, as it were, an ideal being, formed by the union of all his namesakes, within a century or more. According to them he is decrepit long before the death of *Rinaldo* and *Gano*, and in his younger days he had conquered Spain. Now, if Charlemagne and Charles the Bald are supposed to have been blended into one, the origin of this fiction concerning the decrepit age of Charlemagne becomes clear.

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"If ever there was a sovereign who to a bold character united a strong and determined will, it was certainly Charlemagne; and these qualities, which are apparent in all his actions, are attributed to him by all histo-

* We know, both from history and romance, that more than one Roland, and more than one Renaud were famous. Turpin tells us, that besides Roland, son of Berta and nephew of Charlemagne, alius Rolandus fuit, de quo nobis nunc silendum est. (*De Vit. Car. M. et Rol.* ch. xii.) In history we find not only that there were other Rolands and Renauds celebrated warriors, but that they were contemporaries; that they fought under the same banner; that Roland was slain in battle, and Renaud in the attempt to avenge him; that they both fought bravely, and died in battle, not against the Saracens, but against the Normans; not under Charlemagne, but under Charles the Bald. Nay, the romancers tell us that their Roland was standard-bearer of Christianity; and one Roland of history was *Francisci agminis signifer*. (*Dudo de S. Quint. ap. Duchesne, Rer. Norm. Scrip.* p. 77.) Now it was at this time, namely 876, that Rainaldus (whom Dudo calls Reginoldus) was *totius Franciæ dux*. Hence he is called Prince in the romances; *Il prince Rinaldo*. (*Order. Vital. Hist. Eccl.* ii. 10.) Rotlandus signifer Rainaldi, cum acie qua præibat exercitum, violenter, per aditum miræ prolixitatis amplum, super eos irruit et debellare eos cœpit. Daci vero (i. e. the Normans) exurgentes, Rotlandum in momento interemerunt, et ejus sequaces, Rainaldus cæterique comites terga vertentes, fugam expetiverunt hilares. (*Ibid.*) Rainaldus, fugæ dedecus non ferens, iterum, congregato exercitu majore, Rollonem aggreditur repente. Cujus conatus ipse præveniens, quosdam suorum gladiis obtruncat, alios, indecenter fugientes, fugat. Ipsum autem Rainaldum, quidam piscator Sequanæ Rolloni attributus, jaculo transfixum mortuum sternit. (*Ibid.* c. 17.) If all these different Renauds were insufficient for our confusion, a Regnalt, or Regnald (*Rinaldo*) is further mentioned as a Norman chief of that epoch. (*Thierry, Hist. of the Conq. of Eng. by the Norm.* ii.)

rians. In the romances, on the contrary, he appears a foolish, treacherous prince, easily imposed upon, and who, sensible of his own want of energy, suspects every one who dares to act manfully. He submits with the greatest *bontommie* to Gano, who has repeatedly betrayed him, but who regains his favour by cringing and flattery. He is not a dastard in battle, for the fame of his valour sounded too loudly to be denied, but in his house and among his family he acts like a coward. Now this character is remarkably well suited to every Charles who succeeded him. * * * * *

"By a strange combination of circumstances, the vast empire of Charlemagne was again united under Charles the Bald, so that the latter was nominally, and, as regards extent of territory, one of the greatest monarchs that ever existed. But his empire was, in fact, a colossus with feet of clay. There must surely have been some refractory vassals under Charlemagne, but he brought them all into subjection, since no revolt or opposition, worth recording, was offered to him. From the moment of his death, on the contrary, and till beyond the end of the ninth century, the authority of the sovereign was set at defiance.

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"In such times a Rinaldo from his castle might defy the king and plunder the neighbourhood; but it will scarcely be believed that he would have dared to do either in the time of Charlemagne.

"Many other circumstances, common to the reigns of Charlemagne and of several of his successors, more particularly of Charles the Bald, tended to confound the distinction between various epochs. The Gascons defeated the rear of Charlemagne's army at Roncevalles, as we have seen; but this was not the only occasion on which they succeeded in making the French repent their having crossed the Pyrenees. In 824, ten years after the death of Charlemagne, the Gascons cut a French army to pieces, and in 879 they became entirely independent of France, having a king of their own, as is represented in the romances. If Charlemagne received embassies from the Moslems, so also did Charles the Bald, who entertained, in 847, ambassadors from Abderame of Cordova, with whom he signed a treaty of peace*. Finally, if under Charles Martel and Charlemagne there were Christian lords who called the Moslems to their assistance, the same was done in the time of Charles the Bald; William, Count of Catalogne, and Pepin, King of Aquitania, having had recourse to the Saracens, and introduced them into France.

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"Historically, however, it appears, that Charlemagne, in order to spare his regal vassals the humiliation of waiting on him or following in his train, dethroned them at once, and joined their dominions to his empire. But in the history of Charles the Bald we find that he collected an army from all the kingdoms subject to him, against the Normans who had taken

* The reader must not forget that even the Saracen names tended to mould many different eras into one. The Viceroy of Cordova, defeated and killed by Charles Martel, was another Abderame. And the Ommiade Caliph of Cordova, whom Charlemagne went to attack in Spain, was likewise called Abderame.

Angers. In the romances, and in the poems of Bojardo and Ariosto, one *Salomon**, king of Little Brittany, is often mentioned. Now in the time of Charlemagne there was no king of Brittany, but Charles the Bald recognized, in that character, *Salomon*, whose assistance he commanded against the Normans in 872. Thus it is clear, that events which had not then occurred, and men who were not then in existence, were referred to the period of Charlemagne.

"The Normans had already been plundering and ravaging the south of Europe, and France in particular, for many years before. In the years 851-2 a body of these marauders had encamped on the Seine, and Charles the Bald being unable to prevent them, they plundered all the surrounding country, burning the towns and carrying off the inhabitants. They were commanded by *Oger le Danois*, who, in 841, had plundered and burnt Rouen. When they abandoned the banks of the Seine, laid desolate by their ravages, they sought Bordeaux for the purpose of prosecuting their depredations†. Here again we find a hero who both by name and surname, according to romance and to an ancient chronicle, belonged to the time of Charlemagne, and who was a bitter enemy of the Carlovingians, instead of a celebrated follower of the most famous of that race.

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"Idolatry constituted the religion professed by these *Danes* or *Normans*. Against Christianity they were as inveterate as the Saracens, but treated in a friendly manner those Christians who embraced their worship, as many did. Most of the places which the Saracens had attacked and plundered, or with which the Moslem name was connected, as having been the scenes of their exploits, were visited also by the Normans. Bordeaux and Tours were at one time devastated by them. The latter of these towns had been saved from the fury of the Saracens in 732 by the victory of Charles Martel over them; but under Charles the Bald both places were plundered, and this city afterwards burnt by the Normans in 853. Provence had been infested by Normans in the time of Charles Martel, and was ravaged both by Saracens and Normans during eight years of the reign of another Charles sovereign of that country, nephew of Charles the Bald, who died in 863. Between the end of the ninth and beginning of the tenth centuries, the Saracens, as well as the Normans, together with the Hungarians, attacked the kingdom of Burgundy on different sides. It is not therefore surprising that ancient romancers should have asserted *Oger le Danois* to be a Saracen from Africa; for, amongst these plunderers, resembling each other in cruelty, rapacity, and hatred of the Christian religion, it was difficult to distinguish the Mahomedan from the Pagan.

"This theory, founded on the state of affairs at the period in question, is supported by what has been hitherto supposed the ignorance of the old

* There is a Salomon mentioned by Geoffry of Monmouth as king of Little Britain, lib. ix. c. ii. See also Ellis, *Intro. to Spec.* i. 72 and 73. Now as Geoffry compiled his book from Armorican lays, Salomon must have been a king concerning whom lays existed.

† Sismondi, *Hist. des Franc.* part ii. § ix.

romancers in continually confounding Mahometans and Pagans together, till at length they made a god of Mahomet, and supposed the Moslems to be idolaters. When in the twelfth century paganism had almost wholly disappeared, and the Saracens were the nation against which all Christendom joined in making war, the persons who from the popular lays formed those narratives now called romances, could not possibly have had either the means or inclination for discriminating between Pagans and Mahometans. Not the means, because it required more learning than they possessed; nor the inclination, because the descendants of the Normans were then Christians, and settled in France, England and Italy: they could have no wish to perpetuate the memory of events so little honourable to their ancestors.

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"This will explain why, according to the old romances, there were Mahometans or Saracens in places where the name of the prophet had perhaps never been heard of; more particularly in Denmark, whence the Normans originally came. Finally, we here find a plausible reason for the strange opinion that Denmark was in Africa or Asia, and that through that country the knights returned to the West, who had been fighting gloriously in the East, against the Soldans of Persia, Babylon, or Egypt.

"It was this confusion of Charleses, and incorporation of Normans with Saracens, that produced the most famous of all romantic feats, the siege of Paris by the Saracens; a feat which will live in the remembrance of men as long as the Italian language itself, in which it is celebrated by Bojardo and Ariosto. The Saracens certainly never approached Paris under Charlemagne, but the Normans repeatedly plundered that city under Charles the Bald.

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"Paris, being strengthened, was vainly besieged by the Normans in 886 and 888. This was the first time that the French had made a successful stand against their invaders, and on this account the circumstance was considered highly important, and almost approaching to the miraculous. Accordingly it formed the subject, not only of popular lays, as we may be certain, but of a Latin poem in three parts, the two first relating the events of the siege, and the third the miracles of St. German wrought on the occasion. The author of this poem was a monk named Abbon, who was among the besieged. * * * * * Those who are fond of the romantic poems of Italy will feel a great interest in this document, because it contains the archetype of Turpin, in the character, not of an historian, but of a gallant warrior. The bishop of Paris, who was one of the chiefs of the city, by whose advice it was fortified, and who fought bravely in its defence against the Normans, was called *Gauzlin*, or *Gozolinus*, as the poet has it. He died during the siege.

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"The reader who has attentively perused what has been already said, will probably coincide in the opinion;—first, that the romancers have attributed to Charlemagne whatever they chose, belonging to the history of all the Charleses of the race, from Charles Martel; secondly, that the chief

heroes of romance are not ideal beings, but *moral* heroes, formed of various *real* persons whose deeds have been combined and attributed to one single individual ; and thirdly, that the Danes and Normans have been confounded with the Saracens."

The popular lays which celebrated the Carlovingian heroes, and the popular traditions which were mixed up with them, were, at a comparatively later period, embodied in long poems, the style of which, as well as the commencement and conclusion of their cantos, show, in Mr. Panizzi's opinion, that they were recited for money either in the hall of a nobleman or at a public place, where the poet presented himself like an *improvisatore*. M. Ranke says much the same thing; but if we agree in the general position advanced by these two gentlemen, we do not entirely concur with what Mr. Panizzi, and after him M. Ranke, says, as to Altissimo having versified in the "minstrel fashion" the first book of the prose romance, *I Reali di Francia*. Still less do we think it indisputable that Altissimo recited his poem in an open place where his friends erected seats for him and his hearers, or that the *Spagna* was written by Zanobi di Sostegno,—facts which are asserted by M. Ranke, who with respect to some of them has only the merit of having repeated the hackneyed assertions of well-known writers whom he does not mention.

In joining together the poems of Altissimo and the *Spagna*, as M. Ranke does, we wish to guard against being understood to imply that the former is the more ancient of the two: Altissimo lived in 1514, and in his poem he mentions Palmieri as one dead long before, and not as one of his contemporaries, although, he says, there were then persons still alive who had known him*. Palmieri died in 1475; Altissimo must have spoken of him as he did at least after the beginning of the century, and his poem is therefore posterior to those of Pulci and Bojardo, as well as to the *Spagna*, of which we have before us a copy of an edition, dated 1487, the only one known to exist. The poem of Altissimo, printed for the first time in 1534, has a preface by the printer Nicolini, who says that the author died *not many years before*. With respect to

* "Matteo Palmier, che ci è ch' il vide vivo,
Che fu spezial," &c., ch. xxxii. st. 10.

the *Spagna* being written by Zanobi di Sostegno, we beg to say, that in the edition before us the stanza in which this person's name occurs is wanting, and we are moreover certain that no Florentine (as Zanobi is said to have been) wrote that poem. It is full of Lombardisms: for instance, *to* and *so*, not only for *tuo* and *suo*, but for all its genders and numbers; *cugnà* for *cognato*, *omen* for *uomini*, *me* for *mie*, *doman* for *due mani*, *scuffia* for *cuffia*, *prel* for *perlo*, *romagnire* for *rimanere*, *amatito* for *impazzito*, and a thousand others, besides mere alterations of pronunciation, as *taiare*, *bosia*, *brusare*, *zallo*, *cossa*, *angossa*, &c., &c. Never once by chance does a Florentinism occur; and as we find, c. xxiii. st. 21,

“Vorrò che *sippi* sotto la mia insegna,”

we may be led to suspect that the author was a Bolognese, as *sippi*, for *sii* or *sia*, is peculiar to that province.

Altissimo says himself that he has sung his poem *impromptu*; and so has been repeated by every one else. We admit he was an improvisatore, but we say that the poem which we read was carefully written, not sung only, by him. In the 25th canto he describes a sea-storm; and he favours us with a similar description in the 60th canto. There are not less than eight stanzas, *verbatim* and *literatim*, the same in the two descriptions, besides two more with only a few verbal differences. It is, in fact, absurd to believe that a poem is *impromptu* when the poet knows several days before what is to be the subject of his verses. In a small volume, printed at Venice about 1520, during his lifetime, and (it is said) against his will, are collected a few poems of Altissimo, sung, the editor says, *impromptu* when he was scarcely sixteen years old, and afterwards rejected by him as unworthy of life. The first six lines out of the 12th of thirty-nine stanzas in this volume are repeated in the 16th stanza, c. 65, of the *Reali*.

Giunta dedicated one of his editions to Altissimo in 1514. From this and several other circumstances, Quadrio argued that this poet was not so poor as he professed to be in his poem, in which, however, he speaks as often of the glory as he does of the pay bestowed on him by his audience, so that he seems to be impelled by other than merely mercenary mo-

tives. He moreover repeatedly says, that his audience met in *San Martino*. We should like to know what authority M. Ranke has for saying that "this was an open space where his friends erected seats, etc." San Martino gave his name to a corporation who possessed a church and a *locale* annexed to it where they met to receive donations, which were afterwards distributed by them to the poor*. Whether Altissimo was one of the *Buonumini* of San Martino, or was allowed the use of the *locale*, or sang to collect donations for the poor, we do not know. But we do know that this was not "an open space," etc., as M. Ranke asserts with so much confidence, without apparently having read the poem with the care which was to be expected from a critic. The history of these ancient poems is encompassed by so many contradictions and perplexities, that nothing can be asserted with confidence either as to the authors or as to the precise period at which they were written, particularly if the works themselves and their several editions are not carefully examined. We have no other proof than the assertion of a Venetian publisher—who edited the *Realì* of Altissimo, "not for lucre's sake," (oh no! Heaven forbid!) "but from mere love for the gentle reader," to whom he promises a further supply of the same sort of poems by the same author, if what is then published prove acceptable,—that the poem is Altissimo's. How is it that his contemporaries do not speak of the wonderful performance of an extemporaneous poem in ninety-eight cantos? How is it that years after the death of the author the manuscript of the poem finds its way to Venice, and is there published, and not at Florence during Altissimo's life?

Let no one be misled by names. The earliest edition of the *Spagna* has not the name of Zanobi, as we have observed; under the title of *Innamoramento di Rinaldo* there are two anonymous poems, totally distinct from each other; and a third with the name of Dino, a Florentine poet, is not known whether totally different from both, or resembling one of them. The *Trabisona* and the *Altobello*, the oldest editions of which are anonymous, are gratuitously said to have been written by Francesco Tromba, in editions of the sixteenth and seven-

* Richa *Chiese Fiorentine*, tom. i. page 207.

teenth centuries; to this Tromba is attributed the first book of *Rinaldo Furioso* in the editions of 1530 and of the following years, although, in an edition of 1525 or 1526, that same work is unhesitatingly said to be by Marco Cavallo. The poem of *Fioravante*, published in 1506, affords internal evidence of not being written by Altissimo, to whom, however, it has been attributed, on the plausible ground that, at the end of the *Reali*, a poem on *Fioravante* is promised by the author; on Buovo d'Antona there are two distinct poems, although both under the same name*. To judge of the age and authorship of these compositions by the style is very difficult and unsatisfactory; not only because the data are extremely insecure, but because their application depends on circumstances which it is almost impossible to appreciate. It is incredible what alterations, generally for the worse, these poems have undergone in reprinting. Their popularity ensuring a sale among the common people, the publishers issued editions not only full of spurious readings and mutilations, but of which the press was never corrected in the least. The common editions of the *Spagna*, and the one of 1487, before mentioned, present extraordinary differences; but the scarcity of the old and best editions is extreme, and the price at which they sell, enormous. There is, moreover, the danger of forming an opinion from passages which have been either interpolated or unblushingly transcribed from poems of a totally different age. Of this we shall produce a remarkable instance. There is an anonymous poem in ottava-rima, in twenty cantos, printed by Pasini and Bindoni at Venice, 1534, entitled *Guerre horrende di Italia*; it is a chronicle of what happened between the belligerent powers in the Peninsula, from the French invasion in 1494 to the destruction of the republic of Florence, 1530. In describing the famous battle of Ravenna (canto x.), the impudent writer takes two stanzas from the *Orlando Innamorato* (II. xv. 2 and 3), and with a very few verbal and insignificant alterations, he boldly introduces them in his narrative. Now if this liberty was taken at so late a period, and with an author so well known as Bojardo,

* Some of these volumes we have seen, and, alas! read; with respect to others, we have followed Melzi's *Bibliografia de' Romanzi*, etc.

the reader may infer how much more unceremoniously writers would act at an earlier period, and with respect to obscure or less known authors.

The general theory, that the early romantic poems of the Italians were composed by poets who sung them to an audience, in the minstrel fashion, is nevertheless true in the main. What we contend is, that it is far from certain that these poems were *bond fide* impromptu; that it is extremely probable that we have them not as they were actually recited; and that the beginning and conclusion of their cantos, their begging and pleading the poverty of their authors, their addressing themselves to an audience, are conclusive evidence as to the origin and general construction peculiar to these poems, but not conclusive as to the peculiar circumstances under which a certain poem was composed, or its author lived. Pulci and Bojardo address their hearers as much as any others; but, in point of fact, it is not proved that they recited their poems; and if they did so, we may be certain that they *repeated* what they had *written* and carefully revised. If what B. Tasso, quoted by Mr. Panizzi, says of Pulci, that he recited his poem at the table of Lorenzo de Medici, be true, it is not less true that he wrote and corrected what he recited. In the Preface to the Venice edition of 1546, quoted by the Crusca, the printer says that his edition is taken from the *original*, which was given to him by a nephew of the poet. We shall presently have to make some observations on what Mr. Panizzi and M. Ranke say of this extraordinary poem. Of the others, of which an account is given by the former in his 'Essay,' we can only allude to the *Teseide* and the *Mambriano*. The latter is a poem scarcely known, although much praised by Zeno, and Mr. Panizzi is the only one who, as far as we know, has given an analysis of it. That the *Realì* and the *Spagna*, and similar poems, should have been recorded by many writers, and the *Mambriano* forgotten, seems only to be accounted for by the *habent sua fata libelli*.

In the lives of Bojardo and Ariosto, which Mr. Panizzi has prefixed to their poems, he has endeavoured to trace what historical foundation there is for the two poems and their heroes, more particularly Ruggero, and to show how great is

the merit of Bojardo in having adapted the softening and alluring traditions of love and courtesy, which embellish the romantic stories of King Arthur and the ladies and knights of his court, to the epic and imposing deeds which give to the traditions of Charlemagne so great and general an interest. He has, moreover, pointed out, in his notes more particularly, the many stories and incidents that both poets have inserted in their works from the old romances of the 'Round Table,' and contends that the general opinion that the poem of Ariosto is a capricious re-union of stories, capriciously interrupted, and as capriciously continued without connexion, reason or end but the poet's whim, is entirely unfounded. Mr. Panizzi says that the poem of Ariosto has for its principal subject the love of Ruggero and Bradamante, and that every event is strictly connected with that subject, which proceeds in the most regular manner throughout the poem, with the most consummate skill and art on the part of its author. Those who take an interest in these studies must have recourse to the work itself to judge of what we can but mention. There is, however, one point of history which bears so strongly on a celebrated personage of the Carolingian romances, that we cannot resist saying a few words on it. Gano the traitor, as we know, contrived to decoy the Christians to Roncesvalle, where they were treacherously slain; his treason being discovered, Gano was put to death. Mr. Panizzi suspected that the original of this worthy was one Lupus, a vassal of Charlemagne, who was said to have joined the enemy, and that his name was so changed because his treachery was confounded with that of Wenilo or Guenilo, an archbishop of the time of Charles the Bald, whose name was Italianized into Ganelone, as Guennes was into Gano. An authentic proof that Gano or Ganelone is Lupus, occurs in a charter of this Charles, where the treachery of Lupus is related, and his execution recorded*.

Although the *Orlando Innamorato* was well known by name, the work itself, as left by its author, Bojardo, was known to very few persons, the original editions being extremely rare, and so carelessly printed as to require more

* Essay, p. 115. Life of Bojardo, p. 104. Notes to Ariosto, C. xiv. st. 41.

patience and more knowledge of the language than readers generally possess, to peruse and understand the poem; whilst the *Rifacimento* of Berni was in everybody's hands, and easily read. Mr. Panizzi undertook to give a *readable* edition of the original poem, which had not been printed for nearly 300 years. Of the difficulties and necessity of such an undertaking, and of the manner in which he performed his task, M. Gries, the translator of the poem, speaks as follows:—

“It would be a poor service to present Italian scholars with a mere reprint of an old edition. Panizzi complains of the bad and erroneous readings of the editions of which he has made use; and he has full right to do so, if we are to judge from the editions which are to be found in Germany. They are all printed with the greatest negligence, full of abbreviations often difficult to make out, and wholly deficient in orthographical signs, accents and apostrophes. Now if Panizzi says that he has given the first readable and correct edition of the *Orlando (Innamorato)*, he is thoroughly justified in so saying; unfortunately, he is not always and in every place persevering and faithful to the rules of which we spoke above [that is, the rules which Mr. Panizzi himself laid down as editor], as he himself is at the end forced to confess*.”

Had Mr. Panizzi been “always and in every place” correct, he would have succeeded in his task to perfection, which we cannot expect of a mortal. What Mr. Panizzi says at the end is as follows:—

“I do not mean to assert that these volumes are immaculate. Those who know the difficulties of republishing a work of this kind in a foreign country, and from such editions, will readily make allowances. It may be that, by collating other editions with this, an improved one may hereafter be produced; but it must be admitted that this is the first time that the *Orlando Innamorato*, by Bojardo, has been published in a legible form, and with many thousand errors of the press less than in any other previous edition.”

Mr. Panizzi's edition, to be fairly valued, ought to be judged by taking into consideration not alone the errors which may have escaped him, but those he has corrected. Those who undertake to discover these errors ought moreover to be extremely careful before pronouncing a judgment which may prove wrong.

The name of Gries is too well known even in this country to need our praises. He stands avowedly at the head of the

* Preface, p. xxv.

Italian scholars in Germany, and is the author of the most esteemed translations of Tasso, Ariosto and Fortiguerra, besides Bojardo. No one can, therefore, claim to be a more competent judge of an edition of an Italian poet than he is. Yet even he, in his eagerness to point out one of the places in which Mr. Panizzi has failed in his editorial duties, has committed a most ludicrous mistake. In the 17th canto of the first book, st. 65, Gries found

“Ed a la rocca lo farò filare,”

on which he puts the following learned observation:—

“So have also St. (an old edition of Bojardo in Stutgardt) and P. (that is, Panizzi); but Dom. (Domenichi) has ‘*E a la conocchia lo farò filare,*’ which must certainly be the correct reading, since there is no previous mention in the story of any castle to which Marfisa could withdraw.”

Now *rocca* is not *rócca*, a castle, but a *distaff* or *conocchia*, Germ. *rocken*, allied to *rock*, petticoat; and the substitution of Domenichi is totally uncalled for. The same word occurs in Bojardo, II. 17, 29, where the poet whimsically supposes the crest of Agramante to be

“Tre fusi da filare e una gran rocca.”

The word being a rhyme could not be easily changed, and was adopted even by Berni. Gries, however, translates “Drei Spindeln und ein *Fels*,” and makes a *distaff* a *rock*, after previously having made it a *castle*. This is one of the places where he has failed in his duty as a translator; and yet his translations are not to be held in contempt.

Although M. Gries has on the whole acknowledged the many obligations he owes to the text of Mr. Panizzi's edition, we think he ought not to have occasionally translated that gentleman's notes, forgetting to mention the original. Here are a few specimens of the process, which will illustrate our meaning.

GRIES.

“Dämogorgon. Dieser furchtbare Beherrscher der Geister und Feen kommt schon bei den Alten als eine geheimnisvolle Gottheit vor. Lucanus und Statius erwähnen seiner, doch ohne ihn zu nennen, denn seinen Namen auszusprechen war nicht er-

PANIZZI.

“*This Demogorgone* is a kind of power very little known, and never mentioned by Italian poets before Bojardo. It is well ascertained that the ancients admitted an unknown god or power, superior to all others, the name of which it was not lawful

laubt. Lactantius Placidus (oder Latatius) scheint in seinem Commentar zur Thebaide des Statius (IV. 514.) ihn zuerst genannt zu haben; *Dicit (poeta) Deum Dæmogorgona summum, cujus nomen scire non licet*. Boccaccio in seinem lat. Werke, *De Genealogia Deorum* stellt ihn dar als ein geheimnißvolles Wesen, den Vater aller Götter, von welchem alle Dinge entsprungen, das aber selbst keinen Ursprung hatte. Als seine Kinder werden besonders genannt: Eris, Pan, die Parzen, Erebus u. a. m. Aus der Beschreibung des Lucan (*Phars.* VI. 744, seq.) scheint Boj. einige Züge entlehnt u. seinen Zwecken angepasst zu haben. Er ist übrigens von den ital. Dichtern der erste, der des Dæmogorgon erwähnt."

to pronounce, any more than the Jehovah of the Jews. This unknown deity, according to Placidus Lactantius, the grammarian, was Demogorgon. Tiresias the enchanter, observing that the spirits he conjured did not obey his summons, is made to say by Statius, *Theb.* IV. 514, 'Scimus enim,' &c. [Here the lines are quoted.] Lactantius observes, 'Dicit Deum Dæmogorgona summum cujus nomen scire non licet' Boccaccio, *Geneal. Deor.* I., has a chapter on this power. According to his notions, Demogorgon was dwelling within the earth, was self-existent, and was the father of all things; Discord, Pan, Clotho, Lachesis, Atropus, Polus or Heaven, Phiton, Earth, and Erebus were his children. That this awful deity was used to punish supernatural agents of an inferior order, may be collected from the following lines of Lucan *Phars.* VI. 744, &c. * * * * We think that Bojardo drew his information from Boccaccio, applying it very skilfully to his purpose, and to the kind of machinery which he, before any other Italian poet, introduced into his great work. *Notes to O. I.* Book II. C. xiii. st. 29."

Here is another specimen :—

GRIES.

"Dieser Vorwurf musste Rinalden auf's tiefste kränken. Ginamo von Bayonne, aus dem Hause Maynz, rühmte sich eines vertrauten Umganges mit Beatrix, Haimons Gemahlinn und R.'s Mutter. Sobald R. wehrhaft ward, kämpfte er mit Ginamo, verwundete ihn tödtlich und nöthigte ihn zu dem Geständniss, er habe Beatrix aus Prahlerei verläumd. So erzählt R. selbst in

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PANIZZI.

"This was an imputation deeply calculated to wound Rinaldo's feelings, since Ginamo had once boasted of having had a criminal intercourse with Beatrice, Rinaldo's mother and Amon's wife. When Rinaldo was of age he fought Ginamo, mortally wounded him, and obliged him to confess that he had wantonly calumniated Beatrice. The story is related by Rinaldo himself, in the

T

Torq. Tasso's *Jugendgedichte*.—*Il poem of which he is the subject, Rinaldo*, C. IX. st. 34." written by T. Tasso, C. IX. st. 34, et seq.—*Notes to O. I.*, Book I. C. XXVI. st. 61."

We might easily add to these specimens, but we deem the above quite conclusive.

M. Gries is as inclined to express his satisfaction with Mr. Panizzi's edition, as he is to conceal his dissatisfaction at the edition of Bojardo by his countryman Wagner; but he lets out at times his opinion in spite of his disinclination. How M. Wagner undertook the task of editing a poem so difficult to edit, even for an Italian, cannot be easily explained. This gentleman knew as much of Italian as a foreigner can; he was a man of taste and education, and very industrious beyond doubt; yet he was not qualified for this undertaking, and his edition has found very severe critics both in Germany and in Italy. M. Wagner's Italian preface to Bojardo's poem is dated January 1830, although the date in the title-page is 1833; which is the year, in fact, when the volume was published. M. Gries drily observes, that it is a pity that the book should not have appeared in 1830, for then the German press would have had the glory of first reproducing the *Innamorato* after 300 years; whilst, as it is, Mr. Panizzi's edition preceded that of M. Wagner. The preface in question shows of itself that M. Wagner ought not to have undertaken an edition of Bojardo's poem. He ventures to say that this poem was "*posto a' rifacimenti de' Folenghi, Dolci,*" which he afterwards says "*mi sono ignoti.*" An editor of Bojardo ought not to speak in these words of two *rifacimenti*, which are said to have been written, but which no one has ever seen. How could Bojardo's poem be *posto* to a *rifacimento in nubibus*?* His Italian would not meet with general approbation. "*L'essere e l'operare de' Greci concorda con quel della natura in sostanzialità, finimento, sufficienza e giuoco forza. . . Avendo*

* This is of a piece with the assertion that Bojardo published "*il testamento dell'anima—Rimario delle cadenze del Petrarca,*" which not only were never published either by him or others in his name, but which it is more than doubtful whether he ever wrote; Panizzi denies it as to the first, and his expressions imply that the second of these works is now lost, if it ever existed.—*Life of Bojardo*, p. 48.

"adunque *culminato* l' arte. . . Nel cercar la chiave del regno in-
"tellettuale, la mente perde quella della natura e la *disdice*."

When he finds what he supposes an error, he calls it a *sbaldor-
dimento*, or *insania*; he tells us in a note to st. 32, v. 6 of
book ii. c. 9, which is as clear as daylight, "quì pare suppurar
il passo." There are rhymes which he calls "*rima precaria*,"
others "*rima ricca*," and others "*rima impura*."

In editing Bojardo M. Wagner laboured under the disad-
vantage of having but one edition, dated 1527, which Mr.
Panizzi has not seen, but which we are so fortunate as to be
able to consult. Eager to correct the blunders with which
it abounds, as much as any other edition of this poem, M.
Wagner has indulged his fancy to an unwarrantable extent.
In book I. c. 17. st. 24. the line occurs,

"Che avea ogni gamba più d' un trave grossa."

Wagner objects to this unobjectionable line, in a note, say-
ing, "Se non si ripone *di* invece *d' un*, trave contro la regola
è mascolino." Far from being *contro la regola*, *trave* is mas-
culine as well as feminine; and one of the best poets of the
last century, Varano, in his *Terremoto di Lisbona*, wrote

"Precipitato *largo trave* a caso
Sull' imbrunite e stritolate cosce
Dell' infelice donna era *rimaso*."

This example is decisive as to the freshness of the word; any
dictionary might have taught M. Wagner its correctness.

The edition of 1527 is not only full of errors, but without
orthographical signs, and with abbreviations; these are not
very serious difficulties to overcome for one who is thorough
master of the language of the poet and its peculiarities, yet
they are difficulties. The poet opens the twelfth canto of
the second book with the following stanza, which we tran-
scribe from Mr. Panizzi's edition:—

"Stella d' amor, che l' terzo ciel governi
E tu, quinto splendor sì rubicondo,
Che, girando in due anni i cerchi eterni,
D' ogni pigrizia fai digiuno il mondo,
Venga da' corpi vostri alti e superni
Grazia e virtute al mio cantar giocondo,
Sì che l' influxo vostro ora mi vaglia,
Poi ch' io canto d' amore e di battaglia."

The second line in this stanza stands as follows in Wagner's edition :—

“ E tu, *qual hai* splendor sì rubicondo.”

In a note he tells us that the edition of 1527 reads *quanto*, which he pronounces, as well he may, “ Errore,” and substitutes the words *qual hai*. In the edition thus misquoted we find the line exactly thus :—

“ E tu qnto splēdor si rubicōdo,”

where qnto stands for *quinto*, and is perfectly correct ; not for *quanto*. Another passage occurs book the 3rd, canto 4th, st. 5th, where the poet, describing a violent storm, says of a ship, that being close hauled in a storm, she went for more than two miles on her leeseide, or, as he says, *inversa*.

“ Piegossi il legno e giù dette a la banda,
Ciascun, gridando, a Dio si raccomanda.
Più di due miglia andò la nave inversa
Che a punto in punto sta per affondare.”

The edition of 1527 has the word contracted “ iūersa,” which M. Wagner calls *vizio*, and he prints *immersa*, that is, makes the poet say that the ship went for more than two miles under water. But the most remarkable mistake of this kind occurs (II. 24. 3.) where the poet, after having opened the canto, saying that his hearers must be noble-minded persons, since they delight in hearing of noble deeds of arms, continues

“ Non debbo adunque a gente sì cortese
Donar diletto a tutta mia possanza ?
Io debbo e voglio,” etc.

Some blundering printer, instead of *sì cortese*, substituted *dis-cortese*, and so it is in the edition of 1527, which M. Wagner follows.

Among other peculiarities of Bojardo's, one of the most common is the continual change of the letters *e* and *i*, on which Mr. Panizzi has written a note at the beginning of the poem, showing that this was not only common among old Italian writers, but among the Latins. M. Wagner charges all these changes to Bojardo's account as mere solecisms, of which *he* undertakes to *correct* him. Of the effects of his corrections we shall give one specimen only. A fight, or, to use a less chivalrous but more expressive word, a *row*, takes

place between Brandamante, half a dozen knights, and about fifty of their followers. The odds were against her and Ruggero, but they were determined to fight it out; and on Brandamante once rushing into the thick of the medley to assist Ruggero, who was stunned, the poet compares her to a falcon among partridges (III. 6. 10.),

“ Parve un falcon entrato a le pernice ;”

had it not been for the rhyme, it would be *pernici*. M. Wagner, shocked at the word *pernice*, alters *a le* into *una*, and prints

“ Parve un falcon entrato a una pernice ;”

that is to say, Brandamante was like a falcon entered into a partridge. This liberty of altering even any word he does not happen to understand, without the slightest notice of the reading which he supposes erroneous, M. Wagner takes without hesitation. In the twenty-fourth canto of the first book, st. 15, Orlando, accompanied by a dashing young damsel, arrives at night in a wood, and falls heavily asleep, to the great annoyance of his companion, who thinks this conduct very ungallant. The poet says,

“ Lui dormia forte sempre *sornacchiando*,”

a word not to be found in the dictionaries, but which Mr. Panizzi says “ here means *snoring* ;” it properly means breathing heavily through the nose. Berni said,

“ E dorme forte soffiando e russando,”

which might have opened the eyes of M. Wagner, with whom, however, we should not have found fault, had he candidly acknowledged that he did not understand the meaning of that uncommon word. But when he takes upon himself to write *sonnacchiando*, which means *dozing*, then we think it right to expose his mistake in making the poet say, “ Orlando fell into a *heavy sleep*, always *dozing*.” Nor are we more satisfied with his interpretations. Grandonio (II. 23. 29.) was unhorsed in battle,

“ Quando Grandonio si vide abbattuto
Non dimandate se rodea la brena.”

Roder il freno is to be in a rage about what cannot be helped,

it is equivalent to *chewing* it, and Mr. Panizzi was near the truth when he suspected that *roder la brena* meant the same, and that *brena* was for *briglia*; but he hesitated, never having seen *brena* for *briglia*. One who has read so many Italian romance-poems as he, *ought* to have observed it, as it often occurs in them. Here are two instances from one poem only, the *Belisardo* of Guazzo, where, C. VI., we find,

“ Ecco un correndo vien a tutta *brena* ;”

and Canto XI., Dragonetta,

“ Verso di quel ronzon ratto si tira
Pigliàl nel ciuffo e poneli la *brena*,
Sale su quello e via va colma d' ira.”

The word is now obsolete. Wagner did not understand it, nor could have seen it, as is evident. Yet he says it is “ *cervello, testa*, Eng. *brain*.” Grandonio, therefore, “chewed his own head ;” like that saint who carried his own head by the hair, which he held between his teeth, after he had been beheaded.

One of the most ludicrous scenes in the whole poem is (III. 4. 43.) when Ruggero runs after Archbishop Turpin, who had got his horse, his Grace doing his best to get out of the way ; at last he gets into a kind of ditch and falls into the mire.

“ Imbragato era quello alla palude,”

says Bojardo ; Berni,

“ È impantanato in mezzo alla palude.”

Imbragacciato is used by Boccaccio in the same sense, and *brago* for *mire* by Dante. The meaning therefore cannot be doubted, any more than the origin of the word. Wagner, however, says, that if it be not an error for *imbrigato* or *intricato*, it must mean, “pasted like a slip of paper on the torn fold of a sheet of paper*.”

It is, however, in alluding to this edition of the poem of Bojardo, that M. Ranke tells us that this poem in its original state is only appreciated in Germany, and that the Italians care only for Berni's *Rifacimento*. The memoir of

* Here are his words: “ Se non è fallo per *imbrigato* o *intricato* sarà termine che significa incollato quale striscia di carta sulla piega lacera d'un foglio.”

M. Ranke was read before the Royal Society of Berlin in November 1835, long after the edition of Mr. Panizzi had been completed. In Germany this edition was not unknown; Gries, who published the first volume of his translation in 1835, gives a long and fair account of it in his preface; and that volume was reviewed in some literary periodicals of Germany before the month of November of that year. M. Ranke could therefore have known that there was one Italian, at least, who appreciated the poem of Bojardo not less than the German editor; and before attacking a whole nation, it was his duty to inquire into the correctness of his assumptions. This too is on the supposition that the publication of Mr. Panizzi was not known to him when he wrote his memoir, nor at any time previous to its being printed in 1837.

In this memoir, M. Ranke undertakes to give a short account of the narrative poetry of the Italians, from its origin (which he carries very properly back to the prose-romance, *I Reali di Francia*) to the *Gerusalemme Liberata*. He gives, therefore, an account of the *Morgante Maggiore*, by Pulci; the *Orlando Innamorato*, by Bojardo, and its *rifacimento* by Berni; the *Furioso*, by Ariosto; the *Amadigi*, by Bernardo Tasso; the *Giron Cortese*, by Alamanni; besides the 'Jerusalem Delivered.' The most important and original part of his memoir is what relates to a manuscript continuation of the *Reali di Francia*, hitherto almost unknown. M. Ranke does not seem to be aware of the existence of a poem with the same name as the manuscript, *Aspramonte*, printed in the fifteenth century; which, as we learn from Melzi, is on a totally distinct subject from that of the manuscript mentioned by M. Ranke, and of which the Italian bibliographer further informs us, there are two more copies in the public libraries at Florence. The nature of M. Ranke's composition is such as to render it impossible to give even an abridged account of it, and this article has already extended too far for us to attempt it. We shall, therefore, limit ourselves to some general observations, and make very few special remarks on part only of his performance.

The great poems on which he dwells, are those of Pulci, Bojardo, Ariosto, and Tasso. The last is of a very different class, in our opinion, from the others, and beside the limits of

this article ; we shall not, therefore, speak of it. Of the other three, the *Furioso* is incomparably more known than the works of the two former-mentioned poets. Almost all that could be said respecting Ariosto's genius, style, life, etc., has been said ; the part which has not been hitherto sufficiently considered is, what he owes to the old romancers and to his predecessors, and to this critical inquiry both Mr. Panizzi and M. Ranke have paid particular attention. Pulci and Bojardo—the latter more particularly—have not been so critically examined as their great successor ; hence there is much which is new to be said with respect to them, and much in fact is to be found in both the critics just mentioned. By a singular coincidence in their views, we are enabled to give in a much shorter space than would otherwise be necessary, some of their leading observations ; had they differed, we might have had to give double time and space to the subject, to discuss their various views and merits. We shall proceed in the order followed by M. Ranke.

This critic (p. 422) tells us that Pulci “ has borrowed a “ thousand incidents from other sources than that from which “ the main story is derived. For instance, in the captivity, “ dangers and deliverance of Astolfo, we recognize an imitation of Richard, Roland, Charles and Ryper.”

Mr. Panizzi (Essay, p. 246) remarks on this part of the *Morgante*, “ This is taken from the *Quatre-fils-Aymon*, “ where the same thing is told with nearly the same circumstances ;” and a little further on (page 250), speaking of a similar event respecting *Ricciardetto* in the *Morgante*, he not only repeats the observation, but gives the original from the *Fils-Aymon*, where, by-the-bye, we find that the name of one of the parties is *Rypus*, and not *Ryper*.

M. Ranke continues, observing that

“ Pulci contents himself by adding adventure to adventure ; the real end of all his stories is the faithless Gan, who indefatigably repeats his treacherous plans to the impatience of the reader, and, it is to be wondered, why not to that of the poet himself.”

Mr. Panizzi says,—

“ Pulci wrote a long and complicated poem, which, diversified as it is by many incidents, has however a principal subject, and a principal character, [*viz.* Gano] on which all other personages and parts depend, without which

the poem could not subsist, and which, by itself alone, forms an uninterrupted narrative."—Page 234.

The Italian differs, however, from the German with respect to the treacherous plans of Gano, which he says (p. 281)

"keep up the attention, and make us less disgusted with the meanness of the Maganzese chief..... His deep sense of revenge, his unremitting efforts to gratify his malignity against the Emperor and his other enemies, his cowardly coolness, so necessary, however, to obtain his ends, are all masterly drawn."

We should like to know how M. Ranke would account for the traitor Gano committing the treacherous acts which he does, if the story were altered.

It has not escaped the learned historian of the Popes, that in Pulci's time there was a sect in Italy very much inclined to materialism (p. 421); nor has he forgotten the circumstance that Lorenzo de' Medici was, just when the poem was writing, the subject of the most treacherous persecution from the then Pope; to which circumstance M. Ranke ascribes the dislike which Pulci shows for priests, whilst the poem abounds with religious discussions on the most profound mysteries of Christianity (p. 423). It is remarkable that these circumstances are for the same purpose dwelt upon by Mr. Panizzi (Essay, p. 195). The passage would be too long to give, as it occupies several pages.

In speaking of the characters of Orlando and Rinaldo, M. Ranke (p. 424) observes,—

"How thoroughly noble, mild and great is Orlando! He is not even seduced by love: after the numberless wrongs he has received from Charlemagne, he still is extremely pleased at the Emperor being saved by his wife Alda; his strong and firm character is excellently placed in opposition to Rinaldo, easily excited either for good or for evil."

All this, and a great deal more to the purpose, has been said by Mr. Panizzi (p. 265).

"The character of Orlando is really and truly epic The Orlando of the *Morgante Maggiore* is not in love, or violent, yet he is not a bigot nor a devotee . . . No wrong can shake his loyalty, and he never forgets that the Emperor is his uncle and sovereign. When Rinaldo revolts the first time against Charlemagne, his violent temper blinds him so much that he resolves to kill both Charlemagne and Gano. The former escapes into Orlando's house, where he is concealed by Alda, his wife, with the consent of the count . . . The simplicity with which Pulci expresses the

feelings of Orlando, when he gives directions to his wife for the safety and comfort of the Emperor, gives greater relief to the generosity of the Paladin . . . The character of Rinaldo does great credit to Pulci, for the art with which it is contrasted with the others, for its consistency, for its liveliness, and for its impetuosity . . . He fights bravely and cheerfully, as he courts any lady for the mere fun of it. He changes his enemy as gladly as he does his damsel, for a new enemy and a new love . . . Rinaldo delights in fighting, and is brave, yet he is not so magnanimous and heroic as Orlando. His passionate temper loses much in comparison with the calm and serene valour of Orlando."

Any one might say what M. Ranke does on this point without having read the poem, by merely abridging what fills a few pages in Mr. Panizzi's Essay.

Pulci's style has also been scrutinized.

"He does not content himself," says Ranke, "with repeating expressions of Dante, or with quoting Petrarch; he also comments upon parts of the Bible, and quotes Origen. The ancients, as far as I can judge, had no essential influence upon his manner: he expressly states that he does not aim to emulate the ancients, as many of his friends have endeavoured to do. 'I claim no laurel, like the Greeks and the Romans; others will come with another style, a better lyre, superior masters. I sojourn in the woods among beeches, and dwell with country people. I never coveted the aid of Parnassus!' Even when serious, Pulci chooses to begin the lines of entire stanzas with the same words. Once he begins three successive stanzas, the first line of one with *Odi Rinaldo*, of the second with *Parti che 'l tempo*, of the third with *A questo modo*. He jokes about his own work. The rhyme is often forced, and the language full of harshness. Of what is called correctness and refinement of manner [*Vollendung oder Correctheit der Form*], Pulci had no idea whatever."—Pages 424 and 426.

Mr. Panizzi observes, that

"Pulci often quotes Dante and Petrarch, but he did not improve his taste, and acquire so much elegance as there was reason to expect from the perusal of these authors."—Page 302.

He too dwells long on the learning of Pulci, and among other things, on the appeal to the Bible and the quoting of Origen (p. 229), and says that

"the manner of writing of Pulci is of itself undoubted evidence that he was not a man acquainted with the classical writers of Greece and Rome."—Page 299.

Mr. Panizzi quotes a passage where Pulci says "his muse delights in woods and in a quiet country life" (p. 199); and a few pages further, the very part of the poem from which is

taken M. Ranke's quotation, is referred to by Mr. Panizzi. We moreover find in this writer the following passage:—

"At times, wishing to strive to make an effect, he is strangely pompous and tiresome. His symmetrical repetitions particularly, which are continued for a stanza or more, are so cold and tedious, as to be really intolerable on several occasions."—Page 297.

And in a note, after a reference to a certain passage, we find, "Another most fatiguing repetition occurs, c. xvi. st. 47, 49, 50, 51;" which last three are the very stanzas beginning, as M. Ranke says, with the exception of the 49th, which runs "*Ov'è Rinaldo*," instead of "*Odi*." Lastly, Mr. Panizzi observes:

"There is something harsh in Pulci's manner, owing to his abrupt transition from one idea to another, and to his carelessness of grammatical rules . . . he did not mind saying a thing correctly if he were but sure that his meaning could be guessed. The rhyme very often compels him to employ expressions, words, and even lines, which frequently render the sense obscure and the passage crooked."—Page 298.

Had we space to spare, we might show a most remarkable coincidence in the views of Mr. Panizzi and M. Ranke respecting the accomplishment of Gano's treachery, and the various steps by which the poet proceeds; steps which seem to have produced the same effect, and given rise to the same observations in the minds of both critics.

Speaking of the style, M. Ranke, after mentioning some of the farcical passages of Pulci, proceeds:—

"These wild and disagreeable descriptions are followed immediately by the tender leave which the survivors take of the killed [on the field of battle], where one looses the helmet of his son, the other of his brother, embraces his lifeless remains, and grieves at having to return home without him . . . The arrival of Rinaldo in the battle, the death of Baldwin, who, in order to remove the suspicion of his being an accomplice of his father Gano, throws away the arms [*Waffen*; but M. Ranke is here mistaken: he tore his knightly cloak, *sopravesta*, the poet says, by which the friends of his father were directed to recognize and spare him;] which protect him, and rushes to certain death; the end of Oliviero, and the last moments of Orlando, belong to the most beautiful poetry ever written."—Pages 428 and 429.

Now some of these, and other passages, are quoted for the same purpose by Mr. Panizzi, who prefaces them thus:—

"Pulci abounds undoubtedly in jocular incidents and episodes; yet he had powers for embellishing his poem as much as any poet, and knew how to move the heart to tears even better than to excite it to laughter. For if he can be reproached with being either vulgar, coarse, or gross when he means to be jovial, he wants neither delicacy, feeling, nor elegance when he attempts to be pathetic."—Page 287.

In proof of this, Mr. Panizzi quotes the deaths of Forisena and that of Bajaforte; he does not mention the entrance of Rinaldo into the battle, nor the end of Oliviero (which indeed do not seem to equal the other passages here alluded to), but he strongly dwells on the extraordinary merit of the other incidents praised by M. Ranke.

We have dwelt on the poem of Pulci longer than we expected, and must hasten to conclude with a very few words on some striking coincidences between these two critics on the *Orlando Innamorato*. M. Ranke observes,—

"When Bojardo made use of the romances of the Round Table, his intention was greater and more general. Let us hear him: [Here the substance is given of the first two stanzas, of the eighteenth canto, and second book of the *Innamorato*.] Bojardo found to each of these [Arthur's and Charlemagne's] cycluses something was wanting, to one the great and closely affecting subject, to the other, the spirit, if not of love, of *courtoisie*. Thus rose in him the idea of uniting the peculiarities of the two. He retained the Paladins and the nature of their combats in general, but to their arms he added the other element. This is the reason of his producing the history of *Orlando Innamorato*, which he jestingly says [I. i. 3.] had been kept concealed by Turpin. He says it expressly. In that part in which he compares the courts of Arthur and Charlemagne, he concludes, 'It is love which gives victory, &c.'" [Here follows the translation of the third stanza of the eighteenth canto above referred to.]—Pages 431 and 432.

On reading this, who would not think that these were Mr. Panizzi's ideas of 1830, Germanized in 1835? Here they are in their original English dress:—

"The popularity of Charlemagne in Italy was owing to the successful war against the Saracens, and the interest respecting him and his warriors resulted, in a great measure, from their being identified with the prosperity of the Christian religion." (Life of Bojardo, p. 74.) "Bojardo received the traditions respecting Charlemagne as a foundation for his poem, but introduced at the same time a very important novelty by enlivening them with love, which is constantly banished from them in their primitive state. . . . He had perceived the charm which love spread over the romantic traditions respecting Arthur and his court, and it is from the romances of

the Round Table, as we shall see by Bojardo's own words, that he borrowed the idea of embellishing his poetical effusions with love and the ladies."—*Ibid*, p. 62.

And in the notes to the second stanza of the poem :—

"There is no doubt that the idea [of singing *Orlando Innamorato*] was taken from the romancers of the Round Table, which Bojardo thought superior to those respecting Charlemagne, as they were animated by a spirit of love and gallantry. He opens the eighteenth canto of the second book of the *Innamorato* with a kind of comparison between Arthur and his court and Charlemagne and his court; in that comparison he gives the advantage to the British heroes, because, although the French Paladins were brave, they were inferior to the others, as the emperor 'gave himself only to holy battles, but shut the door against love.' It is evident from this passage that the story of Orlando was *sweetened* by love, in imitation of the romances, of which the heroes were British."

A few words more respecting Ariosto, who, says Ranke (pp. 438, 439),

"connected with the Carlovingian story of Orlando at the great siege of Paris, incidents from the stories of the Round Table; at least it is not new that Orlando loses his senses, Tristan like Lancelot becoming mad for love. Zeno has remarked that Origille and Martan are from Tristan. I find that other French romances have been also used by Ariosto. The fall of Bradamante, among others, by which she arrives at the tomb of Merlin to learn the history of her posterity, is taken from the *Giron le Courtois*, where Breux is pushed into a wonderful grotto, in which he learns the history of the ancestors of Giron. . . . The contemporaries of Ariosto knew this well."

It is certainly not new that Orlando loses his senses, like Tristan and Lancelot, as M. Ranke says, nor, we beg to add, is the observation of this fact new. Mr. Panizzi (notes to the *Furioso*, canto 33, stanza 126) informs us that the same Zeno referred to by M. Ranke, had observed that Orlando's madness was imitated from Lancelot's; and he shows not only that the imitation was rather from Tristan's, but proves that several particulars were taken partly from the French original, and partly from a very ancient Italian version of the story. But M. Ranke claims the merit of having discovered that Ariosto had used other French romances, and gives as a proof the story of Bradamante being thrown by Pinabello into Merlin's cave. That Ariosto took some of his stories from old French romances, has been known ever since

the *Orlando Furioso* was published; and as to the particular instance given by M. Ranke, he had been preceded by Mr. Panizzi (notes to the *Furioso*, canto 2, stanza 25), who pointed out many of the coincident details in the Giron and Ariosto.

It must be confessed, that so many remarkable coincidences, particularly in matters of detail, on points hitherto either slightly or not at all touched on, might lead one to think them not fortuitous. Had Mr. Panizzi written after M. Ranke, our English contemporaries, who are so loud in re-echoing this writer's observations, and so pleased with his originality, would not have doubted it for a moment; as it is, not a word is said of what appeared in their own language and country long before M. Ranke took the field. That this gentleman did not know of the English publication mentioned, in February 1836, in an English review of his own great work, *Die Römischen Päpste* (Quart. Rev. vol. lv. p. 296), we are bound and willing to believe. His high character renders it certain, and it would be a very poor satisfaction for Mr. Panizzi to be able to prove (supposing what we deem impossible) that what he had said has been repeated. But it must be highly gratifying to him to find so distinguished an historian and scholar as M. Ranke taking so often the same views, and coinciding with him even in matters of detail, striking, *as he thought*, a new and independent path for himself, not being aware of the track already beaten by another traveller to the same regions. The name of the German critic will proclaim his merits; those of the Italian seem to be already forgotten, as if he had preceded the former by four or five centuries—not years. We have thought it but fair to record and promulgate them as far as lies in our power, and, having done so, we conclude.

ARTICLE VIII.

Observations on the Supreme Appellate Jurisdiction of Great Britain, as it is now exercised by the Courts of the Queen in Council and the House of Lords. By WILLIAM BURGE, of the Inner Temple, one of Her Majesty's Counsel. 1841.

MR. BURGE's pamphlet and Sir Edward Sugden's Bill for the reconstitution of the high Appellate Courts of the Empire have drawn the attention of Parliament and the public to the important questions connected with this subject. Although Mr. Burge is not always strictly logical in his argument, or strictly correct in his facts, his opinion deserves to be listened to with great deference; and although Sir Edward Sugden's chief inducement to undertake the reform of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and of the House of Lords in its judicial capacity, appears to be that he has unfortunately no seat in either of those noble and learned bodies, yet no one will deny that the assistance of the ex-Lord Chancellor of Ireland would add greatly to the authority and excellence of the highest tribunals of the realm and the crown.

In speaking, however, of the appellate tribunals, we cannot entirely concur in measuring their importance, as practical institutions of the country, by the honorific dignity with which they are very properly invested. Mr. Burge says,

"The tribunal of ultimate appeal forms an essential part of every judicial institution. In its origin the appellate jurisdiction was and has continued to be exercised in the name of the Sovereign power. The suitor preferred his complaint to the Sovereign when he considered himself aggrieved by the decision of the judge. As legislation advanced, and the subjects of judicial controversy were rendered by the progress of civilisation more numerous and intricate, the investigation of the complaint was referred to some select body, composed of those who were conversant with the law. In the origin and earlier exercise of their appellate jurisdiction, there is a striking similarity in the judicial institutions of all the different states of Europe*. But in its further progress that similarity ceased. In every

* Sir M. Hale's Treat. on the House of Lords, p. 155. Meyer's Esprit, &c. Des Institutions Judiciaires, tom. 5. Hertius de Jud. Rev. Diss. and de Consult. &c. Diss. Boehm. Introd. Jus. Pub. lib. 2, c. 7.

state in Europe, except Great Britain, whatever has been done in relation to the Courts of Appellate Judicature has been intended to render them more adequate to accomplish the purpose which required and rendered their establishment indispensable. They became and continued objects of primary importance. They were the only authoritative interpreters of the law. It is a striking proof of their weight and authority, that with very few exceptions the only reported decisions of the continental Courts are those of their Supreme Courts of Appeal. Those reports still retain their high character, and are the best depositories of the jurisprudence of Europe*.

"It is a singular feature in the judicial system of Great Britain, that her superior Courts of ultimate appeal do not, either in their constitution, or their means of efficiency, command the same degree of confidence which is enjoyed by her superior Courts of original jurisdiction.

"The two tribunals of ultimate appeal in Great Britain are, in the language of the law and constitution of this country, the House of Lords, and the Queen in Council.

"The subjects of the appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords are, appeals from decrees and orders in the Courts of Chancery and Exchequer, as Courts of Equity, and from all other Courts of Equity in England, writs of error from the Queen's Bench and Exchequer Chamber, appeals from the decrees of the Court of Chancery, and writs of error from the Exchequer Chamber in Ireland; and from the decisions of the Court of Session in Scotland. But, although this jurisdiction is exercised, and the decisions of the Court are given in the name of the House of Lords, yet in reality those decisions are made by the Lord Chancellor, assisted, when he pleases, by other Judges. But it is not essential to the constitutional exercise of this jurisdiction, that he should call for or receive that assistance. It is sufficient that there are three peers present during the hearing of the appeal, and when the House adopts the decision of the Lord Chancellor.

"The Court of Appeal of the Queen in Council is the tribunal which reviews the decisions of the courts of those numerous colonies and dependencies in every part of the globe, which have so extended the British Empire, that it may now be said of its Sovereign, as was said of old of the Kings of Spain, that the sun never sets on her dominions. It is the Court of ultimate appeal from the decisions of the High Court of Admiralty in England, and of the Vice-Admiralty Courts in the colonies. It possesses also the appellate jurisdiction, which was formerly exercised by the High Court of Delegates. Although the affirmance or reversal of the sentence appealed from is in the name, and is declared to be the act of the Sovereign, founded on the recommendation of the Privy Council, yet in fact the ap-

* See the list of the eminent reporters of the decisions of the principal Appellate Courts of Europe in the Preface to the Reports of Mævius, to which may be added the Reports of Christinæus, Carpxovius, Stockmans, Wynant, Neostad, the *Journal des Principales Audiences du Parlement*, by Du Fresne, François Jamet de la Guesnière, and Nupied, and the *Discursus Legales* of Casaregis, &c., &c., &c. See also Hertius, *Diss. supra*.

peal itself is heard before, and the recommendation of affirmance or reversal decided on by a small number of the Privy Council, usually not more than four. Indeed, according to the practice which had prevailed for many years, until the Act was passed appointing the Judicial Committee, the only Judge who attended the hearing, and decided on the recommendation, was the Master of the Rolls, although there were occasions when other Judges assisted, but these were rare exceptions to the general practice.

"It forms a very striking anomaly in the history of the judicial system of this country, that these two Courts of appellate jurisdiction have not been the objects, nor have they participated in any of those measures which have been adopted for rendering the superior Courts of original jurisdiction better adapted to the altered state of the country, and more competent to satisfy those demands on their functions which the extent of its commerce and the increase of its population and wealth had necessarily created.

"Of the extent to which the business of the Court of Chancery had increased, some idea may be formed from the fact, that the amount of the funds standing in the name of the Accountant-General in 1750, was 1,665,160*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*, but that it now exceeds forty-one millions. This was personal property alone, and the subject of litigation in the Court of Chancery. The value of the real property litigated in that Court is, perhaps, of still greater amount*. But this fact not merely establishes the increase of business in the Court of Equity, but it affords the means of estimating the extent of the personal and real property which would be the subject of litigation in the Courts of Law in England, the Courts of Law and Equity in Ireland, and the Court of Session in Scotland. The increase in the business of the Courts of original jurisdiction necessarily involves an increase in the business of the House of Lords, which, as a tribunal of ultimate appeal, has to adjudicate on the decisions of those courts."

It is somewhat remarkable that the learned author should overlook the cause of this "singular feature in the judicial system of Great Britain," which is in reality peculiarly creditable to this country. Courts of appeal are a remedy for a previous failure of justice. They supply defects, they control excesses, they correct errors, they reduce to a standard of uniformity the variations or the conflicts of inferior Courts of original jurisdiction. But their jurisdiction is essentially occasional. It proceeds on the presumption of a mal-administration of the law by the ordinary tribunal. Consequently the amount of business in an appellate court, the frequency with which its interference is invoked, and the confidence reposed in it by the community, are not regulated by the ex-

* See Mr. Pemberton's speech in the House of Commons, on the 5th August, 1840, p. 10.

tent of a country, the wealth of the nation, or the increase of the subjects of judicial controversy, but by the vices or diversities of the ordinary tribunals. In Holland, in the United States, or in France, the Supreme Courts of Appeal or Cassation derive great importance from the fact that they preserve the uniform tradition of the law from the changes which would inevitably result from the conflicting dicta of numerous local courts. But in England no one has ever looked to our supreme appellate courts as the principal expounders of the law of the land. It would have implied a deplorable rottenness in the judicial system of this country, if the confidence of the public had been transferred from the ordinary tribunals of law and equity to the superior jurisdiction of the House of Lords: and it is precisely because the Courts of Westminster have for ages maintained the highest character for learning and justice, whilst they have kept up the even and uniform tradition of the law, that the supreme Courts of Appeal of England have never been called upon to exercise a constant or jealous control over the inferior jurisdictions, and are not even regarded by the nation as the most essential or important part of our system of judicature.

If, however, these reasons suffice to account for the apparent indifference of the public and the legislature to the constitution of our own appellate courts, they certainly do not lessen the importance of that tribunal to which appeals are brought from every part of the British Empire.

"It may be well to pause here, and take a view of the immense jurisdiction of the Privy Council, as a Court of Appeal, the numerous colonies and dependencies which are subjected to it, and the extent of the population, whose rights of person and property, and whose legal and political rights are affected by the manner in which it is exercised. The Anglo-Indian empire contains 100,000,000 of people, subjects to the British Crown. That is,

| | Inhabitants. |
|--|-------------------------|
| "The Presidency of Bengal contains | 40,000,000 |
| " Agra " | 38,000,000 |
| " Madras " | 15,000,000 |
| " Bombay " | 7,000,090 |
| | <hr/> Total 100,000,000 |

"In Asia, there is Ceylon, with a population of 1,000,000; and an area 24,644 square miles = 11,771,160 acres.

"*In the West Indies*, are the colonies of Jamaica, Trinidad, Tobago, Grenada, St. Vincent, Barbadoes, St. Lucia, Dominica, Antigua, Montserrat, Nevis, St. Kitts, Anguilla, Tortola, and the Virgin Isles, New Providence, and the Bahama Islands, St. George's and the Bermuda Isles: the population of these possessions exceeds 1,000,000; they present an area 13,000 square miles = 7,720,000 acres.

"*In North America*, there are the colonies of Upper and Lower Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward's Island, Cape Breton, and Newfoundland; with a population of one million and a half of white colonists; area 435,000 square miles, or 279,400,000 acres; and independent of the foregoing, Hudson Bay territories extend over 370,000 square miles.

"*In South America*, are the colonies of Demerara, Essequibo, Berbice, Honduras, and the Falkland Isles. Their population exceeds 120,000; there is an area of 165,000 square miles = 105,600,000 acres.

"*In Africa*, there are the colonies of the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius, Mahé, and the Seychelles Islands, St. Helena, Ascension, Sierra Leone, the Gambia, Accra, Cape Coast, &c.; with a population of more than 350,000; area 250,000 square miles = 160,000,000 acres.

"*In Australasia*, are the settlements of New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, Swan River, King George's Sound, South Australia, Norfolk Island, &c.; with a population, 120,000; area 500,000 square miles = 320,000,000 acres.

"*In Europe*, are the dependencies of Gibraltar, Malta, Gozo, Corfu, Cephalonia, Zante, Santa Maura, Ithaca, Paxo, Cerigo, &c.; with a population of 400,000; area 1,500 square miles = 1,000,000 acres*."

It is rather an unsatisfactory mode of proceeding to calculate the amount of business in any Court of Justice by a computation of square acres, or by a census of the population; but this test is utterly worthless as applied to an appellate tribunal, in which the amount of business depends in the first place on the extent of the abuses and errors of inferior courts, and in the second on the terms and conditions imposed on appellants. The Judicial Committee have had occasion to decide about 200 appeals in the seven years during which they have administered the appellate justice of the Queen in Council. The following statement will show that the amount of business and the success of proceedings

* In this statement, which Mr. Burge has borrowed, with an undeserved compliment, from Mr. Montgomery Martin's 'Statistics of the British Colonies,' there is some apparent exaggeration. Several of the Colonies are entered separately, although they fall under the jurisdiction of the same Court; and from some of the dependencies, especially from the Ionian Isles, no appeal lies to the Queen in Council. No appeals have been made, we believe, from any of the Australian settlements.

in the appeal-court bear no real proportion to population, wealth or territory :—

| Courts appealed from. | Affirmed. | Reversed or varied. | Total number of causes appealed. |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|---------------------|----------------------------------|
| Colonial Courts*. | 23 | 39 | 72 |
| Indian Courts†. | 53 | 20 | 73 |
| Ecclesiastical Courts. (English.) | 26 | 7 | 23 |
| Admiralty Courts‡. | 5 | 5 | 10 |
| Total | 117 | 71 | 188 |

Hence it is evident that a population in the colonies, not exceeding three millions, gives rise to as many appeals as the population of the whole British empire in India, and that the number of reversals in the former appeals is twice as large as in the latter; whilst the whole testamentary, matrimonial, and ecclesiastical business of England occasions about half that number of appeals, and one-fifth of that number of reversals.

The utility and extent of an appellate jurisdiction must obviously be measured by the proportion which the appeals bear to the original decrees, and also by the proportion of reversals obtained on appeal. It is a fact worth recording, that from the occasional jurisdiction of the Commissioners of Slave Compensation appointed under the 3rd and 4th Will. IV. cap. 73, for the distribution of twenty millions of money, only five appeals to the Crown have been prosecuted to a hearing, and in those five causes four awards have been reversed or remitted for the admission of further evidence. On the other hand, the little islands of Jersey, St. Lucia,

* Including the West Indies, the North American Colonies, the Channel Islands, the Isle of Man, Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius, Malta, Gibraltar, Ceylon, and Sierra Leone.

† Including the Supreme Courts of Judicature in the three Presidencies, as well as the Courts of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, and a heavy arrear of thirty years standing from the latter.

‡ Including the Vice-Admiralty Courts in the Colonies.

and St. Vincent afford as many appeals as the whole of the British possessions in North America, in the Mediterranean and in Africa. But the peculiar difficulties which the Privy Council has to contend with arise less from the extent of the jurisdiction of the Crown than from its singular variety.

The due administration of justice in the various parts of our vast dominions must necessarily be subject to numerous imperfections and irregularities. The post of a Colonial Judge will never be filled by men of first-rate education or ability, who may push their fortunes to more successful issues elsewhere. Many of the questions which demand all the rare qualifications of an experienced judicial mind are rapidly disposed of by a Governor in Council, or rather a Governor '*expers consilii*.' The whole business of the law is conducted without those securities which in this country protect the client: local customs prevail, local passions disturb and local ignorance obscures the eye of justice*. Add to this, that an immense variety of laws, from the Daya Bhaga of the Hindoo to the Civil Code of the Isle of France, are to be interpreted and applied, while they are partially and capriciously affected by their inevitable conflict with the principles of English law which exist in the minds of those judges to whom any principles of law chance to be known.

If then the object of a Court of Appeal be to correct the defects and moderate the eccentricities of courts of inferior jurisdiction, no Court of Appeal was ever called upon to perform so wide and indispensable a task as that which devolves upon the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. We shall presently examine Mr. Burge's assertions that the present constitution of that tribunal is quite inadequate to the duties it has to fulfil: but the immediate inference which strikes us most forcibly, on reviewing this wide circle of imperial jurisdiction, is the primary necessity of improving

* Lord Glenelg stated in the House of Lords, on the 11th March, 1836, in bringing in the West India Judicature Bill, that "within the last few years there had been preferred to the Home Government no less than five or six complaints from one of these islands, with respect to unjust decisions that had been pronounced by the Colonial Judges, arising out of their personal or local connexion with the inhabitants; and that within the last fifteen years, in consequence of complaints so remitted to the Colonial Office, no less than ten judges had been suspended."

the Colonial Courts themselves. We are told that these dependencies beyond seas incessantly lay their judicial grievances at the foot of the throne: but the real grievance is not so much this or that blunder of a gallant Chancellor, this or that failure of justice by the impetuosity of an ill-qualified officer, as the general grievance of a bad administration of justice, which ought as far as possible to be corrected. Nor is this impossible: we find from the returns of appeals laid before Parliament, that from many of the most important colonies appeals are almost unknown; whilst from others, such as St. Vincent, St. Lucia and British Guiana, they are of very frequent occurrence, from the deplorable state of the law or the bench in those communities.

It is evident that the imperfections of every colonial judicature, the inability of a small community to remunerate lawyers of eminence, the absence of a competent bar, and the local feuds which almost invariably exist between those natural enemies, a colonial Chief Justice and a colonial Governor, increase in an inverse ratio to the size of the colony. The consequence inevitably is, that the smaller the colony the worse are the Courts of Justice, and the greater the need of appeal.

This important reform of a state of things, which is disgraceful to the mother-country and ruinous to the colonies, has already been provided for by an Act of Parliament passed nearly five years ago (6 & 7 Will. IV. cap. 17), which only requires to be brought into operation.

This Act introduces the old English practice of Circuit Courts, whose ambulatory jurisdiction is to include all the Caribbee Islands, with the exception of Jamaica. The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the Windward Islands comprises Barbadoes (where the ordinary sittings would be held), St. Vincent, Grenada and Tobago; that of the Supreme Court of the Leeward Islands, Antigua (where the ordinary sittings would be held), Dominica, St. Christopher's, Montserrat, Nevis and the Virgin Islands. Provision is made for a well-qualified Bench; and the Court, constituted on the principle of the Queen's Courts in India, would exercise the whole jurisdiction in law and equity, as well as in ecclesiastical and admiralty suits. The needless grade of local appeal to the Governor in Council is abolished, and a

direct appeal to the Queen in Council retained, under such terms and conditions as should be contained in the Royal Letters Patent constituting these Courts. A power is also given to the Crown of including the colonies of Trinidad and St. Lucia in the circuit, though perhaps, as long as the Spanish and old French laws are in force in those islands, that measure would be inexpedient. The recent introduction of steam navigation between the islands obviously tends greatly to facilitate the execution of this law; and it was calculated that no more than fifty-eight hours would be consumed in the actual progress through the Barbadoes circuit, and that eighty-eight hours would suffice for the Antigua circuit. The Bill, which had been originally suggested by the West India Law Commissioners in 1825, was approved by Lord Bathurst, Lord Eldon and Sir George Murray, prepared by Lord Stanley, and brought in by Lord Glenelg; it passed both houses without the slightest opposition, and was received with great satisfaction by the West India proprietary. It is scarcely credible that so well-conceived and much-needed a measure has been allowed to remain dormant in the statute-book. But its operation was unfortunately suspended until all the colonies included in the jurisdiction of the proposed courts should have given their formal assent to the measure, by passing Acts of Assembly to repeal all such local statutes or customs as might obstruct or interfere with the administration of justice by the new Courts. This clause is totally at variance with the preamble of the Act, which declares that it is expedient to erect two Courts of Judicature within the Islands, but that the assistance and authority of Parliament was required *by reason of the local acts* by which the present colonial Courts are constituted. The assistance and authority of Parliament ought not to have been invoked in vain. No opposition was offered to the Bill, no doubts were ever expressed that it was a necessary, and would prove an effectual remedy to existing abuses; but we understand that the little Islands of Montserrat and St. Kitts have refused to pass the Acts for transferring the local jurisdiction of their Courts to the Supreme Court, on the ground of inability to meet the additional expense. It is difficult to conceive how those

islands can be provided with local Courts, exclusively their own, at a less expense than would be incurred by a share in the cost of the Supreme Court; but this pretext ought obviously to be overruled by the Government; and no doubt can reasonably be entertained that the existence of such Courts would be the soundest and most practicable corrective to the present evils of colonial judicature, whether original or appellate.

It must ever be a harsh means of redress to drag an appellant across the globe and subject him to infinite delay and expense, which the most ordinary legal knowledge or judicial fairness might have avoided; yet we fully recognize the importance of having a high central seat of justice of undoubted wisdom and uncontaminated virtue, as much to remind the inferior judge that he is himself responsible to a higher authority than that of colonial opinion or colonial censure, as to correct his actual errors. But we adhere to the principle that the intervention of such a tribunal ought to be occasional rather than essential or habitual; and instead of increasing the interference of such a Court by giving it a character of permanent activity, it is desirable to diminish as much as possible the abuses which it is called upon to check.

The whole tenor of Colonial Charters and Instructions to Colonial Governors recognizes the facultative right of appeal from the Colonies to the King in Council. Mr. Burge asserts, somewhat incorrectly, that "at a very early period a restriction was imposed on the exercise of the right of appeal to the King in Council, which must have operated as a prohibition. Leave to appeal must have been obtained from the Supreme Court in the Colony, and that leave was not to be granted, unless the sum in dispute exceeded 500*l.* sterling." The limit in the Channel Islands is 10*l.*, in many of the Colonies it is 300*l.*, in some, and in India, 1000*l.*; but Mr. Burge might have added, that it is open to the aggrieved party in all cases whatsoever to apply for leave from the Crown to enter the appeal which may have been refused by the Court.

The practice of appeal to the Sovereign in Council is coeval with the growth of the colonial empire of Great Britain, and probably originated in the appellate jurisdic-

tion exercised by the kings of England as Dukes of Normandy over the Channel Islands. In 1699 it was formally established by a representation of the Council of Trade to the Crown, signed by Lord Tankerville, Sir Philip Meadows, William Blathwayt, John Pollexfen and Abraham Hill, that "it was the inherent right of His Majesty to receive and determine appeals from all His Majesty's subjects in America :—" the question had arisen on that occasion from some obstruction to the course of justice in the Colony of Connecticut. Throughout the last century it was customary for the Committee of Council for hearing appeals from the Plantations to consist of several of the heads of the law ; and probably the Chief Justices and the Chief Baron were first made Privy Councillors for this purpose. On the 3rd March 1795, that Committee, being composed of the Lord President Lord Auckland, the Master of the Rolls (Sir R. P. Arden), Sir William Wynne, Lord Chief Justice Eyre, and the Lord Chief Baron (Sir Archibald Macdonald), agreed "to meet every Tuesday and Saturday, at eleven o'clock, to hear appeals from the Plantations and in prize causes ; and that Tuesday should be the day for hearing plantation-appeals (until the same be disposed of), and Saturday for hearing appeals in prizes." It was not till a later period, under Sir W. Grant, that the practice was introduced of deciding appeals by the Master of the Rolls, assisted *pro forma* by two lay Privy Councillors. That practice was continued by Sir John Leach ; but the state of business in the Colonial Appellate Court undoubtedly demanded the reform which Lord Brougham's Bill for "the better Administration of Justice in the Privy Council" was intended to effect.

It is not easy to understand upon what principle Parliament was called upon to pass an Act for the purpose of regulating a matter of prerogative so indisputably attached to the Crown as the colonial appellate jurisdiction and the constitution of a Committee of the Privy Council. On all previous occasions the practice and the constitution of such bodies had been regulated by Orders in Council. The bill however passed, and we now hear much complaint from Mr. Burge and some from the public, that the Judicial Committee as constituted by that Act is not adequate to fulfil the duties which devolve

upon it, especially since the powers of the Court of Delegates and some other matters have been transferred to it.

There has been a good deal of misrepresentation on the subject. Mr. Burge enumerates among the members of the Judicial Committee the heads of all the highest Courts in the Kingdom, but, strangely enough, he omits the words of the Act which provide that any person (being a Privy Councillor) who shall be or shall have been Lord Chief Justice "*or Judge*" of the Courts of Queen's Bench, or Common Pleas, or Lord Chief Baron "*or Baron*" of the Exchequer, are to form part of the Committee. He afterwards states that "the assistance of two of the common-law judges of the Court at Westminster was obtained by making them Privy Councillors and appointing them members of the Committee." The fact is, that the late Mr. Justice Vaughan, Mr. Justice Bosanquet, Mr. Baron Parke, Sir William Garrow, Sir John Bayley, Sir Robert Graham, and, more recently, Sir Joseph Littledale, have been made Privy Councillors since the passing of the Act, and of course became members of the Judicial Committee; and so would all the Judges of the Courts at Westminster if they were made Privy Councillors tomorrow.

It is evident that the Appellate Committee of the Privy Council affords a useful and honourable retreat to Judges, whose age may prevent them from discharging all the fatiguing duties of an English Judge, though their learning and eminence peculiarly qualifies them to fulfil those of the members of a Court of Appeal. But Mr. Burge makes no allusion to this very obvious and effectual mode of supplying Judges of appeal; although the principal object of the Privy Council Act was to employ those high personages of the law, who might have retired from the Bench from political or other causes.

Mr. Burge complains that Judges should be taken away from their own Courts to sit at the Judicial Committee. The practice undoubtedly has some inconveniences, and if the nature of the appellate business was as extensive, permanent and regular as Mr. Burge assumes it to be, the system must be altered. But where are we to look for a second set of men of equal or superior sagacity, honesty and learning to those who fill the highest judicial posts in the country? The Judi-

cial Committee derives its peculiar merit, not from its dignity as a high Appellate Court consisting of men who sit there as the advisers of the Sovereign, but from the circumstance, that each variety of its extensive, peculiar and occasional jurisdiction may claim the presence of the individual judge best qualified to exercise it. For the ordinary purposes of a court of justice, a tribunal irregularly composed, and irregular in its sittings, would be the worst of all tribunals; for a Court which is called upon to provide a peculiar remedy for the failure of original jurisdiction, and a general remedy for what we may venture to term the judicial accidents of the remote dependencies of the empire, the present system, with some additional facilities, is by no means ill-adapted. Nor do we conceive it possible to invest a new Court with the same degree of authority and dignity which must be attached to a Court having no essential quality of its own, but uniting the authority and the dignity of *all* the other courts in the persons of their principal officers.

We regret that by some unaccountable oversight the post of Lord Chancellor of Ireland was not named in the Privy Council Act, for that would have secured to the Judicial Committee the valuable aid of Sir E. Sugden; we have been informed that both the noble ex-Chancellors of England are not equally zealous in performing duties, in consideration of which they both receive increased retiring pensions; but these are circumstances which are accidental, or may be remedied without having recourse to the interference of the legislature for the creation of a new court.

Mr. Burge however strongly advocates a measure of this kind, and he would annex to the Appellate Court a bar somewhat analogous to that higher branch of the French bar, which attends the Court of Cassation and the Comité des Contentieux at the Conseil d'Etat, under the name of the *Avocats aux Conseils*. We should be inclined, under any circumstances, to doubt the expediency of attempting to invest a new Court with the highest dignity of a supreme appellate jurisdiction, especially as the business it would have to transact would be for the most part of a peculiar character, unknown to the English bar and the English public. But in order to call such a Court into existence, it is necessary to abrogate the

judicial functions and authority of the House of Peers, intimately connected with the privileges and constitutional powers of that House, and to annul an important part of the royal prerogative, by which the grievances of the subject in the remote dependencies of the empire are brought to the foot of the throne. It is extremely desirable that proper arrangements should be made for rendering the House of Lords and the Privy Council efficient Courts of Appeal; but we are convinced that all their judicial duties may be performed without either mingling or impairing their jurisdiction.

Even in the present state of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council it appears from the returns recently presented to both Houses of Parliament, that the arrears are lighter than the arrears of any court in Westminster. The whole number of appeals ready for hearing on the 19th of February, 1841, was,

| | |
|---|---|
| From the colonies | 6 |
| Ecclesiastical and Admiralty Courts | 6 |
| Native Courts in India | 6 |

Of these, none (except a few of the heavy cases from the Indian Courts) have been ready for hearing more than twelve months; and the average delay is not above half that time. Since the Privy Council Act of 1833 was passed, the Judicial Committee have sat on an average thirty-two days, and have disposed of about thirty-five appeals per annum, including the various extraordinary and temporary matters which have been brought before them under particular Acts of Parliament, as the appeals from the Commissioners for British Claims on France, and the appeals from the Commissioners for Slave Compensation.

Such is the real amount of business for which Mr. Burge proposes to create a Supreme Appellate Court,—an amount of business which would probably be still further diminished if the chance of delay (a common motive of appeal) were removed, and if the abuses of the Colonial Courts were corrected by the introduction of properly qualified judicial officers throughout the British dominions, and more especially in the Sudder Adawlut Courts of the Indian Presidencies.

The delays, such as they are, certainly do not arise from the press of business or the weight of arrears; and it is not

difficult to assign the true cause to the reluctance of parties to appeal to a remote tribunal and encounter the enormous expenses of these proceedings—expenses which might undoubtedly be reduced, but which must always be a grievous burthen to the suitor. We have shown that, except under the present vicious system of West-India judicature or the ancient abuses of Norman courts, the number of reversals is too small to offer to an appellant a sufficient average chance of success; and, doubtless, many of the causes now appealed would not be brought into the superior court at all, if the desire of delay or the vast amount of property at stake did not induce the parties to exhaust all the successive stages of the law.

Admitting, on the one hand, that the inconveniences of a remote court of appeal are numerous, it remains to be proved that those inconveniences are materially increased by the present constitution of the judicial committee as that court of appeal, or that they would be materially diminished by the adoption of Mr. Burge's or Sir E. Sugden's plans for a permanent court, occupying, as it must do, the highest rank in the country, yet independent in point of fact of our principal judicial officers and unconnected with our oldest judicial institutions. The details of these plans are comparatively immaterial, at least until the principle is settled. According to the present constitution of our appellate courts, they are composed of an assemblage of men who fill or have filled the very highest places in the country; to leave these men to their other duties exclusively, or to devote them exclusively to the duties of an appellate court, would tend to introduce another class of second-rate authorities into the administration of justice, who would not deserve to command the confidence of the public in an equal degree.

The example of the bar must be peculiarly familiar to Mr. Burge. There are always some ten or twelve men—say rather some three or four practitioners—of such remarkable eminence, that they are overwhelmed with briefs and hurried from court to court, although their clients are practically exposed to all the inconveniences of uncertainty, rapid transition and accumulated business reprobated by Mr. Burge in some of the courts which he describes in his pamphlet. Yet

the attorney and the client persist in braving all these serious drawbacks, generally at an increased expense, in order to have the best opinion of the best counsel. In like manner we contend, that, to meet the demand of the colonies and the public, the supreme appellate court must be able to give the best opinion of the best judge. Nothing less will do; and the only means of obtaining the best opinion of the best judge is to borrow a portion of his time for the use of the empire from the highest courts of the kingdom. Accidents may occur occasionally to retard proceedings, or (as Mr. Burge appears rather slyly to hint) to accelerate them with injudicious or injudicial haste. So the first counsel in the country may be absent when he ought to open a case, or may abridge his reply in order to pass to other duties; but he is not the less the first counsel in the country, whose assistance, even occasionally given, is more valued than the unvarying attention of an inferior mind.

Mr. Burge insists with a good deal of force on the propriety of providing suitable accommodations for the appellate court; but confounding the building, with the institution, of the House of Lords, he is content to leave to that edifice its judicial character after he has deprived the peers of their judicial powers. Sir E. Sugden would allow the House of Lords and the Privy Council to retain a nominal jurisdiction, whilst the substance would be vested in two legal dry-nurses to be styled 'the Lords Assistant.' The same learned reformer pointed out in the House of Commons the enormity of judges sitting at a round table instead of a long one; whence it may be inferred that a cabinet-maker may supply one main part of the judicial constitution of the empire quite as easily as a cabinet-minister.

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THE
BRITISH AND FOREIGN
REVIEW;
OR,
EUROPEAN QUARTERLY JOURNAL.

"In primisque hominis est propria veri inquisitio atque investigatio."

CICERO, DE OFF.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN REVIEW.

ARTICLE I.

Chartism. By THOMAS CARLYLE. Fraser: London, 1840.

WE have not unfrequently been struck, and for a time surprised, at the coincidence of Mr. Carlyle's observations on politics and contemporary history with those of Niebuhr, who of all contemporary writers was perhaps the most widely different from him in habits of thought, in political preferences, and in a more general estimate of historical transactions. The rights of sovereigns and subjects were in Niebuhr's system entirely prescriptive. He believed that men must be governed either by force or through a religious reverence for a constitution: he saw that even despotism, sanctioned by antiquity, rested in some degree on free and dutiful obedience; and that the best of upstart governments, although in itself it might satisfy the judgment of statesmen, must dispense with the support of prejudice and habitual association, and supply the defect by coercion, or leave its functions unfulfilled. Such was the ancient English creed, which found its last preacher in Burke. The charters which our ancestors won were, in theory, so many declaratory acts. They had the right before they fought for it against the revolutionary power which had robbed them. The deeper the worship of the constitution, the more natural was the wish to become better acquainted with its nature, the more sacred the duty of realizing its principles. Happily it was always found to contain the securities which freedom at the time

required; for the elements of a free constitution had never been lost, though the necessary conditions of liberty had varied in the lapse of ages. With the same analytic course of constitutional inquiry, the same repugnance to novelty, except where it could be regarded as a reproduction of a lost ideal, Niebuhr was familiar in the history of all free states, and he adopted it for himself in its full extent. All professed revolutions he regarded with equal hatred. He thought some degree of freedom possible under the worst of the European governments, but he believed that it could not coexist with Jacobinism. The substitution of a supposed analysis of human nature for the old prescriptive standard of political rights, necessarily led to a more abstract view of the ends of government and a more arbitrary choice of means. Obedience to laws could thenceforward proceed only from a perception of their utility or from compulsion. But coincidence of conduct with the course prescribed by law, merely because the subject agrees with the legislator, is not loyalty, and the power of the sovereign is a reserved force which should be perceptible only to the bad. Willing submission to the law, because it is law, and not because it is wise, is the single mode of reconciling freedom with government. It becomes impossible when the legislators themselves appeal only to the intrinsic merit of their laws. Niebuhr shared in the general belief that the constitutions of the European states were nearly worn out, but he had no particle of the general hope that European civilization would survive them.

Mr. Carlyle goes at least as far in the opinion, that most things in which men formerly believed have become fictions, or, to use his compendious but less accurate phraseology, lies. But he has no tenderness for the forms which have become hollow with age. Respecting and doing justice to their original value, he attributes it all to the spirit which worked in them and moulded them to be what they are, and which will find new modes of action when these fail. Whatever is divine is also immortal, and let whatever is mortal die. He always claims for the French Jacobins, notwithstanding their mad wickedness, the merit of having destroyed what was false and deserved to perish. Let us believe this first, he often says, that a lie is not the truth.

We have no objection to believe so; but we have some doubts as to the duty of proclaiming on all highways that fictions are fictions. Newly invented forms are often practical lies, because they profess to be true; but obsolete modes of expressing truth are, amongst their other uses, sure indexes of the extent and velocity of our changes. Mr. Carlyle is undoubtedly right in asserting the immortality of the great ideas, which perhaps are ceasing to animate our existing institutions; but we cannot afford that their vital operation should be suspended for a thousand years. If by keeping open old channels we can reinvigorate ourselves when the stream of inspiration comes without being overwhelmed by it, it will be better than to seek through convulsions the possibility of a new organization. The system of the Jewish theology had become one of the most hollow fictions in the generation before it was transfigured into Christianity. When we have got a new spirit to supply the place of the old, it will alter our existing forms for itself.

Men of speculative and literary habits, moreover, are not unlikely to think too hastily, that the political or general scepticism which they observe around them has penetrated the great body of society. We have little doubt that the forms and traditions of our constitution have still a sacredness and a meaning for Englishmen in general beyond that which Mr. Carlyle attributes to them; and if so, the undisguised contempt with which he regards them cannot but be pernicious, whether it unnecessarily disturbs men in their convictions or provokes them to refuse the benefit of his instructions. His attacks upon established institutions are not the less formidable that they are apparently never meant for attacks, but occur incidentally, by way of contrast and antithesis to the ideas of Faith, Duty and Sincerity, which he is always endeavouring to develop and exalt. He must surely be aware that a general adoption of his thoughts and language, for instance, of the title of National Palaver for our august legislature, would materially tend to the diminution of the reverence and loyalty with which we still regard our constitution; nor can he reasonably suppose that the majority of those who would be shaken in their present allegiance would be prepared for the lofty views of law and

government which he is able to present to them. As far, however, as direct attempts at revolution or change are concerned, Mr. Carlyle might almost be a Tory.

For the similarity, which we commenced by remarking, between his practical conclusions and those of the great German historian, consists mainly in this, that they both utterly despise the prospect of real renovation from outward change. Niebuhr looked back with admiration and regret on the undefined powers of the early European governments, when those who were unfit to direct themselves submitted, and local franchises and municipalities were nevertheless able to grow up, if they possessed an inherent principle of vitality. In his own time he would have crushed revolution with pitiless rigour, but he felt no enthusiasm for kings or aristocracies. He saw neither wisdom nor love on the part of governments, nor the materials in the people for greater wisdom. He hoped for no good from new combinations of the selfishness which he saw everywhere around him. Regeneration seemed only possible through some renewal of ancient zeal and patriotism, such as that which he saw in Germany in the glorious war of freedom; and when the enthusiasm of that great period died away, his hopes became almost extinct. He said that the world was in need of a new revelation; and he thought that Europe, in preparation for it, was already far advanced in the way to new ages of darkness.

Mr. Carlyle also derides the eager hopes which men in these days form of the results of political changes. He reminds them, not without justice, that it was from within that sages in former times endeavoured to renew the world. Self-sacrifice, disinterestedness, trust in good, are still the necessary conditions of great achievements; and these virtues, not new forms of governments, are the objects to which he looks. How far the existing state of things is in his opinion unfavourable to their operation we can but partially collect. He evidently thinks that there is much unsoundness in our present social condition, but we are happy to say that he does not despair. Inclining as we do rather to the class of speculators who attach greater weight to forms, and suspect the claims of any present time to a novelty transcending historical precedent, we are nevertheless anxious to receive instruc-

tion from Mr. Carlyle. His opinions have an external importance also, in addition to the respect to which they are entitled ; for there is no living writer whose fame has within the last few years been so constantly and surely extending. It has spread outwards, as enduring fame generally spreads, from a circle of enthusiastic admirers to the general body of literary men, who are now extensively influenced by his genius. The world at large has already received the impulse ; his works are becoming widely popular, and the public is enjoying the rare satisfaction of bestowing its praise on a writer who deserves it. Good or bad, Mr. Carlyle's thoughts will be largely adopted within the next twenty years.

For the same reason, it is highly desirable to form some estimation of the merits and demerits of Mr. Carlyle's very peculiar style ; not so much with a view to the approaching inundation which we foresee of its literary progeny, for we have no hesitation in declaring beforehand, that all future imitations of it will, like the few which have already appeared, be utterly and hopelessly intolerable ; but because it may often happen that a mistake as to its real characteristics may interfere with the hearty enjoyment or right use of the author's works. The student may perhaps suspect a trick, and yet not be able to discover it ; or be led by the extreme ease of a mere external mimicry of it into the belief, that the quaint language is a mere arbitrary mannerism unconnected with the thoughts ; or, on the other hand, he may not see that the pervading irony has two sides, and involves an appreciation of the matter in hand at its true worth, as well as an indirect repression of its farther pretensions. We have no intention, on the present occasion, of entering fully into this subject ; though we would willingly in this, as well as in other ways, show our respect for Mr. Carlyle, having no fear of the reproaches which he so frequently heaps upon criticism. It is well, he says, to enjoy and be thankful ; it is also well, we say, to understand the cause of enjoyment. Criticism is the best homage which the prosaic understanding can pay to genius.

We should suppose that Mr. Carlyle's reading is very extensive, as it is undoubtedly very miscellaneous. His appre-

hension of the spirit of past ages and foreign countries implies vast knowledge and still greater vigour of imagination. He appears to study no topic in the abstract only, but to represent to himself its operation in men, by creating images of those who employed themselves upon it in action or speculation. In the French philosophism of the last century he sees not merely a system of destroying negations, but a living principle personified in various individuals, as, for instance, in Voltaire and Diderot, whose biographies (*Miscellaneous Works*) will give the best view which is, we believe, to be found in any English work, of the peculiarities of that remarkable period. Connected with his love for the concrete, and preference for the study of opinions and principles in action, is, perhaps, his universal readiness to appreciate all kinds of human greatness. He can learn something wherever there is manly character and energy; and he seems impressed with a belief that vigour in acting, firmness of purpose, and freedom from self-deception, are rarer if not higher virtues than the goodness which consists in abstinence from wrong. We particularly respect his generous admiration of Johnson, whose sturdy honesty and courage he has done much to restore to their due place in the opinion of men. Even Boswell comes in for a just and kindly eulogy, which we recommend to our readers as by far the best criticism extant of the odd and amusing author of the first and best of biographies.

We have no intention of recapitulating the great variety of subjects on which Mr. Carlyle has written: we are rather concerned with the uniformity which runs through all, in the reference of every character and action to the same ideal standard of greatness and goodness. He never fails to inquire whether the man was what he pretended to be, whether he did the work which he had to do, whether he followed in faith a principle, even if it were distorted, and looked to something beyond himself. Duty,—the duty of acting,—in however small a sphere, it is his perpetual task to preach, and to point out how it has been neglected or approximately fulfilled. It does not however show itself in obtrusive repetitions, like the inferences of design in the alternate pages of Bridgewater treatises, but in a sustained and high-wrought

earnestness, with which the wildest playfulness of detail never interferes. Consequently his tone is always ironical and his meaning twofold, though the degree of opposition of the component parts varies according to the subject: the background is everywhere the same.

This sustained irony is most conspicuous in Mr. Carlyle's great work, the 'History of the French Revolution,' to the wide-spread popularity of which it has largely contributed; yet it has formed a stumbling-block to many, who think rightly that history ought to be serious, and suspect erroneously that this is in jest. If the disposition to view all outward things as transitory manifestations of eternal ideas had not made Mr. Carlyle necessarily a humourist, he would have been wise in adopting a humorous mode of narration, with a view merely to the purposes of art. His task was the production of the prose epic, which is probably the only epic now possible, of the time. It therefore became necessary for him not only to group his materials by a different law from that of their succession in time, so that the more trivial details might derive an interest from their connexion with a few prominent events, but also to concentrate the attention exclusively on the story which he had to tell. Under the influence of our present education, the driest and hardest understanding becomes weary of historical arguments and speculations; we want to know what happened, instead of hearing why and with what tendency it happened: and yet we find it impossible to satisfy the warmest imagination with mere facts, and seek for principles and generalizations to give them a meaning. We may be told that the pure objective is the province of art, and that in ancient times men were contented with existence without reducing it to pedantic formulæ. We answer that we cannot help it, that mere outward events will not satisfy us now, and that it is useless to pretend to abide by them; and when a thoroughgoing theorist, in his determination to eschew all theory and ignore the consciousness he feels, calls on us to share his enthusiasm for a string of mere unsystematized phænomena, we recognize a ludicrous contrast between the pretence of earnestness and the reality, and assign to him the unenviable character of an involuntary humourist. The truth of this statement

may easily be proved by comparing passages from an old epic or legendary writer in the original and in a good translation. Put, for instance, Shelley's version of the Homeric 'Hymn to Mercury' by the side of the Greek text, and one will be found throughout to maintain a tone of light bantering irony, the other to be merely an amusing story told with playful simplicity. Or contrast Livy's style with the quaint biblical English, which has seemed to Dr. Arnold the most appropriate vehicle of the old legends of Rome. Instead of the unaffected ease with which the great historian adopts the earnest and undoubting narrative of the old annalists, the modern writer never allows us for a moment to forget that we are listening to a theorist and critic, who somewhat obtrusively reminds us of the scepticism which might be taken for granted, by his ostentatious patronage of the legends as they stand, divested of historical reality.

We know not whether it is from such considerations as these, that Mr. Carlyle has been induced to construct his history on a basis of irony. He may have observed the numerous instances of failure, where the mere annalist or the mere historical essayist have left either the understanding or the imagination and feelings unsatisfied; but we are more disposed to believe that he was led to the same conclusion by the intuition of creative genius. As we remarked before, the peculiar character of his intellect necessarily leads him into irony; though happily his sympathies are so extensive, that his sense of the unreality of transitory things only comes to the surface, when otherwise the harmony of the composition would be interrupted by the feeling of the reader that it was absent.

If it is impossible for a historical writer in the present day to confine himself with success either to narrative or speculation, it by no means follows that his object will be obtained by an alternate introduction of the necessary elements. There is an unavoidable awkwardness in the juxtaposition of the portions of the work. There are still events which are sufficient to excite the feelings and occupy the whole imagination without reference to causes or consequences; but the effect of a high-wrought description of the decisive moments of some great crisis of the world, is

almost destroyed by the knowledge that the historian is preparing for his next chapter a philosophical view of the state of society, government and morals which prepared the way for the change. A fusion of the materials is required as well as a mixture. The laws which are exemplified in the events must be always present to the epical historian, giving importance and meaning to things which seem trifling in themselves, and yet not interfering in the interest, which can be maintained without their assistance. The artist must keep pace with our enthusiasm, and prevent us from thinking anything trivial, by showing that he sees it as it is and consciously plays with his subject. We must feel that he is always in earnest, and yet that all light things are treated lightly.

By adopting this great principle of modern art, and with the aid of a brilliant and vigorous imagination, Mr. Carlyle has organized into unity the fantastic confusion of the French Revolution, and brought out its chief events before us with wonderful boldness of relief. Instead of halting between the wish to be graphic and the wish to stand aloof and contemplate, he is able to throw his whole sympathy and fancy into every demonstration of power, good or bad, into every characteristic belief or fanaticism of the time, fearless of being led into error or exposed to ridicule; because he has at the bottom an unchanging, calm earnestness, which only admits as its direct object what is really great, and sets off the rest by contrast. We know of no instance in modern literature where the same interest is cast around historical events, as in the more busy portions of this remarkable work. The death-bed of Louis XV., the march of the Mænads [*i. e.* *poissardes*] to Versailles, the flight of the king and queen to Varennes, and in a lighter strain the Feast of Pikes, would place Mr. Carlyle at the head of living writers of fiction, if they were the mere products of his invention: and it is a harder and higher task to invest reality with the attractions of romance. We have heard it urged as an objection to his work, that he teaches no system and advocates no opinions; that as far as his representations go, the French Revolution would convey to us no lessons for the future. For ourselves, we would willingly dispense with many lessons which we have read and heard as deductions from that strange series of convulsions, in exchange

for a picture of the Revolution as it was in itself. The province of art is to represent what is or has been, and not what ought to be; and as far as Mr. Carlyle has realized for us what was before indistinct and uncertain, we feel gratitude to him, which would not be less if he had refrained from any mixture of doctrine.

Our own criticism would rather take a contrary direction, and complain that his impartiality, though extensive, is not universal; and that the more simple and ordinary virtues meet with less toleration from him than perverted and criminal energy. We have said that the power which arises from earnestness and sincerity is the living principle which he requires in all men. Action the product of energy, and not mere being, seems to him worthy of respect; but we think that he is in reality inconsistent with his own standard, when he looks for external results as the necessary tests of energy. Much power may be invisibly spent in self-control, in willing obedience to rules, even in resisting temptations to action; and all that is consumed in a fruitless resistance to the age, will make little show in comparison with that which is borne on by its current. We doubt whether it is real force of character and hatred of pretence which Mr. Carlyle sympathizes with, when he prefers the butcherly strength of Danton to the consistent Whiggery of Lafayette. In this, however, and in other cases, we differ from him with respect, and with a willingness to receive instruction. One who can so forcibly and vividly reproduce life as it exists, and who at the same time so steadily looks to the same immutable laws, has a right to attentive hearing, when he gives his judgement on the nature of particular circumstances, and the duties which result from them. His political doctrines are not easily to be collected, either from his history or his occasional writings. It is only clear that he is neither Tory, Whig, nor Radical, as far as positive opinions are concerned; though the necessary effect of all negation is to strengthen the destructive tendency, which, without superfluous nicety, accepts all the support it can get from enemies as well as from friends. After a not inattentive but unsatisfactory study of his writings, with a view to political instruction, we anticipated, on the announcement of his work on *Chartism*, an eloquent appeal to the

highest feelings, a series of brilliant illustrations of human life, and much wise and valuable instruction. We feared however that we should have to leave Chartism where we found it, and should learn rather the futility of the means which have hitherto been suggested for its suppression, than the true and final cure. We have not been much disappointed in its perusal, and we have found more than we expected of a positive nature. It will not, by itself, teach us how to get rid of Chartism, but it may infuse into many men a spirit which may eventually work out the means of improvement; nor will it have done little good, if it finds a way, as we hope it will, with its plain truths, to the more intelligent and literary public, who despise those truths because they are to be found in common conversation and the daily newspapers; and in their really enlarged schemes of social improvement, leave the most obvious elements of a question out of consideration, on the illogical assumption that everything must be nonsense about which much nonsense is talked. With such persons, Mr. Carlyle, being the very opposite of common-place, is with good reason a favourite author, and we sincerely hope they will listen to him when he happily confirms common-place facts.

One leading characteristic of Mr. Carlyle's doctrine may perhaps be best expressed in the words of his own Professor Teufelsdröckh :—

“ Lifting his huge tumbler of Gukguk, and for a moment lowering his tobacco-pipe, he stood up in full coffee-house (it was *Zum Grünen Gänse*, the largest in Weissnichtwo, where all the virtuosity, and nearly all the intellect of the place assembled of an evening), and there, with low soul-stirring tone, and the look truly of an angel, though whether of a white or of a black one might be dubious, proposed this toast : *Die Sache der Armen in Gottes und Teufel's Namen*.”—(*Sartor Resartus*, chap. iii.)

We suspect that the unhappy Chartists have been and are giving a proof that Teufelsdröckh went too far; and that the cause of the poor, like any other cause, if taken up in the devil's name, will lead—not to good: but we will not quarrel about a word, or watch too closely the limits of an enthusiasm, which is only dangerous in other respects when it mistakes the means of accomplishing its own immediate object. That the physical and moral condition of the great majority of our

countrymen is such as it is impossible to contemplate with satisfaction, seems unfortunately as certain as it is melancholy. Whether it is possible to do much for its improvement, is a question which, notwithstanding the eloquent indignation of the book before us, we feel by no means able to answer. Except for the facility of collecting statistical data which might result from it, we almost doubt whether Parliament would be profitably employed on a "Condition of England Question;" yet there may certainly appear some some reason for investigating it,

"at an epoch of history when the National Petition carts itself in waggons along the streets, and is presented, 'bound with iron hoops, four men bearing it,' to a Reformed House of Commons; and Chartism, numbered by the million and half, taking nothing by its iron-hooped Petition, breaks out into brickbats, cheap pikes, and even into sputterings of conflagration.

"'Glasgow Thuggery,' 'Glasgow Thugs,' is a witty nickname: the practice of No. 60 entering his dark room to contract for and settle the price of blood with operative assassins, in a Christian city once distinguished by its rigorous Christianity, is doubtless a fact worthy of all horror; but what will horror do for it? What will execration—nay, at bottom, what will condemnation and banishment to Botany Bay do for it? Glasgow Thuggery, Chartist torch-meetings, Birmingham riots, Swing conflagrations, are so many symptoms on the surface; you abolish the symptom to no purpose if the disease is left untouched. Boils on the surface are curable or incurable—small matter which, while the violent humour festers deep within, poisoning the sources of life, and certain enough to find for itself ever new boils and sore issues; ways of announcing that it continues there, that it would fain not continue there."

The angry discontent which expresses itself in these symptoms, and such as these, is founded mainly on conscious want and half-conscious ignorance. Unhappily the penury of the English labourer is aggravated by the competition of the still more wretched Irishman, who is now, says Mr. Carlyle, avenging upon us the wrongs we have inflicted on his country.

"The oppression has gone far further than into the economics of Ireland: inwards to her very heart and soul. The Irish national character is degraded, disordered; till this recover itself, nothing is yet recovered. Inmethodic, headlong, violent, mendacious, what can you make of the wretched Irishman? 'A finer people never lived,' as the Irish lady said to us, 'only they have two faults, they do generally lie and steal: barring these—' A people that knows not to speak the truth, and to act the truth, such people has departed from even the possibility of well-being. Such people works no longer on Nature and Reality; works now on Fantasm, Simulation, Non-

entity : the result it arrives at is naturally not a thing, but no-thing, defect even of potatoes. * * * But the thing we had to state here was our inference from that mournful fact of the third sans potatoe, coupled with this other well-known fact, that the Irish speak a partially intelligible dialect of English, and their fare across by steam is fourpence sterling. * * Behold a force of men, armed only with rage, ignorance, and nakedness ; and the Saxon owners, paralyzed by invisible magic of paper formula, have to fly far, and hide themselves in transatlantic forests—' Irish Repeal ! ' ' Would to God,' as Dutch William said, ' you were king of Ireland, and could take yourself and it three thousand miles off,' there to repeal it. * * Ireland is in chronic atrophy these five centuries ; the disease of nobler England, identified now with that of Ireland, becomes acute, has crises, and will be cured or kill—'

In common-place prosaic language, population is pressing hard upon subsistence ; a case in which there appears to be a choice of three kinds of remedy : to increase the subsistence, to diminish the proportional numbers of the population, or to change the distribution of property. The efforts of political economists were for many years exclusively directed to the first of these objects ; and they found, in the investigation of the restrictions which political caution, selfishness, or error had imposed upon industry, a hoard of buried wealth, which they threw at once into the market, to increase the resources of society. We are indebted to them for the knowledge of the simple and beautiful laws which regulate the increase of capital, and secure, if they are not counteracted, the greatest possible reward for a given amount of labour. Besides this, they showed us the only effectual mode of calling out to its full extent the industry which produces all wealth, by making the reward of work depend upon its accomplishment. Unfortunately the competition of labour made this sound principle the instrument of hardship, and consequently the course of inquiry was directed to the second method by which it appeared possible to check the spread of distress. The wise and benevolent Malthus could do no more than urge upon the rich the wickedness of affording artificial inducements to imprudent marriages, and on the poor the wisdom of substituting their own forethought as the security against starvation, for the inexorable dispensations of nature. Tenderness and care for the poor had come, by anxious inquiry, to a result which seemed the extremity of unfeeling harshness. Economists were satisfied that entire self-reliance and perfect re-

sponsibility for imprudence or idleness, was the only hope for the needy, and that the utmost possible increase of the national stock was the one great object to be pursued. This was the principle which, with the approbation of a vast majority of the higher classes, was affirmed by the legislature in the Poor Law of 1834.

But even if the individual suffering which inevitably resulted from the indiscriminate subjection of all separate interests to one unbending rule had not made itself loudly heard, it was impossible that the third alternative should be put out of sight. Men could not but ask whether those who produced the national wealth also shared fairly in it; in other words, whether poverty would be diminished by a new distribution of property. The uniform course of political economy has been, to recommend the discontinuance of positive rules as of so many infractions of the laws of nature. Interest is its own best guide; the sum of individual profits make up the profits of the nation; everything will find its level. On the other hand, it certainly may seem strange that, in this single department of practical science, human wisdom and energy is an impertinent intruder. Governments interfere with everything else, and why not with the production of wealth? It is not easy to satisfy the poor that poverty would not be diminished by the division of the property of the rich; nor can the worthy givers of alms see how their money and blankets can fail to increase the comforts of the wretched objects of their bounty. In fact, the political economists, though we believe their views may be otherwise justified, have a weak point in their positions. Their supposed laws of nature involve the assumption of an arbitrary and positive institution, the inalienable sacredness of property; and their whole system leads, in practice, to a neglect of the objects which society must propose to itself, besides subsistence. Physical well-doing is one of the first requisites for national greatness and happiness; but yet man shall not live by bread alone.

Of the New Poor Law and the system which it represents, as far as it professes to be a *panacea* for all social evils, Mr. Carlyle speaks with most contemptuous sarcasm; and yet he is by no means blind to what is true in the principle on which it is founded.

“ Nature makes nothing in vain—not even a Poor Law Amendment Act. For withal we are far from joining into the outcry against these poor Poor Law Commissioners, as if they were tigers in human shape. They are not tigers ; they are men filled with an idea of a theory : their Amendment Act, heretical and damnable as a whole truth, is orthodox—laudable as a half-truth. To create men filled with a theory that refusal of out-door relief was the one thing needful : Nature had no readier way of getting out-door relief refused. * * * In all ways it needs, especially in these times, to be proclaimed aloud, that for the idle man there is no place in this England of ours. He that will not work, and save according to his means, let him go elsewhere. * * * He that will not work according to his faculty, let him perish according to his necessity : there is no law juster than that. Would to heaven, one could preach it abroad into the hearts of all sons and daughters of Adam, for it is a law applicable to all ; and bring it to bear with practical obligation, strict as the Poor Law Bastile, on all ! ”

Here it will be observed, that something which has not very generally been supposed to be a result of the Poor Law Act is at least hinted at. Mr. Carlyle proceeds to the same effect:

“ That this law of, No work no recompense, should first of all be enforced on the *manual* worker, and brought stringently home to him and his numerous class, while so many other persons and classes still go loose from it, was natural to the case. Let it be enforced there, and rigidly made good. It behoves to be enforced everywhere, and rigidly made good. * * Work is the mission of man on this earth. A day is ever struggling forward, a day will arrive in some approximate degree, when he who has no work to do, by whatever name he may be named, will not find it good to show himself in our quarter of the Solar System ; but may go and look out elsewhere, if there be any *idle* planet discoverable. * * * He that can work is a born king of something ; is in communion with Nature, is master of a thing or things, is a priest and king of Nature so far. He that can work at nothing is but an usurping king, be his trappings what they may ; he is the born slave of all things. Let a man honour his craftsmanship, his *can-do* ; and know that his rights of man have no concern at all with the Forty-third of Elizabeth.”

To assist the reader in the interpretation of these prophetic warnings, we cannot do better than refer again to the ‘Treatise on the Philosophy of Clothes, or Sartor Resartus.’

“ ‘ How knowest thou,’ says Teufelsdröckh, defending himself against the charge of inactivity, ‘ but this and the other pregnant device, now grown to be a world-renowned far-working institution, * * may have been properly my doing ? Some one’s doing it without doubt was ; from some idea in some single head it did first of all take beginning. Why not from some idea in mine ? ’ Does Teufelsdröckh, asks his editor and biographer, here glance at that SOCIETY FOR THE CONSERVATION OF PROPERTY (*Eigentum-conservirende Gesellschaft*), of which so many ambiguous notices

glide inexpressible through these paper-bags? * * * Does Teufelsdröckh then mean to give himself out as the originator of that so notable Eigenthum-conservirende (owndom-conserving) Gesellschaft? and if so, what in the devil's name is it? He again hints: 'At a time when the Divine commandment, *Thou shalt not steal*, wherein truly, if well understood, is comprised the whole Hebrew Decalogue, with Solon's and Lycurgus's Constitutions, Justinian's Pandects, the Code Napoléon, and all codes, catechisms, divinities and moralities whatsoever that man has hitherto devised (and enforced with altar-fire and gallows-ropes) for his social guidance;—at a time, I say, when this Divine commandment has all but faded away from the general remembrance, and with little disguise a new opposite commandment, *Thou shalt steal*, is everywhere promulgated, it perhaps behoved, in this universal dotage and deliration, the sound portion of mankind to bestir themselves and rally.'"

Elsewhere, on the blank cover of a tract on the means of repressing population, written by his friend the Hofrath Heuschrecke, the Professor writes thus:—

"Two men I honour, and no third. First, the toil-worn craftsman, that with earth-made implement laboriously conquers the earth, and makes her man's * * *. A second man I honour, and still more highly: him who is seen toiling for the spiritually indispensable—not daily bread, but the bread of life. * * Highest of all, when his outward and his inward endeavours are one; when we can name him artist, not earthly craftsman only, but inspired thinker, that with heaven-made implement conquers heaven for us. * * * These two in their degrees I honour; all else is chaff and dust, which let the wind blow whither it listeth."

We cannot say how far these different expressions of the same doctrine are addressed merely to the consciences of owners of property; how far their actual freedom from earthly responsibility is recognized, while they are reminded that they are nevertheless accountable for their talents of gold as well as for their talents of knowledge. On the whole, we are inclined to think that Mr. Carlyle looks forward with expectation, and not without satisfaction, to a time, when the duty of working each in his own department, will be converted from a duty, to use the old technical distinction, of imperfect to one of perfect obligation. The ownership regarded by the *Owndom-conserving Association* is apparently the right of every man to enjoy what he has produced, the very opposite of the prescriptive right of property. We have no intention of entering on so wide a question as that of the advantages of property. Its inviolability is the very first principle of modern

European society ; and though we by no means think it impossible to construct society on another basis, we are not at present disposed to disturb the foundations on which it rests. If all things were to be arranged from the beginning, it would become necessary to inquire whether it be possible to make a nearer approximation to strict natural justice, than by making possession the test of right, and if there is any tribunal which can be trusted to apportion reward to merit. Political economy must be called upon to state the laws by which capital accumulates, and means must be found to make trustees as faithful to their business as owners, if it should appear that mere proprietors are a dead weight upon property. We hope that such investigations are by no means called for at present, and yet we would direct serious attention to Mr. Carlyle's doctrines, both because they are his, and because they coincide, as we believe, with a remarkable and neglected tendency of the age.

There is no doubt that property may lead to evils and anomalies which make it justly liable to interference. The devotee of prescription, Niebuhr, would have raised the miserable peasants of the ecclesiastical states to the rank of freeholders ; and on quite different grounds Coleridge would have revived in England the ancient and neglected doctrine, that land is essentially a particular estate, of which the fee-simple belongs to the nation. Like many of his other opinions, this theory has taken root, and is spreading downwards to meet and coalesce with the spirit of innovation from below. The sacredness of private property was never more loudly proclaimed, nor more widely acknowledged than now ; but it was much more deeply believed when ownership of all kinds was respected. The proprietary classes have long been engaged in a successful attack on corporate prescription, and the rule has been fully, and perhaps rightly established, that church property, municipal property, and endowments of all kinds, are held on the condition of performing the services appertaining to each ; and subject to forfeiture, not only from neglect, but whenever those services become in themselves obsolete. Private property has served as the contrast and antithesis to trust-funds of every kind, which is perfectly natural, and compatible with the approach of a period when

it will share in the same restrictions. Compulsory commutation of lay-tithes, compulsory enfranchisement of copyholds, are moderate and rational commencements of the interference of law with ownership. Still they do form a commencement, and are not unconnected in principle with the Chartist attempt to divide profits in addition to wages; or with the more speculative anticipation of the time when the growing wealth and population of the country will give to the owners of the land, which cannot grow, a despotic monopoly, or cause their property also to be subjected to duties and rules.

But to return to things more immediately practical, what is the ostensible demand, and what is the real want of the discontented multitude? They will derive from Mr. Carlyle little direct encouragement to rebellion.

"No man," he says, "is justified in resisting, by word or deed, the authority he lives under, for a light cause, be such authority what it may. Obedience, little as many may consider that side of the matter, is the primary duty of man. * * * It is not a light matter when the just man sees himself in the tragical condition of a stirrer-up of strife. Rebel, without due, and most due cause, is the ugliest of words; the first rebel was Satan."

Neither will Chartists find in his "Transcendental Radicalism" what they will consider a just appreciation of their want of universal suffrage. For five-and-twenty years England had been complaining in every limb—"corn laws, currency laws, free trade, protection, want of free trade," till a thoroughgoing Doctor of eminence told them it was rotten boroughs.

"From of old the English patient himself had a continually recurring notion that this was it. The English people are used to suffrage; it is their *panacea* for all that goes wrong with them; they have a fixed idea of suffrage. Singular enough: one's right to vote for a member of Parliament, to send one's 'twenty-thousandth part of a master of tongue-fence to national palaver.' The Doctors asserted that this was freedom, and no other * * * . And now shall we blame the unvoting disappointed millions, that they too, having still faith in what so many had faith in, still count 'extension of suffrage' the one thing needful; and say, in such manner as they can—Let the suffrage be still extended, *then* all will be well? It is the ancient British faith, promulgated in these ages by prophets and evangelists; preached forth from barrel-heads by all manner of men. He who is free and blessed has his twenty-thousandth part of a master of tongue-fence in national palaver; whosoever is not blessed but unhappy,

the ailment of him is that he has it not. Ought he not to have it then? By the law of God and of men, yea;—and will have it withal. Chartism, with its ‘five points,’ borne aloft on pike-heads and torch-light meetings, is there. Chartism is one of the most natural phænomena in England. Not that Chartism now exists should provoke wonder; but that the invited hungry people should have sat eight years at such table of the Barmecide, patiently expecting something from the name of a Reform ministry, and not till after eight years have grown hopeless, this is the respectable side of the miracle.”

The meaning of all these complaints is, according to Mr. Carlyle, that the multitude demand guidance and government, and cannot find it. “They had once,” he says, “an aristocracy which could rule them, a priesthood which could teach them; but now they indistinctly feel that they are ‘neither ruled nor taught.’” The first duty of those whom fortune has placed above the mass, is to find the means, under some form or other, of supplying this deficiency; not looking upon government as a mere matter of police, but providing for the happiness, improvement and freedom of their fellow-countrymen.

Now we have no objection to admit that neither our political nor ecclesiastical institutions attract the reverential loyalty with which they were once regarded; but we by no means believe that it is possible to revive, or would have been possible to retain it. The church, which Mr. Carlyle, perhaps from some lurking northern prejudice, always in our opinion undervalues, has for some time proposed to itself, and is now actively pursuing the same objects, which are here pointed out as utterly neglected duties. It seeks to establish itself as the spiritual guide of the nation, to enter into every social interest, to direct every intellectual movement, and to renew and reinvigorate the dormant spirit of faith and reverence. For the present we believe it is acting with remarkable honesty and singlemindedness; and however we may doubt the ultimate result of putting old wine into new bottles, we do not see that the experiment of regenerating spiritual obedience can be tried in any other way more fairly and advantageously. Neither does it appear to us that any great and sudden organic improvement could originate from the exertions of the aristocracy, including the different bodies which compose the government and the more refined classes

in general. Much may be done, and we think will be done, in process of time, by the instruments which are at present in operation. The greatest, as well as the first object of government, has long been in a great degree attained, the compulsory maintenance of order. If men are left to themselves as to what they shall do, it is not a trifling thing to teach them authoritatively what they shall not do. Discontent and turbulence will arise where there is oppression, and bear just testimony against the power which creates them, and then punishes their outrages. But not less certainly will they be found, wherever the government is too weak to fulfil its primary purpose of self-support. It is impossible that all individuals should be satisfied, or submit implicitly to anything short of force. There are few theories more false or dangerous than the assumption that all complaints presuppose real grievances. Happily our national constitution, notwithstanding all the tampering with the principles of law which we have witnessed of late years, is not yet so effete or impotent, but that the state is still able to vindicate its laws before it amends them. This vigour the government or aristocracy retains; and the other powers and duties which Mr. Carlyle requires of it, are in a great degree such as can now belong to no government whatever. The people are running wild for want of guidance; but they must continue to run wild, if there be no means of supplying it but by the wisdom of any class or body whatever. Let the teachers and governors be as wise as it is possible to conceive, they will not monopolize wisdom, or the appearance of wisdom. They will not meet with loyalty, or willingness to profit by their directing influence. Is there then no farther resource? Admitting that the condition of the people is utterly unsound, must we acquiesce in the belief that there is no power which can relieve the evil?

Mr. Carlyle himself shall answer the question for us.

"Twenty-four million labouring men, if their affairs remain unregulated, chaotic, will burn ricks and mills; reduce us, themselves and the world to ashes and ruin. Simply, their affairs cannot remain unregulated, chaotic, but must be regulated, brought into some kind of order. What intellect were able to regulate them? The intellect of a Bacon, the energy of a Luther, if left to their own strength, might pause in dismay before such a task; a Bacon and Luther added together, to be perpetual prime

minister over us, could not do it. No one great and greatest intellect can do it. What can? Only twenty-four million ordinary intellects, once awakened into action; these, well presided over, may."

In these twenty-four million intellects we also place our hope, and look for a substitute for the narrowed functions of the governing classes. It may not be practicable, or even desirable, to produce in the mass of the people entire confidence in others; but we know that there is a governing principle in every man, to which he may pay unconditional submission and reverence; and the more this is developed, the more willing will be his recognition of the claims to partial or general obedience which others may possess in virtue of superior knowledge, or even of the possession of lawful authority. The safest and happiest course which social changes can take, will be one which has already commenced, the constant relative increase of the higher and middle classes. The great and real distinction of the character of *gentleman* has not lost anything of its meaning in the last century; but it now extends far more generally to educated men, though they may have little claim to it on the ground of birth or wealth. The middle classes are in the same way gaining on the lower, and will continue to gain, as machinery is substituted for human labour. The proportion of persons actually employed in manual labour to the amount of wealth produced is constantly diminishing, and the number of those who, according to the old English phrase, have a stake in the country must therefore necessarily be increasing. Unless this can be disproved, the 'Laissez-faire' system of government may claim for itself some credit.

Nevertheless, it is impossible to foresee a time when the poor will cease out of the land; and although we have little anticipation of great organic improvements in the relation which they bear to the wealthier classes, it is the bounden duty of all to devote all existing means, and all that can any way be devised to the removal of the two pressing evils of want and ignorance. We will hope that the right disposition will not be wanting, when the right course of action is known. It may perhaps be not a little called forth by the influence of the earnest and eloquent writer before us. He also is aware that it is not enough to be willing to do right, unless we can

find out the right course; and he anticipates the question which the practical man will urge upon him, and which we, practical or not, have certainly long desired to ask him.

“ ‘What are we to do? Descend from speculation and the safe pulpit into the rough market-place, and say what can be done?’ Oh! practical man, there seem very many things which practice, and true manlike effort, in Parliament and out of it, might actually avail to do. But the first of all things is to gird thyself up to actual doing, to know that thou actually must do, or, as the Irish say, come out of that.”

And now having (hypothetically) girded ourselves up for actual doing, in preference to coming out of that, we ask again, What are we to do? And this time we get an answer more approaching to definiteness, and which, as far as it goes, we willingly accept. To the complaint that the earth is over-peopled, he replies, in the words of Teufelsdröckh to the Malthusian Heuschrecke—

“True, thou Gold-Hofrath, too crowded indeed. Meanwhile, what portion of this inconsiderable terraqueous globe have ye actually tilled and derved, till it will hold no more? How thick stands your population in the Pampas and Savannas of America; round ancient Carthage, and in the interior of Africa; on both slopes of the Altaic chain, in the central platform of Asia; in Spain, Greece, Turkey, Crim Tartary, the Curragh of Kildare? * * * * Alas! where are now the Hengists and Alarics of our still glowing, still expanding Europe; who, when their home is grown too narrow, will enlist, and, like fire-pillars, guide onward those superfluous masses of indomitable living valour; equipped not now with the battle-axe and war-chariot, but with the steam-engine and ploughshare? Where are they? Preserving their game.”

We believe that emigration has now seriously occupied the general attention, and we wish it every encouragement and success; not merely for the relief which it will tend to give to the pressure of population, but on account of the great duty of spreading the English name and race over the habitable world. The claims of other nations unfortunately interfere with our transplanting our superfluous numbers to Carthage, Spain, Greece, or Crim Tartary, but there is room enough left in the continents and islands of the Southern Hemisphere. If the settlements which are now in process of formation there carry with them from the beginning the rudiments of freedom and social organization, it is comparatively unimportant whether they may retain their political connexion with England. In an economical point of view,

when we consider the sum which the passage of every individual must cost himself, or the public, and compare it with the supposed surplus of his consumption at home beyond what his labour produced, or with what he might have produced with the aid of the same sum as capital, we cannot but think that the benefit will be rather to the emigrant himself than to those whom he leaves behind. The creation indeed of new granaries, storehouses and markets in parts of the world which are at present entirely unproductive, will amply repay the expense of emigration to the country in time; but the multitude can hardly be expected to content themselves with the prospect of the indirect and circuitous advantages of commerce. They still demand relief, and means of giving it can be found, if at all, only in the despised and calumniated resources of political economy. It is a question which neither hierarchy nor aristocracy could answer in the plenitude of their power, nor can philanthropy and earnestness, even if they came up to Mr. Carlyle's demands, do more than inquire into the laws on which wealth and want depend; and, if they find that those laws can only be followed under a regimen of "*laissez-faire*," be contented, under the very influence of zeal for action, to abstain from action and *laissez faire*.

We have no desire, however, to see the let-alone principle applied to the formation of our colonies; that each may be the nucleus of a civilized state hereafter, we must send, not hordes of undisciplined adventurers, but bodies which contain in themselves the elements of government. It would be well if we had some Delphic oracle, to give to the founders an inalienable divine right, such as the Greek leaders possessed when they sailed for Sicily or Libya—

"Cum sociis, natisque, Penatibus, et magnis Diis."

It is perhaps unfortunate that we habitually apply the common name of colonies to the English settlements which we found, and the conquered provinces which we possess. It is always necessary to remember that in one case we are dealing with dependent allies of French, Dutch, Spanish, or Indian blood; in the other, with native-born citizens, who have no laws or franchises repugnant to our own institutions.

The ignorance of our population is perhaps a more pressing evil than even their poverty. It is not merely from want,

but from the contempt and neglect which accompany want, and from the sense of injustice which it too often suggests, that misery and discontent arise. Self-respect, and the power of distinguishing between unavoidable and artificial evils, would do much to reconcile men to any lot, even where prudence is useless. The propositions which the working classes use to express their feelings, it is impossible not to despise ; and though the contempt ought never to be extended to those feelings, it will often include them, and always seem to the sufferers to do so. They cry out with equal vehemence against the neglect which leaves them in blindness, and the pride which denies that they can see ; conscious that there is a defect on their own part, but regarding the authors of their ignorance as estopped from using it as an argument. If the great manufacturing bodies were once initiated into the rudiments of political and economical knowledge, and familiar by reading with the ordinary applications of logic, they would cease to suspect the existence of a contempt which they would feel to be unreasonable. Nor is it possible to say how far the diffusion of intellectual cultivation might diminish poverty itself. All our greatness and wealth and civilization are the produce of a few individuals in each age, forming a part of a class which is itself a small minority of the nation. An ordinary calculation of chances must lead us to the conclusion, that there will be a larger number of wise and able men among twenty millions than among a hundred thousand. If we could substitute respect for themselves and others, in the place of envy and hatred, such as we see in every page of the Corn-law Rhymes, and similar productions of genius acting on half-knowledge, we should look with confidence to the working classes for information on the political and social questions in which they are themselves chiefly concerned.

But these arguments have been a thousand times repeated, and they are all superseded by one, which is itself not new. Be the results of education what they may, we have emphatically no right to withhold it. If we would not give up our own knowledge and refinement for any result which the world could afford ; if we feel that we could not give it up without tearing away a part of ourselves, how idle is it to speculate

upon the advantages which it might or might not confer upon others! Man is not placed in the world to feed himself or his neighbours, but to be and act as a living soul. His first and highest duty is to develop his own capacity; and if there is any reciprocal service which we are bound to render each other, it is to further by every means the attainment in all cases of the great end of existence. We cannot always supply wisdom, but we know that its food is knowledge, which to a certain extent we are able to furnish. We must utterly disregard the dangers which knowledge by itself is said to produce. There are dangers in strength, in health and in riches; there is also sometimes danger in knowledge, as in every kind of force; but it alone contains in itself a regulating power, which recalls it incessantly to its true direction. We do not find by experience that students and philosophers are the most unruly citizens; and even if it were possible for the mere understanding to accustom itself to activity, without any effect in awakening the practical reason, there would be more good than harm in the result. Gunpowder has not increased bloodshed.

Society appears at last to be fully aware that something must be done; but unhappily the practical difficulties are very great. The sound and philosophical distinction which has of late years been drawn between education and mere instruction, has directed the zeal of good men chiefly to moral and religious teaching. In mere instruction there would be little room for dispute; but it is a point of conscience to differ in higher matters. If a body of men profess to put out of the question all religious distinctions, it is felt, and justly felt, that there is still one form of doctrine which they cannot tolerate, exclusive adherence to a single church; while a rival body may regard that very exclusiveness as the most indispensable test of orthodoxy. Hostile as all the minor sects are to the Church, and undisguised as their intention is to turn against her any power they may possess, it is something more than the mere instinct of self-preservation which teaches the friends of the Establishment to fear the appointment of Dissenting functionaries as spiritual guides to the people. They may be expected, not unreasonably, to join with the great object of education a collateral attempt to propagate

their own partisan opinions. Nor can we, on the other hand, blame the sectarian leaders for retorting on their adversaries the open distrust and suspicion with which they are regarded. Education, in short, is everywhere felt to be so great and sacred an undertaking, that conscientious men shrink from entrusting it to those whom they believe to be in error, and still more from the interference of men who might abuse it to factious purposes. A class of scruples more free from hypocrisy, or more entitled to respect, never impeded the progress of any object of paramount necessity. In this dilemma let us hear what Mr. Carlyle says:—

“ But now, in the mean time, could not, by some fit official person, some fit announcement be made, in words well-weighed, in plan well-schemed, adequately representing the facts of the thing,—that, after thirteen centuries of waiting, he, the official person, and England with him, was minded now to have the mystery of Alphabetic Letters imparted to all human souls in this realm? Teaching of religion was a thing he could not undertake to settle this day; it would be work for a day after this: the work of this day was, teaching the alphabet to all people. The miraculous art of reading and writing, such seemed to him the needful preliminary of all teaching, the first corner-stone of what foundation soever could be laid for what edifice soever, in the teaching kind. Let pious Churchism make haste, let pious Dissenterism make haste, let all pious preachers and missionaries make haste, bestir themselves according to their zeal and skill: he, the official person, stood up for the Alphabet; and was even impatient for it, having waited thirteen centuries now. He insisted, and would take no denial, postponement, promise, excuse, or subterfuge, that all English persons should be taught to read. * * * For a choice of inoffensive horn-books and schoolmasters able to teach reading, he trusted the mere secular sagacity of a National Collective Wisdom, in proper committee, might be found sufficient. * * * If by some beneficent chance there should be an official man found in England who could and would with deliberative courage, after ripe counsel, with candid insight, with patience, practical sense, knowing realities to be real, knowing clamours to be clamorous and to seem real, propose this thing, and the innumerable things springing from it,—wo to any Churchism or Dissenterism that cast itself across the path of that man!—Avaunt, ye gainsayers! Is darkness and ignorance of the Alphabet necessary for you? Reconcile yourselves to the Alphabet, or depart elsewhither! Would not all that has genuineness in England gradually rally round such a man—all that has strength in England? For realities alone have strength; wind-bags are wind; cant is cant; leave it alone there!”

This advice appears to us well worthy of attention. Amidst the inextricable mixture of conflicting duties, we may discern

one thing, which by universal agreement must be done: instruction by some means or other is absolutely indispensable. Let us begin with it at once, and let other interests adapt themselves to it as they can. There will be plenty of room left for all parties to contend in for their several principles. We do not think, and certainly Mr. Carlyle does not think, that reading, or even writing and arithmetic, is the great end of man's existence. It is only the indispensable instrument of intellectual, and even of moral cultivation. Cobbett was right in thinking a labourer who could plough better educated than one who could read; but he assumed that the power to read was not exercised. He was himself a proof that the humblest scholarship might lead to something worth more than the labour of many ploughmen. Whatever means are eventually adopted for the communication of moral and religious instruction, will not find the ground pre-occupied by a simple knowledge of reading and writing. If we, who already enjoy the advantages which it is desirable to communicate to all, look back on our own childhood, we shall probably find that the peculiar principles of our several churches were taught us in the most simple and natural way, by our never hearing anything to the contrary. In the class of which we speak, real religious teaching is generally given at home and in early childhood. Acquiescence in the little that is understood, reverence for the mysteries which encircle it, and a certainty as great as that which the evidence of the senses could supply, of the historical facts which are impressed upon him, form sufficiently a child's religion. At school, if it is no longer associated with his affections, he sees around him an undoubting and apparently universal testimony to the truth of the belief in which he has been bred up; and the gradual expansion of his faculties and feelings may make religion by degrees a matter of reflection as well as of habit. This is the only religious education he receives; for we put out of the question the tediousness of well-meant expansions of the Catechism and Sunday sermon-readings; as well as the somewhat fantastical combination of sacred and secular knowledge, which may be supposed to result from multiplication sums about the Prophets and Patriarchs, and geography books limited to the illustration of Egypt and Palestine.

We have appealed to the experience of the majority of our readers, which will, we doubt not, confirm our statements, for the purpose of calling their attention to the real difficulty which stands in the way of general cooperation in religious teaching. It is universally admitted, that children ought to hear nothing of controversy; nor are the doctrinal differences which divide us, for the most part, such as would naturally come in their way. Their future ecclesiastical and political adherence to the sect of their teachers is the real object of jealousy: it is felt a hardship that they should be estranged from the community to which their parents belong, as must be the case if they are assigned to the instruction of another religious body: and, on the other hand, all reasonable men admit, that the juxta-position of rival sects, in the same youthful society, would utterly destroy the simple belief and reverence which is the soul of religion in childhood.

We are not without hope, however, that the difficulty is diminishing. Sectarianism seems in a great measure to have blown itself out. Not that men will acquiesce now or hereafter in precisely the same set of doctrines: but although the descendants of separatists of old still continue their protests against established error, they are in reality kept together by the corporate and social interests which have formed themselves in the lapse of years. As new objections arise, it is practically felt, that it is not wise or necessary to found new churches upon them. It was right that Dissenters should risk their lives as well as their connexion with the body from which they broke off, as long as it was agreed on all hands, that the minutest point of church-government, springing from express Revelation, was a vital portion of Christianity. Such is happily not the general doctrine now; and we would willingly believe that those sects which agree with the Church in essential points, may in the course of time be induced to recognize it, at least for public purposes, as the legitimate representative of religion; by no means yielding their own conscientious opinions, but seeing the necessity of one such authorized body in the state, and admitting, as they needs must, that no other body can hope, with the smallest probability of success, to compete in England and Scotland with the respective Establishments of those countries.

In this question, however, as in all other parts of the discussion round which we have followed Mr. Carlyle, our business is rather with his mode of treating it than with the matter itself. In digressing from the due course of criticism, we have probably not been unaffected by his influence; for it is the effect, as it is probably the aim, of his peculiar mode of writing, to excite attention and inquiry rather than to satisfy it. The work on Chartism, which we have been considering, is written in the same dialect of thought and language which we felt to be appropriate to the 'History of the French Revolution'; and we confess that it seems to us by no means exempt from the faults of sameness and mannerism. The repetition of any marked peculiarity in itself produces an unpleasant effect; and, without theorizing on the subject, we believe that a great portion of Mr. Carlyle's admirers felt disappointed when the new publication appeared. Not that the thoughts are common-place, or the language wanting in vigour and brilliancy; but, to sum up the objection as we have heard it forcibly urged, "however good it may be in itself, it is so flagrant an imitation of Carlyle." It might certainly be anticipated that the same laws of art which prescribed a subdued contrast as the true principle of an epical history, would be utterly inapplicable to a practical treatise on politics. In one case the main end to be pursued was the representation of things as they were, while the demand of the hearer for theory and system was satisfied by constant indirect reference of facts to the laws which they fulfilled or violated. In a political essay, on the other hand, theory is the professed object, and the only natural result; nor is it in any way desirable to give mere events an artificial prominence in the composition. Prudent and cautious adaptation of means to ends is in this country most conveniently taught in plain English. We willingly admit the propriety of allotting a distinct style to a work of art formed on a new principle; but if it follows the writer, and not the subject, it becomes a mere personal eccentricity, and however it may be redeemed by genius, is always a defect. Mr. Carlyle himself will bear us out in the assertion, that it is the power of forgetting himself in his work that characterizes the creative artist, and also the earnest thinker. In art it may be often

necessary to supply artificial props to make up for the imperfections of the material, or to assist the imagination of those who are addressed. In teaching, properly so called, lucid clearness of expression is the highest perfection of the form in which doctrine is conveyed; and although it may be impossible to put the individuality of the instructor altogether out of sight, there will always be an unpleasant impression produced on the scholar, if he finds eccentricity gratuitously obtruded upon him, either by the design or the carelessness of his teacher. Some kind of oddity is natural to most men, if we consider facility of acquisition as the test of what is natural. Simplicity is generally attained, like all other good things, by labour and study. Mr. Carlyle's genius might relieve him from the necessity of either. He has only to determine that the language of plain men is the best vehicle of communication with them, and become at once a great master of style and expression.

If the view which we have taken is correct, no more forcible objection can be applied to the case of so earnest a preacher of sincerity, than that the effect of eccentric language is to substitute shams for reality. Mannerism, or the application to various subjects of the form of expression which belongs to some one subject viewed in a particular light, necessarily modifies the thoughts which it is used to convey, according to the mould of those from which it originally sprang: in other words, it introduces into every new inquiry an element entirely foreign to the true merits of the case. Any person who is familiar with Mr. Carlyle's earlier works, may, in parts of his new production, anticipate what he will say without the trouble of inquiring what he is likely to think. We by no means infer that he does not speak as he thinks, but that so far he restrains himself from thinking with perfect freedom.

The general objection to mannerism requires no examples to illustrate it; but in this particular case it is not difficult to show how it counteracts the writer's immediate object; which is, to do something against the danger of which Chartism is a formidable symptom. The characteristic of his style is, as we have already pointed out, a constant comparison at every step of the matter in hand with the great ideas

of law, reverence and truth. The realization of these great ideas of the reason can only be attempted in practice by various means and contrivances, on which society is founded. Laws and institutions necessarily involve extrinsic and casual circumstances as well as imperfections of their own; and yet, if they are generally good, may be the best possible means, and, if they are bad, are still means in some degree, of advancing the principles which are embodied in them. In the progress of a nation, the mere outward forms are for ever separating themselves from the living institution, and passing into a string of fictions, which may be valuable to the historical inquirer as forming the evolute of the curve which the state has described in its advance; still forms of the same nature succeed, and though no one is in itself essential, some forms are absolutely necessary. All particular institutions are forms, and yet the first invention of them was represented by ancient writers as the decisive step from barbarism to civilization. If the destruction of mere fictions is often an ungracious task, it is far more pernicious to paralyze the working of institutions which are still attached to the national vitality. In the acknowledgement that they are but means, is included a confession that they differ from ends in kind as well as in degree, and that they will not bear to be taken away from the connexion in which they are found, and perpetually tested by the light of pure reason. "ETERNITY: hast thou heard of that? Is that a fact, or is it no fact? Are Buckingham House and St. Stephen's *in* that, or not in that?" Undoubtedly they are in it, as well as most other things with which we are concerned; but unfortunately our only relation to Eternity lies through a vast multitude of finite objects; all of which together, or any one of them, is as small in comparison with Eternity, as the dingiest of palaces, or the most noisy of parliaments. As reasonably might a philosopher interrupt a laborious astronomer in his calculations with an apostrophe to the transcendental intuition of space. "Are sines and cosines and differential coefficients in that, or not in that?" Nay, a paper covered with figures and letters would scarcely stand a comparison with the stars which it may tend to make known to us.

We know of no writer who has done so much as Mr. Car-

lyle to explain the true position and character of the French philosophers of the eighteenth century. In his admirable biographies of Voltaire and Diderot, to which we have before referred, he gives them full credit for the zeal and ability with which they destroyed all the prejudices which came in their way; but at the same time he points out the blindness of the negative dogmatism with which they rejected the realities which were at the bottom of the prejudices, and restricted themselves to mere destruction. "Cease, my much respected Herr von Voltaire," says Teufelsdröckh elsewhere; "shut thy sweet voice, for the task appointed thee seems finished. * * But what next? * * What, hadst thou no faculty in that kind? Only a torch for burning, no hammer for building? Take our thanks then, and — thyself away." After this it would surely be strange if Professor Teufelsdröckh himself were to be a destroyer. It is true, that we do not now find the imperfections of laws and opinions contrasted with the flimsy abstractions of sentimental morality, which served such writers as Marmontel for an ideal, and in which even Voltaire condescended to find an antithesis to the object of his persecution. Like the great German writers, with whom he is so thoroughly conversant, Mr. Carlyle considers the establishment of truth as a much higher end than the overthrow of error; but nevertheless he constantly compares things of a transitory nature with the ideas which it is impossible they should realize. The contempt which is produced in the minds of his disciples may be accompanied by a general reverence for good; but, for the present, its tendency is destructive, and it is certain that mere ideas would be as inefficient in the task of reproduction, as the shallowest generality which ever amused the French imagination. We speak from some experience, when we say that the prevalent inclination of men to despise and disbelieve has been in many cases increased by the influence of Mr. Carlyle's opinions. In America, where he is said to be even better known than in England, his imitators appear to be so eager to obey his precepts, by action, earnestness and reverence, that they seriously propose to each other to cultivate originality by forgetting all the instruction they have derived from Europe, and to revive the spirit of religion by the abolition of all

forms of worship, and the rejection, or, which is equivalent, the indiscriminate adoption, of all existing and imaginable creeds.

Thus seated, to borrow from Mr. Carlyle an illustrative description of reviewers in general, on the author's shoulder, have we complacently looked down upon him ; not, however, with the intention of arrogating, either for our readers or ourselves, any temporary superiority, or indeed any relative position whatever. With all the drawbacks which we have pointed out, the book before us is essentially the production of a man of genius. Its eloquence is rich and vigorous ; the wisdom which is contained in it valuable to those who understand it. If it be the author's first introduction to any of our readers, we shall blame them much less for neglecting our strictures than for failing to appreciate his energy and brilliancy. We have rather addressed his admirers, in the hope that we might increase their enjoyment, by explaining, as far as lay in our power, the causes of the occasional checks it may have met with. Perhaps they may also thank us, if we have supplied some hints of the true line of defence which they must take in opposition to censors. An attack which is felt to have some effect, alarms us as long as it appears to threaten our whole position equally ; and the instinct of the enemies of genius generally prompts them to find the weak points, where a partial but undeniable advantage may lend some colour to their claim of a general victory. Wordsworth was with great success denounced as childish, Coleridge as lackadaisical, Shelley as unintelligible, on the strength of a few passages perpetually quoted as samples. At last some of the faults were admitted in the particular cases, others were explained away, and in a short time the outcry ceased. We have ourselves in a great degree exhausted our objections to Mr. Carlyle, and are henceforth better prepared to vindicate our admiration of his genius in defiance of all opponents.

ARTICLE II.

The History of Christianity. By the Rev. H. MILMAN.
Murray. 1840.

THE variety and importance of the subjects embraced in Mr. Milman's volumes must be our excuse for so long delaying to notice a work, which, besides its intrinsic merits, possesses an immediate interest for all classes of readers. Nor shall we overstep our limits, and intrude into the province of theology, by a brief survey of the early forms and revolutions of Christianity, since Mr. Milman excludes from his pages whatever is merely professional and polemic, and observes a discreet silence on all questions of doctrine or discipline at present agitated in this country. The history of Christianity, indeed, generally assumes with us the form of a history of the Church; yet although constructed of similar materials, and occupying nearly the same ground, an important difference exists between them. The history of the Church is necessarily controversial, since its materials are derived from the advocates or opponents of particular systems of belief and practice, and its object is to prove, or at least to assert, their superior purity and truth. The suspicious character of ecclesiastical annals may have been sometimes exaggerated, for political prejudices are little less obstinate and virulent than religious, and Timæus, Sallust and Clarendon have coloured and distorted facts as well as Eusebius and Sulpicius. Yet the feelings with which a creed and a ritual are regarded by their adherents present no ordinary temptations to accommodate facts to opinions, and to misrepresent both the virtues and the failings of friends and antagonists. From the moment we quit the firm and solid ground of the Acts of the Apostles, we enter upon a wide and devious region of speculation and tradition. For the earlier times we have no historian more judicious and trustworthy than Eusebius, no chronicler of the heretical sects more philosophical than Epiphanius; while, as we descend lower, the tone of apology becomes fiercer, the language of councils more arbitrary, and the motives of individuals more corrupt. The 'History of Christianity,' however,

pursues a smoother and less intricate course. It declines not an examination of the doctrines and discipline of religion, but it views them with reference to their temporary, social and political effects. It deplores and condemns, under whatever names and pretexts they appear, the arrogance, the rashness and the bigotry of theologians, and it welcomes even in the theories of Manes and Pelagius whatever tends to inculcate temperance and justice, the love of wisdom rather than the love of forms. It accompanies the decline of Paganism, watches over the development of modern civilization, and traces the central principles of society as it now exists in the fairest portion of the world, and among the most enlightened races of mankind. It differs from *Church-history* in endeavouring to combine and reconcile rather than to separate and define the religious diversities of æras and nations, of communities and individuals; and it is only less extensive than *universal history* by its exclusion of ethnic ideas and forms. "It seeks to portray," we borrow Mr. Milman's definition of his own object, "the genius of the Christianity of each successive age, in connexion with that of the age itself. . . . It discards all polemic views; and embracing the laws and institutions, the opinions and manners, the arts and literature of the Christian world, rather than the peculiar controversies and polity of the Church, it represents the mutual influence of civilization on Christianity, of Christianity on civilization."

In the volumes before us Mr. Milman has exhibited much of the method and spirit we have attempted to describe. When completed, his labours will extend from the divine origin of the religion to the extinction of Paganism in the Roman empire, and will include the long struggle between the new and the ancient faith, the process of the destruction, the commencement of the renovation of European society from the reign of Augustus to the confines of the dark ages. Mr. Milman possesses in no ordinary degree both the moral and intellectual qualifications for such a work. His acquirements are various, the general temper of his criticism is liberal and candid, and the imagination of the poet is frequently a useful auxiliary to the pen of the historian. His former works, especially the periodical essays attributed to him, and his re-

cent notes on the 'Decline and Fall,' show him to be intimately acquainted with the opinions, the manners and the literature of the early centuries of Christianity. He is also exempt from many of the *idola tribus* of his own profession — the prejudices that would most seriously affect the task he has undertaken. His allegiance to the Church does not prevent him from acknowledging whatever is genuinely true or beautiful in the creed or the ritual of separatists; and while he nowhere compromises the divine dignity, the moral superiority of the Christian faith, he displays impartially both the weakness and the strength of heathenism. In the jealousy or the dread with which the theologians of Germany are sometimes regarded in this country, Mr. Milman does not participate; but even when dissenting from their theories, he gratefully admits their merits and his own obligations. We always reluctantly advert to the external qualities of an author's style; yet since language is not merely the investiture of thought, but the index also of intellectual habits and powers of conception, its merits or defects as an instrument should not be entirely overlooked. The 'History of Christianity,' particularly the latter volume, contains many elaborate and even eloquent passages, but the general structure of the diction is lax and inexpressive. There is a redundancy of epithets, of qualifying clauses and minuter touches of description, in Mr. Milman's sentences, but seldom that compressive energy which captivates the imagination and imprints on the memory indelibly circumstance, character and motive. His periods are too often encumbered by parenthetical and dependent accessories, which disturb the symmetry and break the force of the narrative. Had not Mr. Milman displayed, both in his present and his earlier works, considerable powers of graceful and sustained composition, we should not have turned aside to notice a blemish, which, if it detracts little from the real value of his labours, certainly renders them less attractive and complete.

If the 'History of Christianity' had appeared a few years ago, it would probably have received immediate attention both from the theological and periodical press; but it has fallen upon an age in which the voice of history is almost inaudible amid the tumult of polemics. The constitution and

offices of the Church, its inner reconstruction, its outward relations, are again debated with the eagerness, if not with the ability, of the days of Hooker and Taylor. Men are suddenly aroused from the slumber of the eighteenth century, and their awakening thoughts partake of the nature of a feverish dream. Some require the credentials, others assert the unquestionable validity of the ecclesiastical power: reason and tradition, the reformed and patristic æras are once more advancing their several claims, and no one has at present spoken the word in season to compose and re-organize the warring elements. Mr. Milman's work is foreign to such discussions; but the more tranquil path he has chosen removes him also in some measure from the immediate centres and thoroughfares of public feeling. For at a time when even babes and sucklings are initiated in controversy, the influence of Christianity on civilization, or the declining forms and fortunes of Paganism, are to many minds as indifferent as the charmer's pipe to the adder. The lives of the fathers are now studied to confirm our previous theories of doctrine and discipline: their pictures of life and manners, their incidental notices of contemporary events and characters neither strengthen our arguments nor nourish our prejudices; and charm he never so wisely, an author who treats of ecclesiastical history, without embarking in any of the questions it generates, must, for a while, look for a cold reception, wholly extraneous to the merits of his work.

The greater part of Mr. Milman's first volume is taken up with the 'Life of Christ,' and the evangelic narrative and the Acts of the Apostles are his principal authorities, as far as the thirty-fourth page of the second. But if, from its materials, this is the most authentic, it is also, from its nature, the most arduous portion of his labours, and perhaps, as he remarks, the most difficult task an historian can undertake. The language, the method, and the picturesque simplicity of the evangelists have entered so deeply into the heart of man, and are so entwined with our earliest associations, so pervasively affect even the texture of our thoughts and speech, and in the arts of Christendom are so immediately present to sense, that to exhibit them under new forms, or even to complete their outline, produces an effect of desecration and disharmony,

even where reverence and eloquence and skill in reproduction meet together in the attempt. Mr. Milman's biography of Jesus is perhaps rather a proof that the subject is impracticable, than of the author's deficiency; he has not, however, been successful in the work of recomposition. The objective reality, in which the evangelists unconsciously rival the most perfect models of narrative, recedes in his "historical comment;" and although his supplementary and illustrative matter is amply and skilfully introduced, the unity and artless proportions of the Gospels are obscured. But the difficulties he has not, in our opinion, surmounted, are inherent in the subject. A similar failure would attend the experiment of embodying the notes of his commentators in the narrative of Herodotus, and it is, perhaps, reserved for creative intellects of the highest order to reproduce the scriptural story in a modern form.

We have stated without reserve our objections to Mr. Milman's 'Life of Jesus,' but we agree with him in thinking it an essential portion of the work he has undertaken. The history of the Church may commence with the preaching of the Apostles, or below the apostolic age; but that of the religion is incomplete without the life of its Divine author. In the following passage Mr. Milman develops his views on the form and execution, the conditions and the difficulties of such a biography:—

"The history of Christianity without the life of its Divine author appears imperfect and incomplete, particularly considering the close connexion of that life, not only with the more mysterious doctrines, but with the practical and even political influence of the religion; for even its apparently most unimportant incidents have, in many cases, affected most deeply the opinions and feelings of the Christian world. The isolation of the history of Christ in a kind of sacred seclusion has no doubt a beneficial effect on the piety of the Christian, which delights in contemplating the Saviour, undisturbed and uncontaminated by less holy associations; but it has likewise its disadvantages, in disconnecting his life from the general history of mankind, of which it forms an integral and essential part. Had the life of Christ been more generally considered as intimately and inseparably connected with the progress and development of human affairs, with the events and opinions of his time, works would not have been required to prove his existence, scarcely, perhaps, the authenticity of his history. The real historical evidence of Christianity is the absolute necessity of his life to fill up the void in the annals of mankind, to account for the effects of his religion in the subsequent history of man.

"Yet to write the life of Christ, though at first sight it may appear the most easy, is perhaps the most difficult task which an historian can undertake. Many lives have been composed with a devotional, none, at least to my knowledge, in this country, with an historical design; none in which the author has endeavoured to throw himself completely back into the age when Jesus of Nazareth began to travel as the teacher of a new religion through the villages of Galilee; none which has attempted to keep up a perpetual reference to the circumstances of the times, the habits and national character of the people, and the state of public feeling; and thus, identifying itself with the past, to show the origin and progress of the new faith, as it slowly developed itself, and won its way through the adverse elements which it encountered in Judæa and the adjacent provinces. To depart from the evangelic simplicity in the relation of the facts would not merely offend the reverential feelings of the reader, but tend likewise to destroy the remarkable harmony between the facts and doctrines which characterises the narrative of the Gospels, and on which their authenticity, as genuine historical documents, might to an intelligent mind be safely rested. The three first Gospels, unless written at a very early period, could scarcely have escaped the controversial, or at least argumentative tone which enters into the later Christian writings, and with which the relation of St. John is imbued. The plan, then, which the author will pursue, will be to presume, to a certain degree, on the reader's acquaintance with the subject on which he enters; he will not think it necessary to relate at length all the discourses, or even all the acts of Christ, but rather to interweave the historic illustration with the main events, disposed, as far as possible, in the order of time, and to trace the effect which each separate incident, and the whole course of the life of Jesus, may be supposed to have produced upon the popular mind. In short, it will partake in some degree of the nature of an historical comment on facts, which it will rather endeavour to elucidate than to draw out to their full length."—*Vol. i. pp. 52-54.*

Mr. Milman informs us in his preface, that if at any time he "entertained doubts as to the expediency of including an "historical view of the life of the Saviour in the history of "his religion, those doubts were set at rest by the appearance "of the recent work of Strauss." After reading it with much attention he turned back to his "own brief and rapid outline," which had been finished some time before, and found what appeared to him a complete, though of course an undesigned refutation of the learned German's hypothesis. His remarks on the 'Leben Jesu,' as well as on the nearly contemporary work of Dr. Hermann Weisse, are placed in three appendixes to the second chapter, or in an occasional note of the 'History of Christianity.' We do not attribute undue importance to Dr. Strauss's hypothesis, when we express our conviction

that it requires and deserves a fuller exposition than can be made in such brief limits. It is, however, the general fate of the philological works of the Continent, when not immediately relating to classical literature, either to be wholly neglected, or to be partially communicated to the English reader. We have read attentively such notices of the celebrated 'Leben Jesu' as have been published in this country, but in none of them can we discover that the critic has taken the pains to view the subject from the same point with the author, and so to fulfil the primary law of a correct adjudication. Nor, although his familiarity with German research, and his own similar studies, would have especially qualified him for the task, does Mr. Milman appear to have thrown much additional light on the question. It is not enough to declare "the theory of Strauss an historical impossibility," if we are kept in ignorance of its leading principles and results. Dr. Weisse has prudently anticipated all cursory notice of his own theory of the evangelic history by pronouncing it unintelligible to the uninitiated in his philosophical works; and Dr. Strauss might avail himself of a similar plea, and demand of his critics a brief apprenticeship in the mysteries of Hegelism. Since his limits did not allow of a close dissection of the latter hypothesis, Mr. Milman should, we think, have adopted towards Dr. Strauss the same reserve he maintains upon other "points at present agitated in this country." Neither the worth nor the unity of his own work would have suffered by such reticence. His account of Neander's reply to Strauss supports our objections. Neander has "declined direct controversy, but he has chosen the better course of giving a fair and candid view of the opposite side of the question, and of exhibiting the accordance of the ordinary view of the origin and authority of the Gospels with sound reason and advanced philosophy." Neander, in other words, has drawn up a counter-statement, and, directly or indirectly, "given room and verge enough" to the philological and philosophical objections of his opponent.

The history of the religion, however, strictly speaking, commences after the death of its founder, and we are unwilling to trespass longer on what is more properly the domain of theology. We have indeed anticipated Mr. Milman's own

arrangement in bringing forward at first his biography of Jesus, and must now revert to the introductory chapters, in which he describes the state of moral and religious opinion both of the Jewish and Ethnic world in the age preceding the first preaching of the Gospel. The subject derives new importance from the fact that many foreign writers attribute the origin of Christianity to the gradual and spontaneous development of the human mind. To this theory Mr. Milman is directly opposed, and justly remarks, that Christ was as much beyond his own age as his own age was beyond the darkest barbarism. He returns to the question in the seventh chapter of his first volume, in which he shows the hostility of every Jewish sect to the doctrines and practice of Jesus, and consequently that the prevailing tenets and prejudices of the time could by no process of development supply the form or the principles of the new faith. But the theory, although fallacious as a whole, is, with certain limitations, not without its true side. The new religion did not originate in the moral and intellectual circumstances of the age, but the moral and intellectual circumstances of the age were highly favourable to the reception of a new religion. In the first century of our æra the civilized world presented the singular spectacle of a vast body without a uniform inspiring spirit—an aggregate of similar or discordant elements held together by external compression, and with the iron bonds of an enlightened but pervasive despotism. Transition and convergence in opinions and institutions were the characteristics of the age; nor were these confined to the lax and unauthorized systems of Paganism, but affected also the stubborn and separate creed of Judaism. From opposite quarters, the religion of the Jews, after they ceased to be altogether an insulated people, insensibly contracted new notions, even if it did not admit any foreign element. In Palestine itself, and in the Mesopotamian provinces, the disciples of Moses had fettered his institutions with minute observances resembling those of the Brahminical Indians, rather than the more free and generous precepts of their original law. Babylon and other eastern satrapies were, according to Philo, thickly peopled with his countrymen, and from thence came the mystic Cabala, the fruitful parent of Gnostic opinions, out of which grew the

earliest heresies of the Christian church. On the other hand, the dispersed Jews of the West, while they disseminated their monotheism among the various races of the Pagan world, had gradually relaxed or expanded the doctrines or the ritual of their legislator. Without foregoing the exclusive privileges or the lofty hopes of his nation, the Jew of Africa, Italy and Gaul laid aside many peculiarities in the religious and social life of his eastern brethren, and did not disdain to cultivate the arts and philosophy of Paganism. The temple-service—the source of so much sublime or proud emotion in the native of Palestine—was exchanged among the dispersed Jews for the more retired worship of the synagogue or the proseucha. A yearly tribute, or an occasional pilgrimage to the holy city, while they preserved the allegiance or satisfied the conscience of the distant believer, did not materially affect his devout or imaginative feelings, and could not supply the awe, the faith and the affection with which the native Israelite regarded the sanctuary of Jehovah. His commercial pursuits—for in the Roman provinces, if we may trust the language of satire, the Jew already occupied the station of his posterity in the middle ages of Europe—the expedience of concealing from profane ridicule or violence his peculiar observances, and his intercourse with people more generally enlightened, or, at least, more refined than his own race, had gradually imparted to the western Jew a cosmopolite character. From “King Agrippa,” the friend of Caligula, to the player Aliturus, in the reign of Nero, we meet with frequent traces of his influence with his Roman patrons; and women of rank—at a later period a numerous and welcome class of Christian converts—were perhaps seduced, in the first instance, from the service of Jupiter or Isis by some Hebrew confidant or slave.

But it was in Alexandria especially that the western Jew engrafted on his native traditions and usages the intellectual culture of heathenism. The capital of the Ptolemies was, in its very origin, a cosmopolite city, the object of whose foundation was to form a connecting link between the east and west, and a permanent centre for the commerce of the world. No single parent state claimed from its motley population the ties of affinity and allegiance which bound to their mother-cities the colonies of the Phœnicians and Greeks; but it was

an immense reservoir of dissimilar classes and races met together for objects equally various. Although a district of the city and an ethnarch of their own were assigned to the Jews, yet in a place so alive to business, to study and to pleasure, local or national distinctions had little weight, unless when revived or inflamed by political or religious quarrels. The schools of Alexandria were early celebrated for their eclectic doctrines, and, if we know less of their Hebrew than their Hellenistic professors, in the translation of the Septuagint, the author of the 'Book of Wisdom,' and the writings of Philo, we have sufficient evidence of an important change in at least the intellectual texture of Judaism. In these writings there is a visible preparation for a more essentially spiritual, a more purely moral faith. The doctrine of another life, which dawns only in the prophets, and in the law was obscured by the more sensuous prospect of temporal rewards and punishments, appears in them, if not as an authentic truth, yet as a familiar and cherished opinion. The letter of the law, and the extraordinary history of his ancestors, to which the Palestinian Jew clung with jealous fervour, were viewed by his Alexandrian brethren in the colder light of allegory and symbol; and in the writings of Philo bear nearly the same relation to the moral and metaphysical structures raised upon them, as the mythology of the Greeks to the physical and ethical speculations of Philo's Athenian master. The zealots of the old law, and the later Rabbis, would indeed have held the theories of the Alexandrian philosopher in pious horror; yet the incorporation of ethnic notions with the precepts of his great lawgiver was the natural result of his position as a Western Jew, and one feature among many of the eclectic character of the age in which Christianity appeared.

But if the firmer texture of Judaism had partially yielded, the loose and irregular fabric of Polytheism was directly exposed to innovation. Under every modification the former had preserved in their original simplicity the doctrine of Monotheism, and the elements of moral and religious truth. A *written* standard of divine and human polity was always at hand to reclaim the rashness of speculation, and to temper the rigour of orthodoxy; and the approach to philosophy

was rather by logical concessions and scholastic terms than by any surrender of the authority of their national covenant. But the system of Paganism neither rested on any certain basis, nor embraced any remote or definite objects. It was the religion of the state, of the arts and of the multitude; and it varied with the government, the intellectual condition, the country and even the family of its professors. Its charter and credentials were tradition and custom, and it possessed neither inward vigour to repel unbelief, nor active energy to expand and renovate its original elements. Philosophy, at a later period the zealous ally of Polytheism, was for ages its secret or avowed enemy, and its alliance was purchased by important and even dangerous concessions. The breach which had so long existed between the popular religion and the progress of the human mind was perhaps most perceptible in the interval between Augustus and Antoninus. If the advancement of civilization had, in some respects, softened and purified the savage or licentious spirit of the old religions, it had equally undermined their imaginative strength. Between a blind credulity and cool and sober reason there intervened no reconciling power that would at once gratify the natural propensity of man to believe, and the healthy activity which prompts him to inquire. For while an intellectual aristocracy absorbed the more refined and inquisitive spirits, the high and low vulgar were left to the barren forms and vague precepts of an unauthorized creed. And although, in the science of morals, philosophy, as Mr. Milman remarks, nobly performed her office, the structures she raised had no foundation in the general mart of mankind.

The ethnic philosophy of the first and second centuries of our æra was, for the most part, an open or an ill-dissembled pyrrhonism, as every eclectic system is which expels or secedes from religion. Yet the separation cannot be fairly imputed as a defect to philosophy, since religion had long lost that vital warmth and authority which alone can render it the basis of moral and intellectual life. And the same negative character was impressed on literature, if we except the department of history. To compile, methodize and embellish were the functions and the highest merits of the Greek and Roman writers in that age. Even poetry assumed an encyclo-

paedic form, and from the Alexandrian school to its senescence in Latium was reproductive rather than creative. The gravest writers, Mr. Milman observes, apologized to their more thoughtful readers for introducing into their works those mythic legends which formed the creed of their ancestors. The symptoms of disorganization were thus perceptible in every quarter: religion had parted from morality, and but feebly inspired the creative mind; philosophy retired within the precincts of an intellectual aristocracy, not so much from indolence or pride, as to preserve and perpetuate her former acquisitions; and the imaginative arts no longer appealed to the universal sympathies of man, but to the judgement of the instructed few. In the following passage Mr. Milman describes the only source of affinity and union, of hope and faith, that remained in some measure common both to the learned and the vulgar of the heathen world:—

“The last hopes of the ancient religions lay in the Mysteries. Of them alone the writers, about the time of the appearance of Christianity, speak with uniform reverence, if not with awe. They alone could bestow happiness in life, and hope in death. In these remarkable rites the primitive Nature-worship had survived under a less refined and less humanized form; the original and more simple symbolic forms (those of the first agricultural inhabitants of Greece,) had been retained by ancient reverence: as its allegory was less intricate and obscure, it accommodated itself better with the advancing spirit of the age. It may, indeed, be questioned whether the Mysteries did not owe much of their influence to their secrecy, and to the impressive forms under which they shadowed forth their more recondite truths. These, if they did not satisfy, yet kept the mind in a state of progressive and continued excitement. They were, if it may be so said, a great religious drama, in which the initiated were at once spectators and actors; the fifth act was designedly delayed to the utmost possible point, and of this still suspended catastrophe, the *dramatis personæ*, the only audience, were kept in studied ignorance. The Mysteries had, perhaps, from an early period associated a moral purport with their sacred shows; and, with the progress of opinion, the moral would more and more predominate over the primitive religious meaning. Yet the morality of the Mysteries was apparently that of the ancient Nature-worship of the East. It taught the immortality of the soul, as a part of that vast system of nature, which, emanating from the Supreme Being, passed through a long course of deterioration or refinement, and at length returned and resolved itself into the primal source of all existence. But the Mysteries, from their very nature, could only act on the public mind in a limited manner; directly they ceased to be Mysteries they lost their power.”—*Vol. i. pp. 31*

The strength of Polytheism, however, lay, not in its moral influence, but in its connexion with the state, its association with every circumstance of public and private life, and in its inert resistance as part of the existing order of things. Nor will these be esteemed weak barriers against innovation by any one acquainted with the history of social changes. Mr. Milman has tempered the special pleading of Gibbon against the difficulties of the first Christian missionaries without falling into the opposite error of such historians as Milner in exaggerating them. "The conflict of Christianity with Judaism," he remarks, "was a civil war; that with Paganism, the invasion and conquest of a foreign territory." But the design and reality of the latter contest was, for a considerable period, unknown to the party attacked, and even imperfectly understood by the assailants themselves. The Jews were vigilant and implacable from the first, while the Heathen slowly awakened to the danger and decay of their established creeds. Even the brief and fragmentary narrative of the Acts strikingly illustrates this distinction. It was the privilege of the Jews in every city the Apostles entered, to have the first offer of the new faith; and the Jews are the persecutors and informers at the bar of the regular tribunals, and the authors or instigators of the capricious violence of the multitude. But the Pagan magistrates were sometimes, like Gallio, philosophically indifferent to complaints on religious grounds; and sometimes, like Sergius Paullus, predisposed to doctrines which so readily blended with their own purer notions of morality. And the Pagan multitude, though occasionally jealous for the honour of the "Great Diana," were frequently inclined to take part with the missionaries of the new sect, even where they did not regard them worthy of divine worship, as the disguised Jupiter and Mercury of their own temples. Mr. Milman contrasts the features of Polytheism, as they appear in the different reception of the Apostles at Lystra, Philippi and Athens. In the Lycaonian city the Christian teacher appears, for the first time, in the centre of a Pagan population, with whom the old barbarous religion maintained an influence it had long lost in the more civilized and commercial parts of the Roman world. The restoration of the cripple excited not merely a wondering interest, but

impressed a rude and earnest people with the belief that some of their ancient gods were concealed in the persons of these beneficent strangers. Nor, he adds, is it less characteristic of the versatility of barbarians, that "no sooner is the illusion dispelled, than they join with the hostile Jews in the persecution of those very men, whom their superstition, but a short time before, had raised into objects of divine worship." At Philippi the conversion of the divining girl brought the Apostles into collision with the numerous and powerful body of soothsayers, who play a conspicuous part both in the history and literature of declining Paganism; and, as a class, were among the first to awaken to the general danger from the new creed. Philippi, although more advanced than Lysitra, was apparently not high in the scale of intellectual cultivation; and the reception of Paul in that city is, perhaps, an instance of the early fortunes of Christianity in the average provincial towns of the empire. But it was at Athens, "the centre at once and capital of the Greek philosophy and Heathen superstition," that the first public and direct conflict took place between Christianity and Paganism. "Up to this time," Mr. Milman remarks, "there is no account of any one of the Apostles taking his station in the public street or market-place, and addressing the general multitude." We shall not dwell upon a scene so familiar to every reader, so often presented to the imagination both by eloquence and art, and so expressive both of the character of the principal actor in it and of the audience he addressed; and as our extracts from his volumes will be frequent, we must content ourselves with a general recommendation of Mr. Milman's description of 'Paul at Athens,' and pass on to less known portions of the early progress of Christianity.

Our documents of this moral revolution will not enable us to say at what time or in what regions principally the opposition of the Pagan hierarchy to Christianity began.

We have seen hitherto three forms of hostility, besides the unceasing enmity of Judaism; but, with the exception of the latter, all are referable to local causes, although to such causes as may have prevailed wherever the new doctrines were introduced. Over more than one hemisphere of the labours of the Christian missionaries a veil of darkness has

fallen, and the darkness is rendered more palpable by devious gleams of legend and tradition. For if the lax and philosophic temperament of the West resisted the precepts and persecuted the followers of Jesus, in what way can they have been received among the ancestral and earnest creeds of the East? The piety or the ambition of later ages indeed was dissatisfied with the silence which involved the fate of the twelve chosen companions of Christ and of their immediate followers, and devised a specious and speedily-expanding scheme of their wanderings and their sufferings. "These "religious invaders," Mr. Milman says, "according to the "later Christian romance, made a regular partition of the "world, and assigned to each the conquest of his particular "province." By a singular caprice the fame of St. Peter has eclipsed that of St. Paul in the metropolis of the western world; whereas it seems more probable that the Babylonian satrapies, rather than any Roman province, were the scene of the elder apostle's ministry. And although Thrace, Scythia, Spain, Britain, Æthiopia, and even the mysterious region, in ancient chorography, of India, had each their apostle, the critical historian must confine his inquiries to a very narrow district of the Roman empire in the West.

The pride or enthusiasm which the various members of the Roman empire might feel towards their local worship, determined, in some measure, the resistance to the new faith; but the character of the ruling people and the government affected also both the progress and the obstacles of Christianity. The tolerance of Rome to foreign creeds was the result of ignorance rather than of reason or policy, and was readily exchanged for persecution whenever the state or the emperor seemed endangered by their approach; but the circuit of her dominion was so wide, and, under the first Cæsars, so imperfectly melted into a uniform system, that a religious sect, however numerous and active, can rarely have come in contact with the supreme power. Mr. Milman remarks "how singularly the changes in the political character "of the government, from the first preaching of the Gospel "to the accession of Constantine, were calculated to advance "the growth of Christianity." The government of the Cæsars from Augustus to Galba, however disguised by republican

forms, was a pure despotism ; and a pure despotism is essentially selfish and short-sighted. Content with averting or suppressing conspiracy against the person or the power of the reigning monarch, it is, both from inclination and interest, insensible to remote and secret changes in the bosom of society. It is jealous of innovation, because itself is the creature of accident and licence ; but of such innovations only as present themselves directly to the fears, or clash with the pleasures or the passions of the sovereign. To immediate dangers it opposes temporary remedies, without inquiring whether they arise from transient or permanent causes. When an outcry was raised against the Egyptian religion, as pernicious to public morals, the temples of Isis and Serapis were closed, and their votaries expelled from the city ; and when the mathematicians involved the emperor in their predictions, they fell under a similar interdict. The Neronian persecution arose out of the fire at Rome, and from the necessity of appeasing or diverting the wrath of the populace ; but it was no part of a general system for suppressing foreign religions. The temper of the central government would be reflected in the provincial administrations ; and these, unless stimulated by local causes, or by breach of the public peace, would, especially in the eastern portion of the empire, where the religion of the state differed more widely from that of the people, regard the progress of a new faith with as much indifference as the appearance of a new philosophy. Mr. Milman thinks the Neronian persecution had the effect of raising the importance of Christianity, “ so as to force it upon the notice “ of many who might otherwise have been ignorant of its “ existence.” The fortitude of the sufferers in their unprecedented trials would recommend their faith “ to those who were dissatisfied with the moral power of the old religion ;” and the feeling thus excited would strengthen the revulsion of the public mind against Nero, and perhaps awaken commiseration towards his victims. So long, however, as no systematic plan was followed for its suppression, and while it was generally confounded with Judaism, Christianity would strike root deeply among the lower and middle orders, without sufficiently emerging from obscurity to attract the notice

of the police or the jealousy of the established priesthood. And the general circumstances of this first period—an unbroken peace, an inorganic system of government, the careless and dissolute morals of both extremes of society, and even the selfish and sensual extravagances of the emperors themselves—by preventing any regular or conscientious support of the state-religion, would directly favour the growth and diffusion of a more earnest and intelligent faith.

The circumstances of the second period, from the death of Nero to the election of Trajan, were, perhaps, still more favourable to the silent propagation of Christianity; for with the exception of the tribute imposed by Vespasian for the restoration of the temple of Jupiter, and a transient alarm in the gloomy mind of Domitian, nothing occurred to bring its professors into collision with the state. The last heir of the Cæsars, according to the indulgent laws of Roman adoption, had fallen a sacrifice to his own vices: a fierce and desolating civil war raised a new family to the throne; but the Flavian dynasty was hardly established before it was overthrown by similar excesses in its third emperor. Neither the government nor the priesthood of this turbulent æra had leisure to speculate on remote and contingent dangers; and the Christians, though they partook of the general calamities of the times, suffered as citizens and subjects only. “Of the Flavian dynasty,” Mr. Milman observes, “Vespasian alone, from the comprehensive vigour of his mind, perhaps from the knowledge he had gained during his residence in the East of the Jewish religion and character, was likely to estimate the bearings and future prospects of Christianity.” But his reign was a perpetual effort to repair the injuries which the profusion of his predecessors and the civil wars had inflicted on the empire; and the complaints of impiety or heresy were unheard amid the exactions of the treasury and the appeals of the distressed provincials. Referring to Mr. Milman’s pages for the causes which may have drawn the notice of the government towards the *Christian* portion of its subjects, we shall briefly point out another source of their safety and obscurity as a religious body. The subjugation of Judæa and the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem had materially in-

creased the contempt and aversion with which the race of Israel was regarded by the Gentile world; and the sentiments entertained towards the "religious parents of the Christians" would, with the undistinguishing multitude at least, naturally extend to their offspring. The provinces swarmed with Jewish slaves or fugitives, reduced by their condition or their poverty to the meanest occupations, and by their servile manners and moral debasement justifying, perhaps, the misery of their lot. From such a quarter, so long as the Christian and the Jew were identified in the minds of their rulers, little danger would be apprehended either to the power or the person of the emperor; and even if, in the more sagacious or the more timid, an occasional suspicion arose, it yielded, under the Flavian house, to the dread of a more immediate and intelligible assailant.

"The awful genius of Roman liberty," Mr. Milman observes, "had entered into an alliance with the higher philosophy of the time. Republican stoicism, brooding in the noblest minds of Rome, looked back with vain though passionate regret to the free institutions of their ancestors, and demanded the old liberty of action. It was this dangerous movement, not the new and humble religion, which calmly acquiesced in all political changes, and contented itself with liberty of thought and opinion, which put to the test the prudence and moderation of the emperor Vespasian. It was the spirit of Cato, not of Christ, which he found it necessary to control. The enemy before whom he trembled was the patriot Thrasea, not the Apostle St. John, who was silently winning over Ephesus to the new faith. The edict of expulsion from Rome fell not on the worshippers of foreign religions, but on the philosophers, a comprehensive term, but which was probably limited to those whose opinions were considered dangerous to the imperial authority."

The third period opens with a new race of monarchs and another system of administration; and the genius of the one as well as the character of the other were much more formidable to Christianity than the personal despotism of the Julian or Flavian lines. Trajan, Hadrian and the Antonines were not monarchs of Rome only, "governing the other parts of the empire as dependent provinces, but sovereigns of the Western World, which had gradually coalesced into one majestic and harmonious system." The frontiers were again maintained by disciplined valour and ancient renown.

The science of jurisprudence was called in to the aid of government. The condition of the provinces was either surveyed by the emperor in person, or ascertained by the frequent and careful reports of his lieutenants; and, during a happy period of more than sixty years, both reform and improvement were matured and harmonized in a general peace. "It was impossible," as Mr. Milman justly adds, "that the rapid and universal progress of a new religion should escape the notice of minds so occupied with the internal as well as the external affairs of the whole empire." But, at this crisis, a general collision between the Christians and the state was, in some measure, prevented by the humanity or prudence of the reigning monarchs, and still more by the misunderstood and subordinate position of Christianity itself. The former had beheld the Isiac or Phrygian mysteries, though repeatedly interdicted, insinuate themselves into the general mass of superstitions without much prejudice either to the state or the established worship; and the last characteristic they would suspect or understand in a religion would be the aggressive and uncompromising spirit of the new faith. The latter, although in the second century it had made formidable encroachments on Polytheism, was yet not sufficiently commensurate with it to arouse and draw upon itself the combined forces of the imperial police, of sacerdotal hostility and popular alarm. The respective ignorance and obscurity of the first century were indeed passing rapidly away; but the greater part of the second was still a period of accidental compromise between a declining and an advancing creed. As the personal character of the emperors contributed to this state of things, we subjoin Mr. Milman's account of their respective tempers and policy:—

"Under an emperor who should have united the vigour of a Trajan and the political forethought of a Hadrian with the sanguinary relentlessness of a Nero, Christianity would have had to pass a tremendous ordeal. Now, however, the collision of the new religion with the civil power was only occasional, and, as it were, fortuitous; and in these occasional conflicts with the ruling powers, we constantly appear to trace the character of the reigning sovereign. Of these emperors, Trajan possessed the most powerful and vigorous mind—a consummate general, a humane but active ruler: Hadrian was the profoundest statesman, the Antonines the best

men. The conduct of Trajan was that of a military sovereign, whose natural disposition was tempered with humanity—prompt, decisive, never unnecessarily prodigal of blood, but careless of human life if it appeared to stand in the way of any important design, or to hazard that paramount object of the government, the public peace. Hadrian was inclined to a more temporizing policy: the more the Roman empire was contemplated as a whole, the more the co-existence of multifarious religions might appear compatible with the general peace. Christianity might, in the end, be no more dangerous than the other foreign religions which had flowed, and were still flowing in, from the East. The elder Antonine may have pursued from mildness of character the course adopted by Hadrian from policy. The change which took place during the reign of Marcus Aurelius may be attributed to the circumstances of the time; though the pride of philosophy, as well as the established religion, might begin to take the alarm."

The martyrdom of Ignatius, however, and the famous correspondence between Pliny and his imperial master on the course to be pursued with the Bithynian Christians, show that the civil power had taken alarm, although the extent of danger was unsuspected. Mr. Milman thinks with great probability that the measures adopted by Trajan against the Christians were not entirely unconnected with the political state of the East; and he approves a conjecture of Pagi's, that the attention of the government was directed to them by their refusal to share in the public rejoicings on the birthday or the accession of an emperor. So long, indeed, as it was esteemed the offspring, or a sect at least, of Judaism, both causes may have operated unfavourably upon the new religion in its relations with the state: for, according to Rabbinical tradition, the Jewish seasons, both of mirth and mourning, were in singular disharmony with the like occasions in the Pagan calendar; and the Christians would be even more obnoxious to suspicions of disloyalty, wherever the sacrifices, the games, or the theatre betrayed a diminution in the usual concourse of spectators. The foreign Jews had gradually reconciled themselves to exhibitions which the Christians denounced as alike offensive to humanity and modesty, and worthy of the presiding dæmon alone, who, in their estimation, was both the author and the object of the established worship. The connexion of the Bithynian prosecutions with the political movements of the East rests wholly on conjec-

ture; yet when the precarious tenure of the Mesopotamian provinces, and the apparent connexion of the Jewish rebellion in Cyprus, Cyrene and Egypt with Trajan's Parthian war, are borne in mind with reference to the common misconception of Christianity as an offshoot of Judaism, there seems no improbability in supposing the alarm excited in Bithynia to have had a deeper source, and embraced a wider circle than those which history indicates.

The reign of Marcus Aurelius, though included by Mr. Milman in the third period, presents some remarkable differences, both in the relations of Christianity to Paganism and in the general character of the times. Sixty years of almost uninterrupted peace had allowed free scope for the progress of the Gospel. The indifference of Hadrian, the gentleness of the first Antoninus had discouraged persecution, and even rescued by their edicts the rising sect from private malevolence and popular fury. The character of the second Antoninus was of a higher order than that of either of his immediate predecessors; and his virtues, had they been exempt from philosophic pride, might have attracted the admiration, if not the envy, of his Christian subjects. "Marcus Aurelius," Mr. Milman observes, "might seem the last effort of Paganism, or rather of Gentile philosophy, to raise a worthy opponent to the triumphant career of Christianity;" yet in him "Christianity found not only a fair and high-minded competitor for the command of the human mind, but a violent and intolerant persecutor." But Christianity was no longer shrouded in the obscurity of a sect, or hidden behind the shield of Judaism: it had spread into every quarter of the Roman dominions; and its different communities were bound together in a kind of federal union, that formed, as it were, an empire within the empire. The tone of its apologists was advancing from supplication to demand, from demand to menace; and its comprehensive charity and doctrines excluded no class of converts, whether "bond or free." The darkening aspect of the times increased, and perhaps justified, the alarm which the new opinions inspired in those who still misunderstood their nature and origin. Instead of the peaceful pursuits of agriculture, or the general system of legislation, which had employed and dignified the leisure of Antoninus Pius,

Marcus was alternately engaged on the eastern and northern frontiers of the empire in repelling invasion or rebellion, while the sum of foreign and civil calamities was fearfully swelled by unprecedented inundations, earthquakes and pestilence. The popular cry of "The Christians to the Lions!" was no longer confined to personal or party malice, but fanatic terror infected even the deliberations of the senate and the stoical temper of the sovereign. Mr. Milman thinks it possible, that, during the fire of Rome, the Christians drew on themselves the resentment of the people by indiscreetly applying to the scene before them the prophecies which announced the final conflagration of the world; and it seems equally probable, that, in the latter half of the second century, the tone of their writings, and especially the "Sibylline Verses," contributed to increase the fears and hostility of Paganism. By many modern interpreters, the Apocalypse itself is considered "a grand dramatic vaticination of the triumph of Christianity over Heathenism, in its secular as well as its spiritual power." Our limits will not allow us to dwell on a subject which illustrates both the gloomy character of the times and the altered demeanour of the state towards its Christian members. The seventh chapter of Mr. Milman's second volume, however, presents an accurate and lively picture of the social state of the empire, and of the approaching conflict between civilization and barbarism, between the declining and the rising faith of the Roman portion of the world. It is, perhaps, in these transitional chapters of his work that his qualities as an historian are seen to the best advantage. His extensive reading, his strict impartiality, and his perception of the character of the age, afford a favourable contrast to the ordinary tenor of ecclesiastical history, in which the triumph of Christianity is deprived of its proper lustre by injudicious attempts to extenuate the virtues, and to exaggerate the weakness and the vices of its opponent.

For a similar reason we shall content ourselves with referring to the volumes before us for the fourth period of the struggle between Christianity and Paganism. The annals of persecution, whether conducted by a church, an inquisition, or a Pagan government, are uniform and uninteresting, beyond the trite moral, that the experience of the past avails little

against the immediate passions and the fancied interests of the present. The sanguinary edicts of Diocletian were superseded in the next generation by Christianity on the throne and in the temples of Heathenism. The triumphs of Arianism were forgotten in the permanent ascendancy of the Athanasian doctrines; and the fierce *iconoclasts* of the East were speedily insulted by the pictures and statues of Christ, the saints and the Virgin, in their churches, and, at a later period, subjected to a *Latin* dynasty and *Image-worshipping* prelates. We will not, however, quit this portion of Mr. Milman's labours without laying before our readers a specimen of his mode of narration, especially as our former extracts have been made rather to assist our own rapid sketches, than to exhibit the style or the contents of his work.

At the beginning of the third century, and towards the close of the reign of Severus, the policy of that emperor towards his Christian subjects underwent a sudden change. The West comparatively escaped; but the provinces of Syria and Cappadocia, of Africa and Egypt, were respectively the scenes of severe if not of extensive persecution. Whether the suspicious mind of Severus assumed a gloomier tinge in his latter days, or whether he apprehended danger to the state from the close and increasing federation of the Christians, or whether, according to Mr. Milman's conjecture, devotion to Serapis may have awakened hostility to the Gospel, or the severities were the act of bigoted governors, proceeding upon the existing laws, rather than the consequences of fresh imperial edicts, is not certainly known. Alexandria was the chief scene of suffering; but the province of Africa has become more memorable by the *Apology of Tertullian* and the *Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas*.

"The youthful catechumens, Revocatus and Felicitas, Saturninus and Secundulus, were apprehended, and with them Vivia Perpetua, a woman of good family, liberal education, and honourably married. Perpetua was about twenty-two years old; her father and mother were living; she had two brothers—one of them, like herself, a catechumen—and an infant at her breast. The history of the martyrdom is related by Perpetua herself, and is said to have been written by her own hand:—"When we were in the hands of the persecutors, my father, in his tender affection, persevered in his endeavours to pervert me from the faith. 'My father, this vessel, be it a pitcher, or anything else, can we call it by any other name?'

'Certainly not,' he replied. 'Nor can I call myself by any name but that of Christian.' My father looked as if he could have plucked my eyes out; but he only harassed me, and departed, persuaded by the arguments of the devil. Then, after being a few days without seeing my father, I was enabled to give thanks to God, and his absence was tempered to my spirit. After a few days we were baptized, and the waters of baptism seemed to give power of endurance to my body. Again a few days, and we were cast into prison. I was terrified, for I had never before seen such total darkness. O miserable day!—from the dreadful heat of the prisoners crowded together and the insults of the soldiers. But I was wrung with solicitude for my infant. Two of our deacons, however, by the payment of money, obtained our removal for some hours in the day to a more open part of the prison. Each of the captives then pursued his usual occupation; but I sate and suckled my infant, who was wasting away with hunger. In my anxiety I addressed and consoled my mother, and commended my child to my brother; and I began to pine away at seeing them pine away on my account. And for many days I suffered this anxiety, and accustomed my child to remain in the prison with me; and I immediately recovered my strength, and was relieved from my toil and trouble for my infant, and the prison became to me like a palace; and I was happier there than I should have been anywhere else.

"After a few days, there was a rumour that we were to be heard. And my father came from the city, wasted away with anxiety, to pervert me; and he said, 'Have compassion on my grey hairs; have compassion on thy father, if he is worthy of the name of father. If I have thus brought thee up to the flower of thine age, if I have preferred thee to all thy brothers, do not expose me to this disgrace.' Thus spake my father, kissing my hands in his fondness, and throwing himself at my feet; and in his tears he called me not his daughter, but his mistress (*domina*). And I was grieved for the grey hairs of my father, because he alone of all our family did not rejoice in my martyrdom; and I consoled him, saying, 'In this trial, what God wills, will take place. Know that we are not in our own power, but in that of God.' And he went away sorrowing.

"Another day, while we were at dinner, we were suddenly seized and carried off to trial, and we came to the town. The report spread rapidly, and an immense multitude was assembled. We were placed at the bar; the rest were interrogated, and made their confession. And it came to my turn; and my father instantly appeared with my child, and he drew me down the step, and said in a beseeching tone, 'Have compassion on your infant;' and Hilarianus, the procurator, said, 'Spare the grey hairs of your parent; spare your infant; offer sacrifice for the welfare of the emperor.' And I answered, 'I will not sacrifice.' 'Art thou a Christian?' said Hilarianus; I answered, 'I am a Christian.' And while my father stood there to persuade me, Hilarianus ordered him to be thrust down and beaten with rods. And the misfortune of my father grieved me; and I was as much grieved for his old age as if I had been scourged myself. He then passed sentence on us all, and condemned us to the wild beasts, and we went back in cheerfulness to the prison."

* * *

"Again a few days, and the keeper of the prison, profoundly impressed by their conduct, and beginning to discern 'the power of God within them,' admitted many of the brethren to visit them, for mutual consolation. "And as the day of the games approached, my father entered, worn out with affliction, and began to pluck his beard, and to throw himself down with his face upon the ground, and to wish that he could hasten his death; and to speak words which might have moved any living creature. And I was grieved for the sorrows of his old age." The night before they were to be exposed in the arena, she dreamed that she was changed to a man; fought and triumphed over a huge and terrible Egyptian gladiator; and she put her foot upon his head, and she received the crown, and passed out of the Vivarian gate, and knew that she had triumphed not over man but over the devil. * * * *

"The narrative then proceeds to another instance of the triumph of faith over the strongest of human feelings, the love of a young mother for her offspring. Felicitas was in the eighth month of her pregnancy. She feared, and her friends shared in her apprehension, that, on that account, her martyrdom might be delayed. They prayed together, and her travail came on. In her agony she gave way to her sufferings. 'How then,' said one of the servants of the prison, 'if you cannot endure these pains, will you endure exposure to the wild beasts?' She replied, 'I bear now my own sufferings; then, there will be one within me who will bear my sufferings for me, because I shall suffer for his sake.' She brought forth a girl, of whom a Christian sister took the charge.

"Perpetua maintained her calmness to the end. While they were treated with severity by a tribune, who feared lest they should be delivered from the prison by enchantment, Perpetua remonstrated with a kind of mournful pleasantry, and said that, if ill-used, they would not do credit to the birthday of Cæsar: the victims ought to be fattened for the sacrifice. But their language and demeanour were not always so calm and gentle; the words of some became those of defiance,—almost of insult; and this is related with as much admiration as the more tranquil sublimity of the former incidents. To the people who gazed on them, in their importunate curiosity, at their *agape*, they said, 'Is not tomorrow's spectacle enough to satiate your hate? Today you look on us with friendly faces, tomorrow you will be our deadly enemies. Mark well our countenances, that you may know them again on the day of judgement.' And to Hilarianus, on his tribunal, they said, 'Thou judgest us, but God will judge thee.' When taken out to execution, they declined, and were permitted to decline, the profane dress in which they were to be clad. They came forward in their simple attire, Perpetua singing psalms. The men were exposed to leopards and bears; the women were hung up naked in nets, to be gored by a furious cow. But even the excited populace shrunk with horror at the spectacle of two young and delicate women, one recently recovered from child-birth, in this state. They were recalled by acclamation, and in mercy brought forward again, clad in loose robes. Perpetua was tossed, her garment was rent; but, more conscious of her wounded modesty than of pain, she drew the robe over the part of her person which was exposed.

She then calmly clasped up her hair, because it did not become a martyr to suffer with dishevelled locks, the sign of sorrow. She then raised up her fainting and mortally wounded Felicitas, and the cruelty of the populace being for a time appeased, they were permitted to retire. Perpetua seemed wrapt in ecstasy, and as if awaking from sleep, inquired when she was to be exposed to the beast. She could scarcely be made to believe what had taken place; her last words tenderly admonished her brother to be steadfast in the faith. We may close the scene by intimating that all were speedily released from their sufferings, and entered into their glory. Perpetua guided with her own hand the merciful sword of the gladiator which relieved her from her agony."—*Vol. ii. pp. 217—225.*

The strength and progress of Christianity are seen in the writings of the Apologists, in the numbers and the doctrines of Heretics, in the personal character of its leading men, the bishops and fathers of the Church, and in the institutions, the arts and literature which it finally produced. We can afford but a brief glance at each of these subjects, which are fully, and sometimes eloquently handled by Mr. Milman.

The visit of Hadrian to Athens in the winter of 131, and his initiation in the mysteries of Eleusis, had, probably, revived the zeal of the Pagan and philosophic party in the most polished and learned district of Greece. The notorious fondness of that emperor for exotic opinions and abstruse researches, together with the danger of the Athenian Christians at the time, may have prompted Quadratus and Aristides, the first recorded Apologists, to lay before the imperial visitant a modest and respectful plea for their own faith. Many similar remonstrances were addressed to his immediate successors, Verus and the Antonines; but, if we may judge from the only extant Apologies, those of Justin Martyr, they did not always preserve the same deprecatory tone. They openly arraigned the unholiness and folly of the established Polytheism; exposed, without scruple, the inconsistencies of the philosophical schools; and prayed for the conversion, or intimated the danger from Divine justice of the emperors themselves. The second Apology of Justin, the most earnest or indiscreet in its language, was dedicated to the second Antoninus, and perhaps assisted his enemy the philosopher Crescens in procuring for him the honour of martyrdom. Tertullian, however, marks the period of transition from sober argument and humble deprecation to vehement and uncompromising de-

nunciation of the guilt and absurdity of the state-religion, although, as Mr. Milman suggests, "his fiery temper may have anticipated the time when Christianity, instead of endeavouring to appease or avert the wrath of Paganism, might defy it to deadly strife." During the persecution in the later years of Severus, Tertullian stood forth as the champion of Christianity; and the tone of his Apology is characteristic of the man, of the country, and of the altered position of the new faith. In no part of the empire had Christianity taken deeper root than in the wealthy and populous province of Africa; but if it had tended to soften the fierce temperament of that burning region, it had, on the other hand, imbibed a wild and impassioned energy that too often set at nought every restraint of reason, charity and peace. In his address to the Præfect Scapula, every sentence of Tertullian breathes scorn, defiance and menace. "It heaps contempt upon the gods of Paganism: it avows the determination of the Christians to expel the *dæmons* from the respect and adoration of mankind." At a later period, Augustine composed his 'City of God,' and, among others, Orosius his history to vindicate the Christians from being the cause of the calamities which desolated the empire. But Tertullian disdains such exculpation. The harvests had been swept away by floods; the streets of Carthage laid in ashes; the sun præternaturally eclipsed at noonday: but these are unequivocal signs of the vengeance of the Christian's God against the idolatrous province. The Apologist, however, mingles some rhetorical art with his denunciations. The title of Severus to the throne rested on the right of conquest, and the Christians had been accused of disloyalty. He exculpates them from any leaning to Niger, Albinus, or Clodius, the emperor's late competitors, and then proceeds to avow their general and conscientious allegiance. "The Christian is no man's enemy, assuredly not the sovereign's. *Him*, he knows to be ordained by God; therefore he loves, honours and reveres him, and prays for his safety with that of the whole Roman empire that it may endure—and endure it will—as long as the world itself (*quousque sæculum stabit*)." The fate of former persecutors is held out as a warning to the præfect, and while he is dextrously reminded of the more humane

policy of others, the hopelessness of his attempt against a people is urged, who "will crowd eagerly to martyrdom, exhaust his fires, and weary his swords."

The Christians, however, were exposed not merely to the hostility of the government and the people, but to the assaults of the philosophical party also. The latter comprised every mode of direct or indirect attack from the grave treatise to the philosophical romance, and were met, at first, by short apologetic orations, and afterwards by erudite and elaborate volumes. Of these longer and more general 'Apologies for Christianity,' the first, that of Origen against Celsus, is, in Mr. Milman's opinion, "the best." "The intellect of Origen, notwithstanding its occasional fantastic aberrations, was more suited to grapple with this lofty argument than the diffuse and excursive Eusebius, whose evangelic Preparation and Demonstration heaped together vast masses of curious but by no means convincing learning, and [than] the feebler and less candid Cyril, in his Books against Julian." The names of Lactantius and Minucius Felix are familiar to every student of Latin literature, whose golden age they reflect with scarcely diminished brightness. But the first complete work of Christian theology, the most permanent and capacious barrier against the errors and the arguments, the assaults and the calumnies of Paganism, was Augustine's 'City of God.' We shall presently notice the influence of its author on the religious doctrines and sentiments, and even on the language of Western Christendom. Mr. Milman has given in his third volume a brief analysis of the occasion, the design and the contents of this colossal work; but since it originated in the last great question between expiring Paganism and Christianity—the connexion of the fall and the calamities of the empire with the desertion of the ancient religion of Rome—we shall need no excuse for presenting our readers with the following "brief argument" of its general scope and purpose:—

"As long as both Romes, more especially the ancient city of the West, remained inviolate, so long the fabric of the Roman greatness seemed unbroken, and she might still assert her title as Mistress of the World. The capture of Rome dissipated for ever these proud illusions; it struck the Roman world to the heart: and in the mortal agony of the old social system, men wildly grasped at every cause which could account for this un-

expected, this inexplicable phenomenon. * * * Murmurs were again heard impeaching the new religion as the cause of this disastrous consummation : the deserted gods had deserted in their turn the apostate city.

“Augustine dedicated thirteen years to the completion of this work, which was for ever to determine this solemn question, and to silence the last murmurs of expiring Paganism. The City of God is at once the funeral oration of the ancient society, the gratulatory panegyric on the birth of the new. It acknowledged, it triumphed in the irrevocable fall of the Babylon of the West, the shrine of Idolatry : it hailed at the same time the universal dominion which awaited the new theocratic polity. The earthly city had undergone its predestined fate : it had passed away with all its vices and superstitions, with all its virtues and its glories (for the soul of Augustine was not dead to the noble reminiscences of Roman greatness), with its false gods and its Heathen sacrifices : its doom was sealed, and for ever. But in its place had arisen the City of God, the Church of Christ ; a new social system had emerged from the ashes of the old ; that system was founded by God, was ruled by divine laws, and had the divine promise of perpetuity.”

With a few, and perhaps unimportant exceptions, the series of Christian apologists is complete. A different fate has befallen the writings of their opponents. Yet so important was the question between them, so illustrative of the opinions, the feelings and the manners of an extinct age are the fragments which have been preserved, that, while quitting this portion of the volumes before us, we are inclined to repeat the lively wish of Michaelis, that the controversial works of Porphyry alone could be recovered, even at the cost of committing some Christian father to the flames.

The existence of *Heresy* is an evidence of both the strength and the weakness of the human intellect. The author of a system of theology and morals may indulge in the pleasing hope that his arguments are so convincing, and his motives so pure, that it will be impossible to alter or to deviate from his doctrines without at the same time departing from the truth ; and the apostle or preacher of a divinely-originated and perpetuated system, although he knows that heresies will arise, can hardly calculate upon the endless aberrations of his successors from the simple precepts of the primitive Gospel or Law. But the contemplation of error, however painful to an orthodox believer, is not without its recompense to the student of the human mind ; and the chapter on Heresy in ecclesiastical annals is one of the most instructive and

curious sections in universal history. The new impulse Christianity gave to the mind of man, the moral communion it introduced among the various races of the world, were necessarily followed by extreme activity and infinite variety in the modes of thought and feeling. The intellectual barrier which had separated Judaism from Polytheism, and, by a strong line of demarcation, severed the philosophy of the West from the theology of the East, was broken down; and although, at a later period, Orientalism regained its distinctive character, the tide it had rolled towards Europe did not recede without leaving a deep and permanent impression behind. Mr. Milman has embraced so much of the fertile and devious field of Christian Heresy as was necessary to illustrate its general influence on the religion, and its enduring effects on the social and intellectual condition of man. His acquaintance with the literature of the East has enabled him to delineate in lively and expressive colours the peculiar forms which the oriental mind delights to assume, and to place them in their proper contrast with the colder speculations of the West. Our notice, however, of his instructive chapters must be restricted to a rapid survey of the general features of Orientalism, which, more than any other foreign element, worked itself into the body and essence of Christianity.

The religions of Asia, and of those races which, like the ruling caste in Egypt, are apparently of Asiatic origin, possess a common and generic character, modified, indeed, by local circumstances, by the genius of the different people who professed, or of the legislators who first promulgated them. Physical were combined with moral ideas; the nature of the Deity with the process of creation and the structure of the world, the properties of matter with the functions and the attributes of soul or spirit. These elementary principles, at the time Christianity appeared, pervaded a wide range of the habitable earth, from the banks of the Ganges to the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, and, perhaps, from the Yellow Sea to the cataracts of the Nile. Their exact affiliation cannot, at present, be traced; but it is one of the privileges of modern philosophy, and certainly the grandest prospect it holds out to future inquirers, that as our knowledge of language becomes more exact and comprehensive, our materials for

exploring the various branches of the great human family, and with them their religious, ethical and social diversities, multiply and expand. The doctrine, however, of Orientalism that found the readiest admission into Judaism and ethnic philosophy, and subsequently into Christianity itself, was that of the inherent purity, the divinity, of *mind or spirit*, the inalienable evil of its antagonist *matter*. This great primal tenet was the parent of asceticism, of celibacy and of the various offspring of Gnosticism; it was the ground-work of the religion of the Therapeutist, the Essene and the Monk; it penetrated into the communities of Pythagoras and the higher speculations of Plato; and, if it was rejected by the practical spirit of Rome, it subdued equally the peaceful genius of Christianity and the warlike temper of Islamism. Its first combination with Judaism was, probably, in the schools of Alexandria, where a corrupt and visionary Platonism had been engrafted on the institutions of Moses. The Egyptian Therapeutist was not indeed a mere indolent recluse; but the arid and rocky soil of the desert could not exhaust his leisure, and many hours would remain for solitary contemplation or discipline of the flesh. Its first encounter with Christianity was under the form of Gnosticism, or those opinions, at least, which Gnosticism afterwards absorbed and consolidated. "Simon Magus was the first Orientalist,"—we presume Mr. Milman means the first in Western Asia who reduced Gnosticism to a system, or rather a pre-gnostic; but the only authentic clue we have to his character and pretensions is speedily lost among the "wild legends" that represent him as "the rival of Christianity." Mr. Milman, however, traces the lineaments of the future system in the acts and doctrines ascribed to "the hero of the Romance of Heresy," as Simon is termed by Beausobre. According to the Eastern method of teaching by symbol, Simon carried about with him a living and real illustration of the allegory he partly embodied in his own person. Himself was the first *Æon* or emanation of the primal Deity; and his companion Helena—according to the statements of his enemies, a beautiful prostitute from Tyre—was the first conception (the *Eunœa*) of the Deity. The moral qualities of Simon, if any credence may be given to the stories of his life, were those rather of an impostor, a Pere-

grinus or a Count Cagliostro, than of an enthusiast like Böhmen or Bardesanes. But his doctrines probably contained the germ of the still more fantastic theories of the later Gnostics. Neither Simon Magus, however, nor Menander, "the heir and successor of his doctrines," were Christians; and Orientalism presently hailed the new faith as the completion of its own system. From Cerinthus to Marcion of Pontus, a succession of innovators, with various degrees of licence or hardihood, disputed the letter, the authority, or the genuineness of the Scriptures, destroying their simplicity, and threatening to change both their design and their effects upon mankind. The number of their sects is said to have exceeded fifty: the variations in their principal theories, the Basilidian, the Valentinian and the Marcionite, must be sought in Mr. Milman's pages; but they all agreed in asserting the malignity of matter, and in their efforts to keep clear from its contagion both the primal Being and the Christ. Their attempts to explain the origin of evil were not more fruitless perhaps than all other efforts of human reason to solve that inexplicable problem; and although their alliance with Christianity was sometimes dearly purchased by the latter, the Gnostic heretics, by their zeal, their diffusion, and the affinity of their leading tenets to the physical and moral systems of so large a portion of the world, were probably no unimportant agents in the destruction of Polytheism, and the propagation of the Gospel in the eastern provinces of the empire.

The heresies of Cerinthus, Saturninus and Basilides would lead us into a vast and barren labyrinth of crude and fanciful speculations, which, but for their serving to illustrate some of the later and more momentous controversies of the Church, would be, in the words of Sir Thomas Brown, "among the veniable part of things lost." But the doctrines of Manes descended through the schoolmen into the theology of modern Europe, and perplexed both the reformed and the Catholic divines of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The names of Bayle and Le Clerc, of Leibnitz and Cudworth, show that the question of the 'origin of evil' lost none of its interest by transmission through fifteen hundred years; and since Mr. Milman's account of this singular heresiarch comprises a

lively portraiture of the man as well as a brief summary of the system, we lay a portion of it before our readers.

"Towards the close of the third century, while the religion of the East was undergoing these signal revolutions, and the antagonist creeds of Magianism and Christianity were growing up into powerful and hostile systems, . . . a bold and ambitious adventurer in the career of religious change attempted to unite the conflicting elements; to reconcile the hostile genius of the East and West; to fuse together, in one comprehensive scheme, Christianity, Zoroastrianism, and apparently the Buddhism of India. It is singular to trace the doctrines of the most opposite systems, and of remote regions, assembled together, and harmonized in the vast Eclecticism of Mani. From his native Persia he derived his Dualism, his antagonist worlds of light and darkness; and from Magianism, likewise, his contempt of outward temple and splendid ceremonial. From Gnosticism, or rather from universal Orientalism, he drew the inseparable admixture of physical and moral notions, the eternal hostility between mind and matter, the rejection of Judaism, and the identification of the God of the Old Testament with the evil spirit, the distinction between Jesus and the Christ, with the docetism, or the unreal death of the incorporeal Christ. From Cabalism, through Gnosticism, came the primal man, the Adam Cædmon of that system, and the assumption of beautiful human forms, those of graceful boys and attractive virgins, by the powers of light, and their union with the male and female spirits of darkness. From India he took the Emanation theory (all light was a part of the Deity, and in one sense the soul of the world), the metempsychosis, the triple division of human souls; . . . from India, perhaps, also his Homophorus, as the Greeks called it, his Atlas, who supported the earth upon his shoulders, and his Splenditenens, the circumambient air. From Chaldea he borrowed the power of astral influences, and he approximated to the solar worship of expiring Paganism; Christ, the Mediator, like the Mithra of his countrymen, had his dwelling in the sun.

"From his native country Mani derived the simple diet of fruit and herbs; from the Buddhism of India his respect for animal life, which was neither to be slain for food or for sacrifice; from all the anti-materialist sects or religions, the abhorrence of all sensual indulgence, even the bath as well as the banquet, the proscription, or at least the disparagement of marriage. And the whole of these foreign and extraneous tenets, his creative imagination blended with his own form of Christianity; for so completely are they mingled, that it is difficult to decide whether Christianity or Magianism formed the ground of his system. From Christianity he derived not, perhaps, a strictly Nicene, but more than an Arian Trinity. His own system was the completion of the imperfect revelation of the Gospel. He was a *man* invested with a divine mission,—the Paraclete (for Mani appears to have distinguished between the Paraclete and the Holy Spirit), who was to consummate the great work auspiciously commenced, yet unfulfilled, by the mission of Jesus. Mani had twelve apostles. His Ertang

or Gospel was intended to supersede the four Christian Evangelists, whose works, though valuable, he averred had been interpolated with many Jewish fables. The Acts Mani altogether rejected, as announcing the descent of the Paraclete on the Apostles. On the writings of St. Paul he pronounced a more favourable sentence. But his Ertang, it is said, was not merely the work of a prophet, but of a painter; for, among his various accomplishments, Mani excelled in that art. It was richly illustrated by paintings which commanded the wonder of the age; while his followers, in devout admiration, studied the tenets of their master in the splendid images, as well as in the sublime language, of the Marvellous Book. . . .

"Mani (we blend together and harmonize as far as possible the conflicting accounts of the Greeks and Asiatics) was of Persian birth, of the sacred race of the Magi. He wore the dress of a Persian of distinction: the lofty Babylonian sandals, the mantle of azure blue, the parti-coloured trowsers, and the ebony-staff in his hand. He was a proficient in the learning of his age and country, a mathematician, and had made a globe; he was deeply skilled, as appears from his system, in the theogonical mysteries of the East, and so well versed in the Christian scriptures, as to be said, and indeed he may at one time have been, a Christian priest in the province of Ahoriaz, that bordered on Babylonia. He began to propagate his doctrines during the reign of Shah-poor, but the son of Ardishaer would endure no invasion upon the established Magianism. Mani fled from the wrath of his sovereign into Turkestan; from thence he is said to have visited India and even China. In Turkestan he withdrew himself from the society of men, like Mahomet in the cave of Hera, into a grotto, through which flowed a fountain of water, and in which provision for a year had been secretly stored. His followers believed that he had ascended into heaven, to commune with the Deity. At the end of the year he reappeared, and displayed his Ertang, embellished with its paintings, as the divine revelation."

From the enthusiasts who mistook, and the impostors who abused, the precepts and promises of the Gospel, we turn to the eminent leaders of the Church, who strictly adhered to its general principles, although they widely differed in interpreting its loftier mysteries. The change, within three centuries, in the intellectual character of men is one of the most remarkable phænomena in Christian history. With the old republican institutions oratory had expired; and with oratory all communication between the mind of the educated classes and the impulses and passions of the vulgar. The discussions of the senate were conducted with a grave decorum; but the only occasions for eloquence were afforded by the malice of the *delators*, or panegyric of the emperor. No questions for debate came before the municipalities beyond

the police, the levies, and the yearly assessment; and the temple-service was a ceremonial merely, in which the spectators were neither addressed nor took part. The applause which the declaimers or salaried professors of rhetoric or philosophy received in their schools was the partial or the venal compliment of a private audience, like that of the periodical sessions of the Italian academies; and jurisprudence, which, under the Antonines, assumed the dignity of a science, produced great lawyers, but not great orators. The gladiator and the pantomimist absorbed the feelings which Hortensius and Cicero had once inspired; and neither literature nor eloquence retained any power over the languid and uncultivated mind of the populace. But a far different spirit prevailed in the Christian assemblies as soon as the protection or the favour of the state allowed publicity to their worship, and laid no restraint on their increasing numbers. In the following passage Mr. Milman has accurately and forcibly compared the emotion and excitement of a Christian congregation with the weariness and indifference of a Pagan audience, and even with the effect of the highest oratory in the best days of Athens and Rome on the 'fierce democratie' itself.

"It is impossible to conceive a more sudden and total change than from the school of the rhetorician to a crowded Christian church. The orator suddenly emerged from a listless audience of brother-scholars, before whom he had discussed some one of those trivial questions according to formal rules, and whose ear could require no more than terseness or elegance of diction, and a just distribution of the argument: emotion was neither expected nor could be excited. He found himself among a breathless and anxious multitude, whose eternal destiny might seem to hang on his lips, catching up and treasuring his words as those of divine inspiration, and interrupting his more eloquent passages by almost involuntary acclamations. The orator, in the best days of Athens, the tribune, in the most turbulent periods of Rome, had not such complete hold upon the minds of his hearers; and—but that the sublime nature of his subject usually lay above the sphere of immediate action, but that, the purer and loftier its tone, if it found instantaneous sympathy, yet it also met the constant inert resistance of prejudice, and ignorance, and vice to its authority—the power with which this privilege of oratory would have invested the clergy would have been far greater than that of any of the former political or sacerdotal dominations. Wherever the oratory of the pulpit coincided with human passion it was irresistible, and sometimes, when it resolutely encountered it, it might extort an unwilling triumph: when it appealed to faction, to ferocity, to sectarian animosity, it swept away its audience, like

a torrent, to any violence or madness at which it aimed ; when to virtue, to piety, to peace, it at times subdued the most refractory, and received the homage of devout obedience."—*Vol. iii. p. 480.*

Nor was this scene confined to the great cities of the Roman and Parthian empires ; it might be witnessed in inconsiderable towns and remote hamlets, and even amid the solitary wastes of the desert itself. But the influence of the great Christian leaders extended beyond the pulpit and their immediate congregations. They were sometimes the chosen councillors and sometimes the most dreaded opponents of the sovereign ; and, even when abstaining from secular affairs, they exercised a dominion more complete and extensive than that of Theodosius or Justinian. The spiritual business of the most distant provinces was transacted in the chamber of Ambrose and the cell of Jerome ; and the obedience which was frequently denied to the *rescripts* of the emperor, was cheerfully accorded to the *letters* of the saint. We have seen the language which Tertullian addressed to a Roman præfect ; but in the third century the influence of the Christian prelate or orator was exerted in behalf of his particular flock or city, or in the form of a memorial to the central government. It was not until after the Arian controversy had agitated both the East and West, that the theologians assumed a moral principedom, and dictated the belief or condemned the errors of the most opposite races of believers. The accession of Theodosius may, perhaps, be taken as the epoch of the greatest exaltation of the individual teacher or saint ; for although Athanasius had singly withstood both the terrors and the arts of imperial power, the spiritual pre-eminence of the leaders of the Church was long controlled by General Councils, as it afterwards merged in the supremacy of the Popes. Almost the first act of Theodosius was the edict for the universal acceptance of the Catholic faith. "The laws began to speak the language of the exclusive establishment of Christianity, and of Christianity under one rigorous and unaccommodating creed and discipline." The genius and pretensions of the spiritual rulers of the empire were now seldom cramped or thwarted by the reluctant or hostile measures of the civil ; but the legions, the edicts and the treasury seconded their efforts, and effectually silenced, by favour or force, both

remonstrance and opposition. The Pagan priesthood had thrown open its highest dignities to the Cæsars, nor was the composite authority of Augustus complete, until to his various titles he added that of Pontifex Maximus. But, in the western churches at least, the Christian emperor ranked with the profane laity, and his throne was placed below the sacred enclosure that contained the bishop and his attendant train of priests, deacons and acolyths. In the same century, and almost in the same age, the streets of Constantinople were repeatedly the scenes of obstinate and bloody conflicts, of which the object was to restore or expel a bishop: the exhortations of Jerome drew the high-born and wealthy females of Rome into the wilds of Syria, or persuaded them to devote their time to the duties of religion and benevolence, their wealth to the foundation of hospitals, and themselves to perpetual widowhood or virginity: the Christian world was instructed or inflamed by the decisions of Augustine, and the most powerful of the later Cæsars endured for eight months an ignominious exclusion from the Church; nor was the interdict removed until he had fulfilled all the conditions of a long, a painful and a public penance.

A considerable portion of Mr. Milman's third volume is occupied with the lives of the great prelates and divines of the fourth century. The characters of Basil and the Gregories, of Theophilus and Ephrem, exhibit some pleasing and many remarkable features; but Chrysostom, Ambrose, Augustine and Jerome are, with Athanasius, the most important names in the patristic age. The generic difference of the eastern and western provincials, which no length of time or uniformity of government could conceal, appears also in their theologians; and the genius of the Greek fathers presents a marked contrast to that of the Latin. The idiom of Greece, although matchless as the instrument of poetry, philosophy and eloquence, was less copious than that of Rome in its terms of theology and law. The Hebrew element, which the European mind imbibed from Christianity, was foreign to its structure; and, though its Attic purity had long declined, it resisted until a much later period the various barbarisms that entered into the dialect of the Latin Church. The metaphysical distinctions in which both the preachers and the con-

gregations of the East took delight, diverted its theologians from the stern and practical reasoning of their western brethren, and perhaps, in some degree, impaired their habits of business and decision as ecclesiastical statesmen. The great capitals of the West were Roman cities with little admixture of foreign manners or idioms; but Antioch, Alexandria and Constantinople contained a motley population, and various forms of national character. The sacerdotal character also, as Mr. Milman remarks, never assumed in the East "the unassailable sanctity, the awful inviolability, it attained in the West." The presence of the court was unfavourable to the pretensions of the bishop; and as the principles of Monachism in the fourth century pervaded all ranks of eastern society, the prelates, who had generally exchanged their cell for a throne, often withdrew again from the insults of the multitude, or the control of the emperor, to the shelter of their earlier years. Their reputation for piety and eloquence raised Gregory of Nazianzum and Chrysostom to the metropolitan see; but neither of them displayed the vigour and ability which made Ambrose the spiritual arbiter of the West, and the one died in his native village of Arianza, the other, an exile, in a mountainous and savage district of Armenia. It is among the divines of Italy and Africa that the master-spirits of the Church in the fourth century must be sought. The statesman appears in Ambrose; the preacher to the people in Augustine; the bold and zealous projector, if not the founder, of Monachism in Jerome. The power of the first terminated with his life, but he was the spiritual ancestor of the Hildebrands and Innocents. The authority of the second prevailed in Christendom for more than twelve hundred years after his decease, and is still recognized in the controversies of our own days. The last transmitted to a remote posterity institutions which the present times alone have ventured to desecrate and annul, and by his translation of the Vulgate gave an impulse to the language and the rhythm of Europe that will survive the last remnant of Monachism.

We have briefly contrasted the four great pillars of the Christian state in this century: their full proportions and relative magnitude must be studied in Mr. Milman's pages.

Although, however, the influence of Augustine and Jerome was more permanent, the character of Ambrose reflects more completely the spirit and position of the Church. We can afford room only for the introductory paragraphs of his life : but these contain the causes of his eminence as a statesman, his various relations to the emperor, to heresy and to Paganism, and the chief points of comparison with his contemporaries.

"The character and the fate of Ambrose offer the strongest contrast with that of Chrysostom. Ambrose was no dreaming solitary, brought up in the seclusion of the desert, or among a fraternity of religious husbandmen. He had been versed in civil business from his youth : he had already obtained a high station in the imperial service. His eloquence had little of the richness, imaginative variety, or dramatic power of the Grecian orator ; hard but vigorous, it was Roman, forensic, practical—we mean where it related to affairs of business, or addressed men in general ; it has, as we shall hereafter observe, a very different character in some of his theological writings.

"In Ambrose the sacerdotal character assumed a dignity and an influence as yet unknown ; it first began to confront the throne, not only on terms of equality, but of superior authority, and to exercise a spiritual dictatorship over the supreme magistrate. The resistance of Athanasius to the imperial authority had been firm but deferential, passive rather than aggressive. In his *public* addresses he had respected the majesty of the empire ; at all events, the hierarchy of that period only questioned the authority of the sovereign in matters of faith. But in Ambrose the episcopal power acknowledged no limits to its moral dominion, and admitted no distinction of persons. While the bishops of Rome were comparatively without authority, and still partially obscured by the concentration of Paganism in the aristocracy of the capital, the archbishop of Milan began to develop papal power and papal imperiousness. Like Chrysostom, Ambrose had to strive against the passionate animosity of an empress, not merely exasperated against him by his suspected disrespect and disobedience, but by the bitterness of religious difference. Yet how opposite the result ! And Ambrose had to assert his religious authority, not against the feeble Arcadius, but against his father, the great Theodosius. We cannot, indeed, but recognize something of the undegraded Roman of the West in Ambrose : Chrysostom has something of the feebleness and degeneracy of the Byzantine.

"The father of Ambrose, who bore the same name, had administered the province of Gaul as prætorian prefect. The younger Ambrose, while pursuing his studies at Rome, had attracted the notice of Probus, prætorian prefect of Italy. Ambrose, through his influence, was appointed to the administration of the provinces of Æmilia and Liguria. Probus was a Christian, and his parting admonition to the young civilian was couched in these prophetic words,—‘Rule the province, not as a judge, but as a bishop.’

Milan was within the department assigned to Ambrose. This city had now begun almost to rival or eclipse Rome, as the capital of the occidental empire, and from the celebrity of its schools it was called the Athens of the West. The Church of Milan was rent with divisions. On a vacancy caused by the death of Auxentius, the celebrated Arian, the two parties, the Arian and Athanasian, violently contested the appointment of the bishop.

“ Ambrose appeared in his civil character to allay the tumult, by the awe of his presence, and by the persuasive force of his eloquence. He spoke so wisely, and in such a Christian spirit, that a general acclamation suddenly broke forth, ‘ Ambrose, be bishop—Ambrose, be bishop.’ Ambrose was yet only a catechumen; he attempted in every way, by assuming a severe character as a magistrate, and by flight, to elude the unexpected honour. The ardour of the people, and the approbation of the emperor, compelled him to assume the office. Ambrose cast off at once the pomp and majesty of his civil state; but that which was in some degree disadvantageous to Chrysostom, his severe simplicity of life, only increased the admiration and attachment of the less luxurious, or at least less effeminate, west, to their pious prelate; for Ambrose assumed only the austerity, nothing of the inactive and contemplative seclusion of the monastic system. The only eastern influence which fettered his strong mind was his earnest admiration of celibacy; in all other respects he was a Roman statesman, not a meditative Oriental, or rhetorical Greek. The strong contrast of this doctrine with the dissolute manners of Rome, which no doubt extended to Milan, made it the more impressive: it was received with all the ardour of novelty, and the impetuosity of the Italian character: it captivated all ranks and all orders. Mothers shut up their daughters, lest they should be exposed to the chaste seductions of the bishop’s eloquence; and, binding themselves by rash vows of virginity, forfeit the hope of becoming Roman matrons. Ambrose, immediately on his appointment, under Valentinian I., asserted that ecclesiastical power which he confirmed under the feeble reign of Gratian and Valentinian II.; he maintained it when he was confronted by a nobler antagonist, the great Theodosius. He assumed the office of director of the royal conscience, and he administered it with all the uncompromising moral dignity which had no indulgence for unchristian vices, for injustice, or cruelty, even in an emperor, and with all the stern and conscientious intolerance of one, with whom hatred of Paganism and of heresy were articles of his creed. The Old and the New Testament met in the person of Ambrose—the implacable hostility to idolatry, the abhorrence of every deviation from the established formulary of belief; the wise and courageous benevolence, the generous and unselfish devotion to the great interests of humanity.”

The *institutions* which originated in the new impulse given by Christianity to the human mind, or were adopted or modified from the Pagan and Jewish religions, would require a separate notice for themselves, even if our limits were not nearly exhausted already. The difficult and delicate questions

of the *primitive* constitution of the Church, the necessity or the convenience of a separate sacerdotal order, the objects for which that order was, from an early period, endowed with wealth and influence, the authority it derived at first from the opposition, and afterwards from the support of the secular power, the advantages and the abuses of the splendid ceremonial, the political weight and the peculiar jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical body, are treated by Mr. Milman with learning, with ability and with a decent candour and freedom. The reserve, however, we have maintained on points of doctrine, we shall adhere to on points of discipline, and confine our few remaining remarks to an institution which has outlived both its advocates and its opponents, but which, nevertheless, both at the time of its establishment, and through its many centuries of duration, produced important effects upon society wherever it was introduced. *Monasticism*, according to the side from which it is viewed, presents the most remarkable contrasts of the strength and perversion, of the sublimity and degradation of the human will, of the letter and the spirit of the religion, and of the benefits and evils occasioned by it to the personal and social life of man. In its genius and principles it was opposed equally to the Gospel and Korân; yet it partially subdued both religions, transforming the professor of an active and beneficent system into a self-absorbed anachorite, the fierce Arab warrior into an indolent and visionary dervish. It was alternately a dissociative and preservative principle, withdrawing from their active duties, at the time society most needed them, the boldest, most acute and disinterested of its members; and, when the work of disorganization was accomplished, rekindling with a vital warmth, or stimulating with a new energy, the feeble pulsations of moral and intellectual life. No system exhibits more opposite results. Its votaries left cultivated lands to barrenness, and their industry rendered the desert fruitful. They abandoned cities, and raised populous communities where before the caravan or the robber alone had trodden. They wasted the longest life in ignorance, or a dull routine of prayer and penance, yet the intellects of Basil and Chrysostom were matured in a cell, and braced by the air of the wilderness. And they left behind them every art and allure-

ment of civilization, only to encounter more fierce and sensual trials in solitude.

Such were some of the phenomena of Monachism. "It resulted," says Mr. Milman, "from the incorporation of Christianity with the prevalent opinions of mankind, and in the profound excitement into which it had thrown the human mind." The importance which the soul had acquired by the revelation of its real destinies, combined with the great principle of eastern, and, in some measure, of western philosophy—the inherent malignity of matter—to degrade the body, in religious contemplations, from a serviceable instrument to a painful incumbrance, and, by an easy process, into a rebellious slave, whose nature was wholly under the dominion of evil. To depress, to torture, to deaden, as much as possible, this ill-assorted companion by every art enthusiasm could supply, was the direct consequence of such a tenet: while, on the other hand, no sacrifice was esteemed too great for the "everlasting part of our being," which thus became the central object of its own emotions, and, in Mr. Milman's words, "withdrew entirely within itself." "A kind of sublime selfishness excluded all subordinate considerations."

"In the discussions," he says, "on the comparative merits of marriage and celibacy, it is remarkable how rarely, if ever, the social advantages appear to have occurred to the mind; the benefit to mankind of raising up a race born from Christian parents, and brought up in Christian principles. It is always argued with relation to the interests and the perfection of the individual soul: and even with regard to that, the writers seem almost unconscious of the softening and humanizing effect of the natural affections, the beauty of parental tenderness and filial love."

The same doctrine of spiritual selfishness, as reputation and applause followed religious retirement, gradually pervaded the whole tenor of monastic life. To raise from the soil any fruits beyond mere necessities, to practise any mechanical art besides that of weaving a coarse garment or mat, cleanliness of the person, usefulness to mankind, even such exercise of the understanding as a convent or a cave would allow, were all insidious methods of ministering to the temporal comfort of the servant and enemy of the soul. The East and West, indeed, retained even in Monachism their opposite characters. The monk and the hermit of Europe

rarely displayed the extravagances of his Egyptian and Syrian brethren. Life was less cheaply sustained; the climate less favourable to indolent meditation; the business and tumult of the world, and subsequently the great commotions of the empire, broke more frequently upon his solitude. But the most flourishing regions of the East are separated from one another by dreary and dismal wastes: the rocks which enclose the valley of Egypt were perforated by nature or the hand of man, and had, from a very early period, been appropriated to sepulture or superstition: and in these dead and voiceless wildernesses, where life might be sustained on the simplest diet, and needed no other shelter than a cavern, the impulse in which Monasticism arose found no restraints.

Yet in reference to both religion and society, the dissociating effects of Monasticism, in some degree, brought their own remedy. Long after Christianity prevailed in the towns, the rural districts adhered to the ancient superstition; and since the nobler and more intellectual classes had abandoned it, the ancient superstition resumed in them its earlier and grosser forms. But wherever the hermitage grew up into a convent,—and the more remote and holy the recluse, the more surely was he followed by pious emulators of his sanctity,—the wildest solitudes enfolded a regular community, or spread a gradually increasing circle, of Christian worshipers, who slowly brought their rude or savage neighbours within the pale of civilization. The inconveniences also, which resulted to society from the withdrawal of so many of its members from active life, were excused, if not mitigated, by the circumstances of the times. “The state of public affairs,” Mr. Milman remarks, “probably tended more to the growth of Monachism, than Monachism to the disorder and disorganization of public affairs.” Three centuries of despotism had spread among every class of society the infection of corrupt morals and degenerate feelings. No path was open to honourable ambition or intellectual distinction. The army was recruited with barbarians; the government and the court were in the hands of the eunuchs and favourites of the emperor; and the features of political decay were rendered more palpable by the growing decrepitude of the human mind. “All these concurrent motives,” Mr. Milman adds, “might ge-

nerate in a large proportion of the most vigorous and useful minds a distaste and weariness of the world." "Religion, then almost universally dominant, would seize on this feeling, and enlist it in her service: it would avail itself of, not produce, the despondent determination to abandon an ungrateful world; it would ennoble and exalt the preconceived motives for seclusion; give a kind of conscious grandeur to inactivity, and substitute a dreamy but elevating love for the Deity for contemptuous misanthropy, as the justification for the total desertion of social duty." The calamities of the age seconded its corruptions in giving an impulse to Monachism. The violence of rival sects had formerly contributed to people the desert; but in the fifth and the following centuries, the inroads of the barbarians not only drove multitudes from their homes, but supplied new motives for celibacy and solitude. "In those times," says Mr. Milman, "the man was happiest who had least to lose, and who exposed the fewest vulnerable points of feeling or sympathy." The solitary could suffer only in his own person: his life of daily penance and mortification, his stern and lofty enthusiasm, steeled him against the future: and, though his sanctity might not exempt him from insult and death, his freedom from conjugal and parental ties released him from the dread or the spectacle of the worse sufferings of a wife or a daughter. Thus, even on prudential motives alone, celibacy might seem the preferable lot; and both an ardent and a cautious temper might equally discover inducements to embrace the monastic life.

In his chapter on 'Monachism,' Mr. Milman has had a formidable rival to contend with, in the brilliant summary which Gibbon has drawn of its genius and character. The more recent narrative, however, if less graphic, is more complete, and imbued with a higher philosophy than the corresponding pages of the 'Decline and Fall.' We have freely condensed Mr. Milman's account of this singular institution, but the concluding paragraphs shall be in his own words.

"It is impossible to survey Monachism in its general influence, from the earliest period of its interworking into Christianity, without being astonished and perplexed with its diametrically opposite effects. Here it is the undoubted parent of the blindest ignorance and the most ferocious

bigotry, sometimes of the most debasing licentiousness; there, the guardian of learning, the author of civilization, the propagator of humble and peaceful religion. To the dominant spirit of Monachism may be ascribed some part at least of the gross superstition and moral inefficiency of the church in the Byzantine empire; to the same spirit much of the salutary authority of Western Christianity, its constant aggressions on barbarism, and its connection with the Latin literature. Yet neither will the different genius of the East and West account for this contradictory operation in the monastic spirit in the two divisions of the Roman empire. If human nature was degraded by the filth and fanatic self-torture, the callous apathy and the occasional sanguinary violence of the Egyptian or Syrian monk, yet the monastic retreat sent forth its Basils and Chrysostoms, who seemed to have braced their strong intellects by the air of the desert. Their intrepid and disinterested devotion to their great cause, the complete concentration of their whole faculties on the advancement of Christianity, seemed strengthened by this entire detachment from mankind.

"Nothing can be conceived more apparently opposed to the designs of the God of Nature and to the mild and beneficent spirit of Christianity; nothing more hostile to the dignity, the interests, the happiness and the intellectual and moral perfection of man, than the monk afflicting himself with unnecessary pain and thrilling his soul with causeless fears; confined to a dull routine of religious duties, jealously watching and proscribing every emotion of pleasure as a sin against the benevolent Deity; dreading knowledge as an impious departure from the becoming humility of man.

"On the other hand, what generous or lofty mind can refuse to acknowledge the grandeur of that superiority to all the cares and passions of mortality; the felicity of that state which is removed far above the fears or the necessities of life; that sole passion of admiration and love of the Deity, which no doubt was attained by some of the purer and more imaginative enthusiasts of the cell or the cloister? Who still more will dare to depreciate that heroism of Christian benevolence, which underwent this self-denial of the lawful enjoyments and domestic charities of which it had neither extinguished the desire, nor subdued the regret, not from the slavish fear of displeasing the Deity, or the selfish ambition of personal perfection; but from the genuine desire of advancing the temporal and eternal improvement of mankind; of imparting the moral amelioration and spiritual hopes of Christianity to the wretched and the barbarous; of being the messengers of Christian faith and the ministers of Christian charity to the heathen, whether in creed or in character?"—*Vol. iii. pp. 321—323.*

The contents of the fourth book of Mr. Milman's history are so various, that we cannot attempt to trace even an outline of them. The internal constitution, the offices and dignities, the ceremonial and the discipline, the literature and arts of the Church to the end of the fourth century, with the influence of the religion on the state, of the clergy on the laity, and of Christianity in general on the remnants of Pa-

ganism, are severally considered. Christianity is now the mistress of the Roman world. The resistance of Polytheism appears only in feeble and occasional struggles. The surviving philosophers can no longer be assigned to the various orders of the Academy, the Garden or the Porch; but either attach themselves to the heretical creeds, or withdraw into the dark recesses of magic and theurgy—studies as foreign to their original schools, as to the doctrines of the new faith.

“The Christians are now no longer a separate people, founding and maintaining their small independent republics, fenced in by marked peculiarities of habits and manners from the rest of society; they have become to all outward appearance *the people*; the general manners of the world may be contemplated as the manners of Christendom.”

The permanent distinctions of the Christian commonwealth, of the clergy and the laity, the monks and the regular priesthood, of ecclesiastical and civil law and property, were established; and if the contrast is less striking between profane and ecclesiastical literature and art, it is because the circle of the one was daily becoming wider and more exclusive, while the limits of the other were rapidly contracting, and, in all their higher departments, they had vanished altogether. The period, however, which the present volumes embrace, hardly includes the development of Christianity as the correlate of the Ethnic world in the various forms of manners and institutions, of literature and art. It had to undergo the purifying process of successive revolutions, and to pass through the cloud of centuries of ignorance and barbarism before it emerged as an independent and uniform system, and exerted its creative energies on the reason and imagination of mankind. Chrysostom and Augustine addressed their congregations, or the general assembly of Christendom, in the language of Demosthenes and Cicero; but the dialects of both Athens and Rome never perfectly coalesced with the genius of the new religion. The Greek idiom especially remained true to its Pagan ancestry and recollections, and, notwithstanding its native pliancy, admitted no organic union with the tenets or the vocabulary of an Eastern creed. Both languages had, indeed, already attained and passed their full development: they had fulfilled their part in the imaginative and intellectual advancement of mankind, and in the most

perfect specimens of patristic eloquence we are perpetually reminded that we listen only to the skilful resonance, or are presented with an elaborate copy of some nobler and more harmonious original. The causes which operated on prose composition, would naturally affect, in a much higher degree, the forms and the diction of poetry. From the middle of the second century, even if we may come down so low, the imaginative mind of Europe had either been extinct, or was diverted into other channels. A Christian or Heathen Longinus could derive from the past only his examples of the sublime and beautiful; and, if he noticed the works of his contemporaries, it was to expose their corrupt taste, and their feeble or inflated language. The want of creative energy was made more apparent by the attempts to imitate the great masters of antiquity: nor does literary history afford a more melancholy page, than where it records the efforts of Gregory of Nazianzum to provide for those schools, in which the originals were interdicted, a Christian Homer and Euripides.

Yet it would be equally vain and unphilosophical to attribute to Christianity the corruption and decay of creative energy. The works of Julian, Libanius and Symmachus are more devoid of original vigour than those of their contemporaries Athanasius and Ambrose, and will bear no comparison with the writings of Basil and Jerome, of Chrysostom and Augustine. The national literature of Paganism had gradually lost every quality that could recommend it to the people, and, even in its best forms, was a luxury the wealthy might affect, but which was really the privilege of an intellectual aristocracy. No *Iliad* or *Ædipus* could arise from such a soil; and even if the rays of genius could have pierced the atmosphere of false taste, the times were too corrupt to acknowledge or applaud its light. From the second Antoninus to the age of Dantè there was a period of transition, and it was naturally accompanied by all the symptoms of an imperfect era. The productive powers of the mind were suspended; but the Christian had ample stores of imaginative wealth, not merely in his own religious books, but in writings that ascended far higher than the Orpheus and Musæus of heathenism.

"The religion itself," Mr. Milman observes, "was the *poetry* of Chris-

tianity. The sacred books were to the Christians, what the national epic and the sacred lyric had been to the other races of antiquity. They occupied the place, and proscribed in their superior sanctity, or defied by their unattainable excellence, all rivalry. The Church succeeded to the splendid inheritance of the Hebrew temple and synagogue. The Psalms and the Prophets, if they departed somewhat from their original simple energy and grandeur, in the uncongenial and too polished languages of the Greeks and Romans, still, in their imagery, their bold impersonations, the power and majesty of their manner, as well as in the sublimity of the notions of divine power and wisdom, with which they were instinct, stood alone in the religious poetry of mankind.

"The religious books of Christianity, though of a gentler cast, and only in a few short passages (and in the grand poetic drama of the Revelations) poetical in their form, had much, especially in their narratives, of the essence of poetry; the power of awakening kindred emotions, the pure simplicity of truth, blended with imagery and with language which kindled the fancy. Faith itself was constantly summoning the imagination to its aid, to realise, to impersonate those scenes which were described in the sacred volume, and which it was thus enabled to embrace with greater fervour and sincerity. All the other early Christian poetry was pale and lifeless in comparison with that of the sacred writers. Some few hymns, as the noble *Te Deum*, ascribed to Ambrose, were admitted, with the Psalms, and the short lyric passages in the New Testament, the *Magnificat*, the *Nunc Dimittis* and the *Alleluia*, into the services of the Church. . . . Each sect had its hymns; and those of the Gnostics, with the rival strains of the orthodox churches of Syria, attained great popularity. . . . In the martyrdoms, the noblest unoccupied subjects for Christian verse, the poetry seems to have forced its way into the legend rather than animated the writer of verse. . . . There is more of the essence of poetry in the simpler and unadorned Acts of the Martyrs, more pathos, occasionally more grandeur, more touching incident and expression, and even, we may venture to say, happier invention, than in the prolix and inanimate strains of the Christian poets."—*Vol. iii. pp. 467—471.*

We have noticed such portions of Mr. Milman's work as more immediately relate to the early struggles, the propagation, the establishment, and some of the peculiar institutions and effects of Christianity. A glance at the 'table of contents' will show how much of it we have necessarily passed over. The diffusion of the new faith was accompanied by the destruction of the entire social fabric of the heathen world; and in the chapters in which he treats of the fall of Paganism, Mr. Milman has been anticipated by Gibbon, and by the less brilliant, but equally learned volume of Jtschirner. The reigns of Constantine and Julian, the Arian heresy, the monastic institutions, have also been deli-

neated by the acute and philosophical author of the 'Decline and Fall;' and it is no ordinary merit in a subsequent writer to have trodden the same path without servilely copying, or unnecessarily deviating from, so accomplished a predecessor. With a less animated style, and with inferior powers of condensation, Mr. Milman has judiciously profited by the example of Gibbon; and the chapters in which their respective narratives correspond are a useful auxiliary, and often a salutary corrective, to the earlier work. In his employment of continental writers, and of those especially who have made the Oriental religions their study, Mr. Milman joins a prudent diffidence of their theories with a skilful adaptation of their materials, and the English reader may obtain from his pages a competent acquaintance with many vexed and difficult questions in ecclesiastical annals. In his general freedom from professional prejudices, he is honourably distinguished from nearly every Church-historian in our language; and his candour or his scepticism arises from research and reason, not from the love of innovation, or from indifference to results. So far as his labours embrace controverted points, they have been made public in an ungenial season: but we trust the comparative coldness of its reception will not induce Mr. Milman to leave his work imperfect. The period through which he has still to conduct Christianity, is perhaps one of the most obscure and intricate periods of history—but it is also one of the most important, since throughout it Christianity was "fulfilling her high office as the great conservative principle of religion, knowledge, humanity, and of the highest degree of civilization of which the age was capable, during centuries of violence, of ignorance and of barbarism."

ARTICLE III.

1. *Eleven Years in Ceylon, comprising Sketches of the Field Sports and Natural History of that Colony, and an account of its History and Antiquities.* - By MAJOR FORBES, 78th Highlanders.
2. *An Outline of the Commercial Statistics of Ceylon.* By JOHN CAPPER, Esq., Corresponding Member of the Statistical Society of London. Statistical Magazine, January 1840.

WE trust that the favour with which the interesting publication entitled 'Eleven Years in Ceylon' has been received, will tempt the author to give us further information upon the condition of one of the most important of our colonies. He touches but slightly upon the modern history and condition of the island, but it is evident that he is well acquainted with the subject, and able to give much useful information in an agreeable form. Such a work is much wanted at this moment. Capital is fast pouring into Ceylon, and capitalists in vain endeavour to obtain authentic information as to the condition and capabilities of the island.

The second notice of Ceylon, the title of which we have prefixed to this article, professes to give some information of this nature; but though written apparently by a person resident there, who has got hold of some of the published returns, the author is evidently very imperfectly acquainted with his subject, and betrays the usual tendency of travellers to take *omne ignotum pro magnifico*. He presents a picture calculated to alarm the commercial adventurer, when he reports the existence of two hundred petty princes among a population of a million and a quarter. One might hope for a ready sale for munitions of war, but amid the contentions of so many rival princes, the cultivator of sugar, coffee and cinnamon could hardly hope to reap the fruits of his labour in peace. Fortunately, however, this numerous breed of royalty has no existence; instead, the persons denominated headmen are *employés* of the government, who for salaries of 50*l.* or 60*l.* per annum, execute the duties of subordinate collectors of revenue, interpreters, sheriffs' officers, etc.

But to turn more seriously to our subject. Ceylon possesses a most productive soil and a fine climate, but a very scanty population. An island, nearly as large as Ireland, contains barely a million and a half of inhabitants; the published returns indeed, which are somewhat imperfect, give but a million and a quarter. Until within a few years its energies were cramped by a strange system of misgovernment, but happily a general reform has now taken place, the results of which begin to appear at the very moment when the decline of our possessions in the West Indies compels us to look round for colonies where we can raise by free labour those commodities which we can no longer obtain by the labour of the slave. For this purpose Ceylon possesses advantages unrivalled among the British colonies. The only possession which could rival it, Java, was tossed over to the Dutch as a make-weight at the peace; and they are now doing for it what, in imitation of their colonial system, we have done in Ceylon till within a few years. The cultivation of sugar has only now commenced, but with such success that Ceylon promises in a few years to take the place of Jamaica. It is stated that waste lands purchased a few years ago for five shillings an acre are now giving a return of nearly 70*l.* per acre. The cultivation of coffee gives a smaller, but still an ample return. Twenty years ago there was no export of this article; in 1836 the export amounted to 150,000*l.*

This, we must always bear in mind, is the exclusive produce of free labour. No acts are needed to encourage the immigration of hill coolies, nor can there exist any dread of free labourers being converted into slaves; but in the production of coffee the government has by some strange oversight raised up a formidable rival to the free labourer of Ceylon in the slave-trader of Brazil. While we are exerting our utmost energies to put an end to slave-trading, we are holding out an enormous premium to the employment of slaves by permitting the import of foreign coffee through the Cape of Good Hope at reduced duties. Such competition must ensure the absolute ruin of the West India planter; and although Ceylon will not suffer so severely, it cannot but sustain great injury.

There is another staple of Ceylon requiring notice, namely,

cinnamon. We hope the government will, ere long, see the impolicy of the measures adopted in regard to this spice, and permit the application to it of the acknowledged principles of free trade. While all other exports are liable only to a duty of two and a half per cent., cinnamon is subject to one exceeding 100 per cent. When the government announced its intention of putting an end to the absurd monopoly of cinnamon, capitalists immediately prepared to avail themselves of the opening to embark in the trade. Associations were formed to buy up the government plantations, and spice merchants prepared to establish agents in Ceylon; but the hopes of all were blighted by the imposition of a duty, almost prohibitory. The natural consequence has resulted: the plantations are unsaleable, and the trade generally languishes. The government is endeavouring to get rid of its plantations at any sacrifice; but it has hitherto been found impossible to tempt purchasers to come forward; no one will buy while the export of the produce is almost prohibited. These ill-judged measures are, it is said, to be traced to the vain theories of some *quasi*-political economists, who maintain that there must be exceptions to all general rules, and cinnamon is their exception to the general rule of free trade. They seriously argue that no one would consume an extra pound of cinnamon if it could be had for nothing; nay, they almost seem to think that people buy it because it is dear.

We have noticed at some length these staple products of Ceylon, more particularly for the information of those who are now flocking to New South Wales and New Zealand, in hopes of obtaining large returns at the expense of great preliminary hardship, and with little prospect in most cases of returning to their native country; when equal returns, we are persuaded, can be secured in a colony which the overland communication has brought within little more than a month's journey from England, among the mountains of which a climate is to be found which is nowhere to be excelled, and where the settler need fear no hardship.

The changes which have recently been effected in the administration of Ceylon are well worthy of attention, for that colony has by many been regarded as a fair field of experiment of changes which might hereafter be extended to our

Indian empire. It is little known, that in Ceylon a measure of emancipation was effected by an order in council, hardly less extensive in its results than the Slave Emancipation Act. Before that the whole population were virtually and practically slaves. Under the ancient system the whole population were liable to gratuitous labour on all public works; nor was that native emblem of slavery, the lash, wanting; for one of the earliest proclamations of the British government rendered all such labourers liable to twenty-five lashes at the discretion of the overseer. The revenue system was equally barbarous; nearly all important articles of produce were monopolized, or subject to excessive duties. With the single but most important exception of cinnamon, these monopolies and imposts have been abolished, and a uniform export duty of two and a half per cent. substituted.

Though Mr. Capper is ignorant of the cause, he shows clearly the wonderful increase of trade which these changes have produced. The exports to Great Britain increased from 132,529*l.* in 1833 to 334,519*l.* in 1836, and of these, coffee, which in 1833 was only 26,020*l.*, rose in 1836 to 150,642*l.* Cocoa-nut oil, to the manufacture of which steam is now applied, increased from 5,872*l.* in 1833 to 28,334*l.* in 1837. In this case a remarkable example was afforded of the successful application of the principles of free trade. The raw material from which the oil is extracted was, prior to 1836, subject to a prohibitory export duty, in order to compel the manufacture of oil within the colony. Merchants and manufacturers protested loudly against the withdrawal of what they termed this protecting duty; the trade has prospered more rapidly since the abolition than it did before.

The export of cinnamon has *diminished* since the abolition of the monopoly: the greatest export shown in the return before us was in 1836. And what do our readers suppose was the value of a year's supply to the whole world of one of the most valuable spices? It was but 58,494*l.* Under the monopoly system the export did not exceed 500,000 lbs. Let but the principles of free trade be applied, and in a few years it would exceed five millions, affording employment to thousands as planters and labourers, and enabling them to become purchasers of our manufactures.

Mr. Capper tells us,—

“The improvement in the annual exports of Ceylon is far more rapid than the imports, and this is the more gratifying when we consider the disadvantages under which this branch of our commerce labours from the very unequal taxation imposed upon it as compared with the imports. In 1837, when the imports amounted to the value of 541,239*l.*, the duties arising from them amounted to no more than 51,398*l.*; whilst in the same year the produce exported from the colony, amounting to only 296,023*l.*, or rather more than half the imports, were burdened with duties to the amount of 75,474*l.* In the former case the tax paid to the custom-house is only at the rate of 9½ per cent., but in the latter it is nearly tripled, being at the rate of 25¼ per cent.”—*Pages 428—429.*

Now this does not give a correct idea of the state of trade in Ceylon; nearly the whole of the large sum of 75,474*l.* arose from duties on cinnamon, which must have amounted to about 68,000*l.*, the duties on all other exports being two and a half, not twenty-five and a half per cent.

We now come to the imports, of which Mr. Capper gives a table, upon which he remarks:—

“From the preceding table it will be seen that the imports have increased 70 per cent. between 1833 and 1837; of this the greater proportion is our trade with Great Britain, which shows an increase of 10 per cent. from 1833 to 1835, and from that period to 1837 the enormous increase of 230 per cent.”—*Page 426.*

The scale of import duties, which was before most unequal, has been fixed, with some exceptions, at four per cent. on imports from Great Britain, and ten per cent. on imports from India. The latter duty is surely sufficiently high, yet the trade connected with Great Britain apprehended at first that this advantage of ten per cent. would not enable them to compete in cotton goods with the manufacturers of India, whose cloths were before subject to a duty varying from twenty to fifty per cent. The result shows how ill-founded such fears were;—the import of cotton goods, which in 1833 was 80,587*l.* rose in 1837 to 220,873*l.*

There is one article of import to Ceylon upon which we cannot remark with an equal degree of satisfaction; it is grain. How is it that while the import of cotton cloths rose in five years from 80,000*l.* to 220,000*l.*, millinery, hosiery, etc., from 778*l.* to 9,488*l.*, the import of grain has remained almost stationary? In 1833 it was 147,974*l.*, in 1834 it was 173,958*l.*, in 1836 it was 150,627*l.*, in 1837 185,712*l.*, the last year

only showing an increase, and that very unimportant. How is it, that while so much additional comfort has been secured to the inhabitants in dress, while planters of coffee, cinnamon and sugar are expending enormous sums in the employment of labourers, and their resort from India is greatly augmented, the supply of food has not been increased? The answer is, the general reduction of duties did not extend to grain. We are aware that the framers of that very extensive change feared to meddle with so productive a source of revenue at a time when other reductions rendered a great defalcation possible; but how is it, now that experience has shown that those reductions led to no immediate loss of revenue, and great prospective gain, that the duty on grain is still untouched? We cannot doubt that a reduction of duty would have led immediately to a great increase of importation; and such a measure, while, to say the least, it would not injure the revenue, would greatly benefit the planter and manufacturer; for with the scanty population of Ceylon, and the great increase of cultivation, labour is scarce and dear. Many coffee planters pay their labourers as high as twenty shillings a month, while on the adjoining parts of the continent of India wages are under twopence a day.

Ceylon presents a striking contrast in its revenue system with our continental possessions of India. Our readers are aware that by far the greatest part of the Indian revenue is derived from the land, the land-tax in general greatly exceeding half the gross produce. In Ceylon the land-tax is generally one-tenth, sometimes less, and the government is encouraging its redemption by every means in its power. It would be a most perilous and difficult task to effect such a change in India; yet it may be questioned if the revenue system of India can be placed upon a satisfactory footing until this is altered, or at least the contribution from land greatly diminished.

In our anxiety to call attention to this, which will ere long be the most important of our colonies, we have left 'Eleven Years in Ceylon' unnoticed, but not forgotten. We owe much to our author for again bringing Ceylon to notice after many years of oblivion. No one who reads this work can doubt that Major Forbes has made himself as well acquainted

with the present as he proves himself to be with the past history of the island. Who then so competent to enter into the important questions connected with its present condition, to which we have adverted? He tells us,—

“The ancient and continued annals of the Cingalese race have been preserved for upwards of twenty-three centuries, and describe the erection or formation of all those extensive works (cities, tanks, temples), whose ruins and numerous inscriptions remain to verify historical records. For a great portion of that long period the natives of Ceylon will be found to have remained stationary, or to have retrograded in arts, perhaps in intelligence; whilst Britons, advancing in civilization with extraordinary rapidity, benefiting by experience and improving in policy, have voluntarily abandoned their arbitrary rule in the island for a mild, free, but still efficient government. From this circumstance, Ceylon is already advancing beyond that barrier of mediocrity which in Asia seems to have arrested mind and manners at a particular point of civilization.

“Institutions suddenly, yet not rashly reformed; direct taxes on cultivated land first moderated, then carefully arranged, fairly levied, and finally redeemed; a whole people passing in an instant from a state worse than slavery to all the blessings of freedom, with perfect safety to the government and incalculable benefit to the subject; a rapid improvement in the face of the country; a most beneficial change in the native character; generally diminished taxation; rapidly increasing revenue; a prosperous and happy people; and it is not too much to say an improved climate, are the effects of the later years of British authority in Ceylon.

“Additional interest is given to the changes so happily introduced into this island, by its contiguity to the vast possessions of Great Britain in India; for although the same legislation that has proved so successful in Ceylon, might be inapplicable to the neighbouring continent, yet the relative prosperity of their inhabitants cannot fail to provoke comparison, as it certainly invites inquiry.”

After a short but interesting account of the British rule in Ceylon, and the operations which terminated in the subjugation of the kingdom of Kandy, our author proceeds to touch upon the present condition of the country:—

“In 1831 Sir Robert Wilmot Horton arrived as Governor; and next year, in consequence of the report of His Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry, the Magna Charta of Ceylon, the order of the King in Council abolishing all compulsory service, reached the island, and the native inhabitants passed in a day from a state more bitter than slavery to the most perfect freedom. In their former oppressed state, it is true, that justice was impartially administered to the rich and to the poor, in so far as the facts of the case could be ascertained; yet the rich man was disgusted by impartial conduct in the judges, while the poor suitors did not benefit by it; for the rich litigant could bribe the influential native in office, and he

could command the oaths of those, who placed and secured under his control, were not only liable to be overworked by his orders, but were even subject to punishment at his caprice."—*Pages 2—4.*

Major Forbes then adverts to a subject well worthy of further inquiry :—

"After the report of the Commission of Inquiry, and the arrival of Sir R. W. Horton as Governor, the subject of education attracted more attention, and arrangements were made for having the English language generally taught. If this is zealously persevered in, I should be inclined to adopt the language of Cordiner, who, writing in 1807, regarding the introduction of Christianity, says, 'There is no doubt, if ever the English government pay attention to this subject, the religion of Christ will become as clearly understood and as well practised in Ceylon as in any part of the king's dominions.'

"In Ceylon, the face of the country rapidly improving, trade increasing, diminished taxation, an increasing revenue, with a happy and contented people, are undeniable evidences to prove that the radical changes made in this colony are correct in theory, and have been carried into effect honestly and ably by the executive of Ceylon under the government of Sir Robert Wilmot Horton."—*Pages 65—66.*

We are persuaded that no more favourable field than Ceylon exists for the conversion of the heathen. Caste is rapidly dying away. The Budhists are little attached to their faith, and there exists a universal desire to acquire the English language. It cannot be doubted that a very small outlay upon a well-arranged system would in a few years render English the general language of the country. We hope ere long to see something of this sort seriously attempted. Our author tells us that "much has been done by the exertions of missionaries in propagating true Christianity and in educating the natives." The principal British missions are the Church Mission and the Wesleyan. There is also a Baptist mission; and we are largely indebted to our brethren in America for the establishment of a most valuable mission upon an extensive scale. We learn that the Roman Catholics are becoming dissatisfied with their clergy, who have hitherto been supplied from Goa, and desire an ecclesiastical reform and a European clergy: the reforms which they demand approach much more nearly than they themselves suspect to Protestantism. The church of Scotland, too, have recently sent a minister to Ceylon. The knowledge of these facts leads us to inquire, what is the church of England about? all that we

can learn leads us to the conviction that the subject demands inquiry. There is an archdeacon and a number of well-paid clergymen, who, we are told, consider the natives to be beyond the sphere of their labours, and leave them to missionary exertion. We will close our observations upon this subject with one extract more, and then proceed to other topics.

"The Rev. Mr. Chayter had been for some time in Ava, and after suffering many hardships there had removed in 1812 to Colombo, and then commenced the Baptist Missionary Establishment in Ceylon. This gentleman, soon after his arrival in the island, devoted himself to the study of the native languages, and performed a valuable service in arranging and publishing the first Cingalese and English grammar. At the time I now speak of, viz. in 1827, he had three churches, thirteen schools, and upwards of five hundred scholars under his superintendence; and all these institutions were maintained at a wonderfully small expense, less than 150*l.* per annum to the parent society in England. He had many followers in the neighbourhood of Hangwellé, and received great assistance and support from an old gentleman, the Modeliar, or native magistrate of this district.

"Previous to meeting with Mr. Chayter, I was little inclined to consider favourably, or estimate highly, the success of European missionaries in the East; but as regards Ceylon, although I cannot but regret the numerous and perplexing divisions of the Christian community, yet from my first acquaintance with their proceedings until I left the island, it is bare justice to them to record my opinion that they have been zealous without bigotry, and have done much and worked judiciously for the introduction of real Christianity, by educating from early youth young natives in the English language and Christian religion."—*Vol. i. pp. 111—112.*

Our author is a keen sportsman, and those of our readers who have read Harris's *Southern Africa* with delight, will find in these volumes some sporting anecdotes not inferior in interest to his, particularly those connected with elephant shooting. We can find room for but one specimen.

"By the time we had finished our breakfast a sufficient number of persons and tomtoms (native drums) had been collected, and we started under the guidance of the Modeliar, who conducted us back two miles on the Hangwellé road. Here we halted; and while loading our guns he despatched the people and tomtoms to encircle the herd, and to await his signal to commence driving. We were now directed into a narrow path in a bamboo jungle, and after proceeding along it for about half a mile, the Modeliar placed Mr. S—— and myself at the foot of a rising ground; Col. L—— and Mr. H—— he placed a little further up the ascent, where the forest was more open. The bamboos everywhere around us, except

on the winding path on which we stood, grew as closely together and were five times the size of common osiers, so that from our position it was only by stooping and peering through two or three small openings that we could discern objects even at a distance of five yards. There was now a dead silence for a few minutes, until loud calls, proceeding from persons stationed in trees, were passed along to a considerable distance, and proved to be the signal for the beaters to commence operations. Soon after this we could just distinguish a very distant shout swell upon the breeze, and again all was silent for a considerable time; it was in these quiet intervals that the beaters were cautiously advancing and taking up new positions on the ground from which the elephants had receded. After this shouts arose somewhat nearer, and the short pattering sound of tomtoms could be distinguished. At this distance the general effect produced by the continued shouts of the people, combined with the noise of the advancing elephants, was that of the rushing sound and heavy fall of a great body of water; but, as the mass approached, the breaking of branches, the beating of tomtoms, the wild shouts of the people, and the crash of decayed and falling trees, could be distinguished from the ponderous tread of the advancing herds as they pressed through the yielding forest.

"In our position the heat and want of air was most oppressive, for no thick foliage shaded us from a vertical sun; and although the bamboos were insufficient for shade, they effectually excluded the very slight breeze which occasionally murmured over our heads and shook the withered leaves.

"With heavy tread and noisy tumult the elephants came on, and rested, as far as we could judge from the sound, within twenty yards of us, and then again succeeded an interval of dead silence. To us they were still invisible, and the utmost straining of my eyesight was unable to gain me a glimpse of any of them: at this time anxiety and excitement made my senses so acute, that not only did I feel my pulses thump with unwonted violence, but the ticking of my watch sounded in my ear as if a church clock had located itself in my pocket; neither could I move my head without feeling or fancying I heard the joints of my neck creak on their pivots. The beaters in the mean time had advanced, and from a short distance behind and around the elephants arose loud shouts of people and the rolling of tomtoms; immediately the jungle in front of us seemed heaving forward, and a second or two only elapsed before the heads of the two leaders of the mass were distinct and bearing directly on us. I fired at the one immediately opposite to me, and not more than ten feet distant; he stopped and was in the act of turning when I fired again. Mr. S— had also fired twice at the other leader and with the same want of success; for the whole herd tore back through the brushwood and rushed towards the hill.

"Ere we could load again, double-shots from both our friends on the rising ground announced the direction which the elephants had taken, and caused some of them to turn down; and these we heard tearing through, and at length stationing themselves behind the place where we stood. Having

reloaded we cut into something like a buffalo-track leading towards the spot where we imagined the elephants to be, but were soon overtaken by a native, who endeavoured by signs to persuade us to turn back and follow him. Tolerably sure of the position of our game, and not dreaming of any accident having occurred, we were pushing on when another native came after us, and in broken English said, 'One gentleman plenty sick.' The close jungle and suffocating heat naturally suggesting itself to us as the cause of his malady, we handed to the messenger a specific in the shape of a brandy-flask, and were about to proceed on our path, notwithstanding the deprecatory shakes of his head and unintelligible sounds intended for English, his stock of which seems to have been exhausted in the announcement above quoted. At this time the noise of the elephants near us induced silence, and we distinctly heard Col. L—— calling to us that H—— had been seized by an elephant; on this we hastened to the spot, and found H—— perfectly collected, but bearing evident marks of his recent encounter. That one of his arms and one collar-bone were broken we soon ascertained, but were afraid from marks that showed that he had been rolled over on the ground, that he might have received more serious injuries. From what I heard at the time and on my return here a few weeks afterwards, I believe that Col. L—— and H—— each fired both barrels at elephants advancing on them. After the discharges, as the one at which H—— fired rushed forwards, he turned to receive his spare gun, but the native who held it had fled. H—— then endeavoured to escape it, but fell, and the animal coming up knelt down, and with its head attempted to crush him against the ground, and in doing so rolled him over. In perfect ignorance of the perilous situation of his friend, Col. L—— observing the elephant apparently butting against the ground, concluded it was a wounded one, and went up for the purpose of giving it a finishing shot. On seeing him quite near, the animal suddenly raised itself and rushed into the jungle, while to the utter astonishment of Col. L—— H—— got up from the very spot the elephant had just quitted."—*Pages 125—130.*

We almost fear that the grouse will be deserted, to the great loss of our highland friends, when we read of four gentlemen having "bagged" one hundred and six elephants in three days.

We must pass over an interesting account of a tour to Adam's peak, and descriptions of the ancient cities of Anaragahpoora, Polanorna and Sigiri, enlivened as they are with innumerable anecdotes, scraps of legendary history, and accounts of antiquities; neither will our limits permit us to notice, as they deserve, an account of the religion of Ceylon, and a short history of the Portuguese and Dutch Administrations, given in the second volume; we have said enough to show that these volumes contain much that is interesting

to readers of every class. But we must not forget the sketches given of scenery in Ceylon; they are just enough to make us wish for more. We are informed that Major Forbes is a first-rate artist, and as he never travelled without his pencil, he has brought home a vast collection of views of an island, which affords, perhaps, the most beautiful mountain scenery in the world.

ARTICLE IV.

1. *Jets over den voorgaanden en Tegenwoordigen Staat van Nederlandsch Indie.* Met voorkennis S. Ex. den Lieut-General Oud Kommissaris General van Indie I VAN DEN BOSCH door N. VAN ELTEN. The Hague: 1835.
2. *Jets over de Financiële Aangelegenheden van het rik.* The Hague: 1840.
3. *Widerlegging van "Jets, etc."* door I. KRUSEMAN. The Hague: 1840.
4. *Unpublished Papers and Official Reports from Netherlands' India.*
5. *Atcheen, and the Coasts of Sumatra.* By JOHN ANDERSON, Esq. London: 1840.
6. *Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca, etc.* By T. J. NEWBOLD, Esq., Lieut. 23rd Reg. Madras Light Infantry. London: 1839.

THE Germans have a proverb which says, "Cherries are bad things to eat in the company of great people," doubtless on account of the inclination of great people to keep the fruit to themselves and leave the stones to their friends. Our neighbours the Dutch have, we fear, found, by sad experience, that it is a bad speculation to make treaties for free trade with more powerful nations; as it is difficult to prevent their friends keeping the freedom to themselves, and leaving only the more burdensome part of the engagement to

be fulfilled, by those, on whom, from the nature of the circumstances, it at all events must fall.

Our aforesaid neighbours, moreover, so far from being at all dull in matters of diplomacy, have, abroad at least, a very high reputation as negotiators, and even recently have succeeded in carrying points of no small importance against the efforts of some of the leading powers of Europe. France and Germany united have not been able to force them (by peaceable means) to give up their claim to regard the mouth of the Rhine as forming a part of their territory, over which they have a right of control independent of the wishes and interests of the countries at their back. In the settlement with Belgium they were clever enough to retain their acknowledged and claimed colonies as a set-off against a nominally large amount of public debt, but which, from the circumstance of its being long funded, occasions but little inconvenience. How could it then happen, that in 1814 and 1824, in treating with us, such apparent negligence with regard to their own interests was shown, as appears upon the perusal of the documents laid before parliament to have been the case? It surely required no great experience in commercial matters to see that a treaty of reciprocity, by which the cotton and woollen wares of Lancashire and Yorkshire were admitted into Java on the same terms on which the cotton and woollen wares of Java were admitted into Bengal, was an agreement under which the advantages accruing to the contracting parties were scarcely equal. We say the cottons and woollens of Java, because the agricultural produce of the island was scarcely likely to be sought by our Indian possessions; in which, with the exception of some kinds of spices, all that the Dutch colonies produce abounds.

That in 1814, when we handed over to Holland so handsome a present as Java, Banca and the Spice islands, the Dutch commissioners should not think it necessary to do more than accept the gift without pressing obnoxious conditions, was after all natural enough. A great deal has been said upon this subject, but nothing that we have heard is half so pertinent as an anecdote which circulates amongst the higher diplomatic circle upon the Continent, and which, while it throws a strong light upon that transaction, and affords a

clue to a portion of the commercial policy which has since been followed, illustrates even still more strongly the manner in which the public business of the British empire is occasionally conducted. Soon after the cession of the eastern colonies to the Dutch, Lord Castlereagh was complimented by a distinguished statesman upon the generosity of the British government in adding the valuable settlement of Banca, off the Sumatran coast, to the rest. It was the more gratuitous a gift that we retained Bencoolen and Fort Marlborough upon Sumatra, by doing which we showed an inclination to keep a footing upon some of the islands. Banca, as containing the most productive tin-mines of the East, seemed therefore to offer an inducement to us which the diplomatic personage in question probably thought must have been outweighed by some most weighty consideration, since Cochin, for which it was exchanged, was known to be a most unprofitable possession. Perhaps, like the Trojan of old, he dreaded even the gifts of the powerful rival. The noble viscount's answer at once dispelled his fears: "Say not a word about our generosity, Baron. Do you not know, that if I had kept Banca, I should have had all the miners of Cornwall upon my back in the next session of parliament*?"

In the same manner, in all probability, Java had to be got rid of, in order to evade the jealousy which any measures

* How deeply rooted the opinions of that school were, from whose trammels it has cost the nation so much before it could in any way emancipate itself, is shown by the following statement, given us by Sir S. Raffles, of the views of trade peculiar to the East India Company of that day. Appendix, xxviii.

"A select committee of the East India Company, appointed in 1792 to take into consideration the export trade of Great Britain to the East Indies, after detailing the cargo of a Dutch ship from Japan, in the year 1664, which consisted principally of copper, camphor, silk stuffs and china ware, conclude their report by observing, that, in their opinion, the trade with Japan never can become an object of attention for the manufactures and produce of Great Britain; for supposing, they observe, that woollens, lead and curiosities, for a cargo to Japan, could be made to amount to £8000, what is to be required in payment? About £30,000 or £32,000 value in copper, an article which is also the produce of Great Britain, and which must be disposed of in India, to the prejudice of their own mines. Thus Great Britain would gain on the one hand £8000, whilst the loss on the other would be £32,000."

This, it must be owned, is the oddest statement of a profit and loss account which merchants ever drew up. On the same principle, the salary drawn by the director was a pure loss to himself and a gain to the holders of East India stock. A very comfortable doctrine certainly, but little calculated to be of duration. The sympathy between the minister and the directors is wonderful. Was either party, or were both, interested in Cornish mines?

taken for the advantage of that magnificent island might call up amongst our West India planters, or our fellow-subjects of Hindostan. The minister whose mind is not capacious enough, or whose disposition is too indolent to cope with the arguments started by an interested class to their own detriment and that of the nation at large, has, it seems, with us the power of making cessions of territory to any extent that will purchase a quiet session of parliament!

Our protest however is, for reasons which we shall presently develope, directed, not against the cession of these colonies, but especially against the mode and manner of that cession. The crime lay, not in the advantages granted to the Dutch, but in the loss supposed to be inflicted upon the British nation in consequence of the transfer, and the infliction of which loss was, by the confession above quoted, the sole object which the minister kept in view on the occasion. Had the indolence which we here complain of not existed at that period, the true commercial interests of the country would have sooner come under discussion than has been the case, and great waste of time and capital would have been spared to the nation. It is no answer to this reproach to assert that the manifold and complicated political questions which had then to be settled were an excuse for oversights in some other portions of the minister's department: the fault lay in his undertaking commercial arrangements at all. These clearly lie within the province of the Board of Trade, and not within the sphere of the Foreign Office; and if that board is to be of any use, it must, upon its assuming a proper degree of activity, show that it is the most important, as it is now perhaps the least efficient of our administrative offices.

A proper and full discussion of the importance of Java in a commercial point of view, which might not necessarily have led to our retaining it, would have entailed the investigation of the prudence of patronizing our western at the expense of our eastern colonies; and thus, by inverting the process which we have since gone through, we might, by calculation, have early arrived at the conviction to which we have at length been brought by experience, viz. of the natural powers and resources of the one, and the artificial nature of the prosperity of the other. The minister who provoked

such a discussion would undoubtedly have had to reckon upon the desertion of the West India interest from his side of the house, and would have experienced anything but a quiet session. The nation, however, would have been materially served by this disturbance of his tranquillity.

Another advantage which would have resulted from a full and dispassionate discussion of eastern interests would have been the certainty (not as yet attained) as to whether the Indian and British governments were really sincere in their wish to try the experiment of free trade, when the treaty of 1824 was concluded. The doubt thrown upon their intentions arises from the remark in Mr. James C. Melvill's letter (page 191 of the parliamentary papers on the subject), that the regulation by which the government of Bengal, as late as 1836, interpreted the said treaty, was in diametrical opposition to the principle, the recognition of which Lord Palmerston claimed from the Dutch government. How, after the perusal of that letter, and of the subsequent communication of M. le Marchant, it was possible to continue the angry outcry raised against Holland for an infraction of the treaty of 1824, passes our comprehension. If it be asserted, that the treaty was, like many other treaties, concluded with the reserve on both sides, that each party should observe as much as was found by itself to be convenient, then we can understand both the loose wording of the clauses, and why the merchants of Singapore and Glasgow should have a different reading of the text from the East India Company. The dispute is therefore not without its advantages, as the inquiry which ought to have been instituted in 1814, or at latest in 1824, will not come too late in 1841, if we undertake it with a spirit of candour and a desire to ascertain the truth. The case at present stands thus :—

In the year 1824 the governments of Great Britain and the Netherlands resolved to bring the arrangements, the principle of which had been agreed to in 1814, to a conclusion. The execution of the former treaty had been delayed by the zeal of the official personages to whom the care of the interests of both countries had been committed, and who naturally were tenacious of yielding upon every controverted point that was started. The agreement of 1814, after giving the Moluccas,

Java and Banca to the Dutch, had left them in possession of the settlements upon the peninsula of Malacca, while the English retained Fort Marlborough, or Bencoolen, upon the west coast of Sumatra, and Pulo Pinang, or Prince of Wales's Island, opposite to the coast of Malacca. These possessions were evidently retained with a view to their utility as stations for our vessels engaged in the China trade, as well as to insure our influence in the Eastern Archipelago; Pinang in some measure (before the colonization of Singapore) commanding the Straits of Malacca, while Fort Marlborough was at an advantageous distance from the Straits of Sunda.

The indefatigable activity and large views of Sir S. Raffles and Mr. Crawford finally obtained their due recognition from the English government, and it was determined that a settlement should be made *within the straits*. Banca, which these gentlemen had indicated as being the first position in point of commercial importance in the East, was not to be had; and thus Singapore, to which they had assigned the second rank, was chosen. The island of Singapore was therefore, in consequence of a treaty concluded between Sir S. Raffles and the heir to the deceased sultan of Johore, taken possession of in 1819; not, however, as it would seem, without a protest on the part of the Dutch government. This island, which commands the Straits of Malacca, was a most powerful addition to our positions in the East; and from a few huts, which it contained in 1819, soon grew up into a flourishing port, containing in 1837, according to Mr. Newbold, 29,980 inhabitants.

The possession of Fort Marlborough, in Sumatra, and of Pinang, at no great distance from the north-east coast of the same island, had the natural effect of placing the whole island under a kind of tutelage to the British government. This state of things gave encouragement to adventurers, who pretended to forward our interests in the intrigues which they carried on with the native princes; and Mr. Anderson's work chiefly relates to a series of complicated and disagreeable conflicts with the sultan of Atcheen, in which both that prince and Mr. Petrie, governor of Pinang, seem alternately to have been the dupes of men of this intriguing character. A native British subject of Pinang actually acquired for some years the

sovereignty of Atcheen; and in his squabbles with the lawful sultan, the trade in those parts, not only of the British but of other nations, was often interrupted, and constantly rendered insecure. This disagreeable position, united with the remonstrances of the Dutch on the subject of the occupation of Singapore, and probably the expectation entertained by Mr. Caning, that a broad and liberal line of policy on our part would induce the government of the Netherlands to adopt a more liberal commercial policy in the Archipelago, led to the treaty of 1825. The loose manner in which this treaty is worded has already been alluded to; but if this negligence, on the one hand, allowed the Dutch to act under it as they thought proper, we fear that it is no less apparent that the charge of a (no doubt unconsciously formed) plan to overreach our neighbours may be preferred against ourselves, to the existence of which the failure of the negotiation must be mainly attributed, as its rectification affords the only means of placing our commercial relations upon a sound footing.

The treaty of 1825 is a double one: it is a treaty of commerce and a treaty of cession. The commercial stipulations take precedence of the agreement to cede the possessions designated.

By the latter, the English government abandons the islands to the south of the Straits of Singapore, and cedes all its possessions thereon by clause 12, which is perhaps the most sweeping article in its import that the history of modern diplomacy records. We are further bound, by the same article, to contract no treaty with any chief upon any island so situated. Under this article it is that Holland now claims a right to acquire the supremacy over any or all the islands in the Eastern Archipelago; and in the numerous pamphlets which the present financial crisis in Holland has called forth, we find Sumatra, Borneo and Celebes constantly alluded to as Dutch possessions. The exchange which we obtained for this cession was, however, a valuable one; and if we have left the Dutch uncontrolled in their treaties or wars with the inhabitants of Sumatra, they have by no means acquired the unlimited supremacy over the other large islands, nor any such great advantages as make it necessary for us greatly to repent of our bargain.

With respect to Borneo and Celebes, it is clear that the treaty is only applicable to the parts of those islands which lie to the southward of the Straits of Singapore, or as far north as $1^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude; a parallel line drawn through which point would nearly divide Borneo into two equal parts, and would leave the whole of the northern coast of Celebes without the limit drawn by the treaty. This geographical limit is further only available to the Netherlands as marking the boundary to which *we* can extend operations in case we should deem it necessary to oppose a counterpoise to Dutch influence in those parts. No other commercial nation is bound by the treaty in question; and the American government has since settled a difference with Atcheen, the largest native power in Sumatra, upon the footing of an independent state.

The treaty of commerce is in our eyes a more important part of the negotiation. There can be no doubt but that the British minister contemplated an arrangement which was to restore the active communication of ancient times, abundant traces of which are everywhere to be found in these islands. The oversight which foiled the realization of this laudable project consisted in the mistaking the only part which we could play in such an arrangement. By this oversight the supposed interests of other trading parties were preferred to the real interests of the nation, which was in fact highly interested in carrying out the treaty, and which is at this moment in two ways a loser by its non-execution.

Let us first see what has been done, and then inquire what might have been accomplished, and what remains to be attempted. No European colony has been the theatre of so many experiments in government and cultivation as Java. Under the old arrangements in the last century, when, at a vast expense of blood and treasure, the Dutch had acquired extensive possessions in that magnificent island, they introduced the system of forced deliveries of produce, which were carried to Europe by their East India Company, and sent in exchange their manufactures, in which they were then superior to most European nations. The distress to which the mother country was reduced for money to carry on the long and expensive wars in which she was engaged, occasioned this system to be sharpened in asperity, the produce of the colonies was at length abstracted without a sufficient

remuneration being returned, the natives rebelled, and the expense of subduing them consumed all the profit which this oppression promised to afford. Long before the occupation of Java by the English, the colony had ceased to yield any revenue to the mother country; and the company, loaded with debt, dissolved itself in 1795. The island continued unproductive until it was taken by us in 1811.

Under the government of Sir Stamford Raffles a radical change took place in the management of this colony. The cultivation of the lands belonging to the natives, which had formerly been directed by the Dutch authorities, who sought to encourage the growth of such articles as found an easy sale in Europe, was left free. One exception was made, however; and in the Preanger district, in the south-western part of the island, the tribute which was in the other parts now levied in money, was left to be paid as before in produce. This circumstance has since proved a theme of triumph to the Dutch, as they assert that this district, which was always the best cultivated, was, even under the English sway, the most prosperous part of the island. These changes naturally excited dissatisfaction amongst the inhabitants, and as the native princes endeavoured to avail themselves of the discontent which prevailed, a war with them was usually the consequence of such disturbances. The British governor did not escape his share of these intestine troubles, but seems to have succeeded in convincing the islanders ultimately that the changes he introduced were for their benefit. The expense of the war against the sultan of Jugyakerta, together with the necessity of keeping a constant guard on the coasts, consumed all the revenue during this period; and the British government, like the Dutch, turned out to be a loser by the occupation.

In 1814, the moral ascendancy which England had attained by the successful issue of the portentous struggle for supremacy with France, seems easy to be traced in the conditions to which other nations were willing to submit in the regulation of our mutual relations which naturally ensued. In the hands of a high Tory ministry, whose minds, as we have seen, were solely occupied with gaining over to their support the monied portion of our trading interests, by the exclusion of all competition, and by shutting up, as far as was possible,

every new field of exertion, this influence was gradually frittered away, and the example set of a narrow, short-sighted commercial policy, which was too soon followed and turned against us by other countries. In this light the compromise must be regarded by which the monopoly of the sugar-trade was secured to the West Indies, and the trade with the East was confined within the limits prescribed by the supposed interests of the East India Company. Mr. Canning's accession to power marks the dawn of a better state of things; but his early loss is strongly indicative of the difficulties which that great statesman encountered upon the new path into which he so fearlessly ventured. Under such circumstances was the treaty of 1824 concluded, when every concession in favour of free trade was looked upon as robbery of parties interested in some monopoly, and naturally caused the holders of others to tremble for theirs. The treaty, as we have seen, admits on reasonable terms the productions of British manufactories into the Dutch possessions; but on what terms was the produce of those colonies admitted into our harbours? Java sugar might, it is true, be imported into Bengal, but at a duty of 10 per cent. in a Dutch vessel, with 10 per cent. additional town-duty; to justify which, a duty of 5 per cent., with 5 per cent. town-duty, was nominally fixed for British sugar imported in British bottoms—we say nominally, for, of course, no importation of the kind took place. The Dutch merchant, therefore, who under the treaty desired to trade with Bengal and to avail himself of Dutch vessels, stood in the following position with respect to the Bengal merchant trading with Java under the English flag:—

Customs' duty in Bengal under the tariff of 1832.

| | |
|---|---------------|
| Foreign sugar in a foreign bottom..... | 10 per cent. |
| Town-duty..... | 10 „ |
| | — |
| | 20 „ |
| The same, if exported to Europe or America in a British bottom, enjoyed a drawback of three-fourths of the amount of customs' duty, with the whole town-duty..... | 17½ per cent. |
| If exported to the same parts in a foreign bottom, two-thirds of the amount of duty, or | 16¼ „ |
| | — |
| Differential duty on exportation | 1½ „ |

It is evident that the sugar of Java, if imported in a Dutch vessel into Bengal, paid a duty of 20 per cent. ; whereas the seemingly light imposition on such as should be sent by way of Bengal to England is as imaginary as the duty on British-grown sugar imported into Bengal ; for the English duty of 63s. per cwt. made such an importation an impossibility.

Both coffee and sugar might be imported duty-free into Singapore, but no further, which, for the Javan trader, amounted to as much as the privilege to import in bond into any British harbour, as the whole schedule of customs' duties met him on the transfer of his produce to any consuming part. The differential duty upon coffee imported from Singapore into England, at 3*d.* per lb., is valued by the Dutch colonial government as equivalent to 18 per cent. on that article when its price is high.

The Bengal tariff of 1836, as published amongst the papers submitted to parliament, imposes only a duty of 7 per cent. upon foreign sugar imported in a foreign vessel, sugar being therein included amongst the unenumerated articles. On the other hand, however, the export duty on sugar exported in foreign vessels is rated at 6 per cent., a drawback being allowed of $\frac{7}{8}$ ths of the duty paid on importation. As, however, this modification appears nearly about the same time when we learn from the evidence given before the Committee on East India produce, that Bengal qualified* for an equalization of duty with the West Indian sugar, by prohibiting all importation of foreign-grown sugar, the value of this concession will be easily appreciated. According to the same authority, Madras soon followed this example, and Bombay was about to tread in the steps of the other presidencies, and prohibit likewise all foreign sugar. This would be the hardest blow to Java, as a considerable exportation took place to Bombay for the Indus and the Persian Gulf.

The correspondence† between Mr. Strangways and Messrs. Melvill and Le Marchant, to which we before alluded, and which took place as recently as 1838, shows, that up to that

* Evidence of J. C. Melvill, Esq. before the Select Committee on East India produce. Q. 209 and 223.

† Parliamentary papers relative to execution of treaty by Netherlands' authorities in the East Indies, p. 190-197.

period, Dutch manufactured goods, imported in Dutch vessels into Bengal, were rated at four times the duty levied upon British manufactured goods imported in British vessels. We have likewise said that the East India Company declared this to be the proper interpretation of the treaty of 1825, at the very moment when Lord Palmerston was endeavouring to enforce the principle, that British goods imported into Java in British vessels were only liable to double the duty levied upon Dutch goods imported in Dutch vessels. As this regulation of the Indian custom-house must have struck every one who took the trouble of looking at it, the remarkable part of the transaction is, that it was not consulted at an earlier period. Like all diplomatic misapprehensions, this had the effect of diverting our minister's attention, and consequently that of the nation, from the real points in which the Dutch had been wanting, and which we venture to assert only required to be amicably pointed out to have them rectified.

The only true grievance, because it was one not called for by any corresponding restriction on our side, was the confining all the foreign trade in the Eastern Archipelago to three ports in the island of Java, viz. Batavia, Samarang and Sourabaya, whereby our merchants of Bengal and Singapore were certainly debarred from all direct traffic with the Dutch ports in Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, and the other islands.

The Dutch regulation was in all probability as much suggested by a desire to economize in official salaries, as by the wish to render the monopoly of their trading company complete; and we cannot easily imagine the arguments which our ambassador would be likely to find effectual in attempting to recommend such additional expense for the purpose of encouraging so one-sided a trade as it pleased us then to carry on with our neighbours. The most effective would doubtless be, that the object, if economy, was not attained; since the Dutch, in order to enforce this and other regulations, are now obliged to keep up a fleet in the Indian seas. It would not, however, be without some feelings of shame, as Englishmen, that we should receive the not improbable reply of the Dutch cabinet, that this force was, in part, kept up to meet the indirect attempts of our jealous colonists to disturb the

peace of their possessions, if not with a view to the period when the clamours that have been raised might induce some popularity-hunting minister openly to reclaim the gift of 1814, and to purchase a tranquil session by a line of conduct diametrically opposite to that which we exposed above. That the extensive fortifications now carrying on in the interior of Java are rather constructed with a view to resisting European, than native aggression, is openly avowed; and we regret exceedingly that any inducement should come from our side to make such a waste of means, so necessary for the improvement of these fine countries, appear expedient, we trust we need not add, necessary.

An unreserved investigation of the proceedings of the Dutch in the eastern islands, will, as we before said, tend to show that the profits which they have drawn from those colonies are not such as to excite envy; and, if we do not mistake, the conviction is pretty general at present in Holland, that without a change of system, those profits, such as they are, cannot be extended, or perhaps even continued. There is therefore no generosity in our relinquishing all covetous feelings with regard to those possessions from which we could expect to draw no gain. Herein we would draw the distinction between our position and that of our ministers of 1814, who, for personal convenience, relinquished what they believed to be a valuable possession. We, on the contrary, warn our countrymen from coveting what would bring them no advantage; we would strenuously urge them rather to lend a helping hand to the Dutch in their endeavours to develop the resources of those fine lands, as the surest way of ultimately gaining a certain indirect profit from them, instead of pursuing the shadow of a direct gain, which would infallibly mock their ambitious grasp.

Sir S. Raffles tells us that the arrears of the Indian colonies to the nation in 1779, shortly previous to the dissolution of the old Dutch East India Company, amounted to 85 millions of florins. He gives the financial details for nine years, which show a total deficit of 18 millions of rupees, or 22 millions of florins. The loss in the twenty-six remaining years, which go to make up the period from 1779 to 1814, cannot, at a very moderate estimate, be taken at less than 35 millions of

florins; so that in its account with Europe, this Asiatic possession may in 1814 be debited with the sum of 142 millions of florins, or nearly 12 millions sterling. If the island be supposed to have an area of 48,000 square miles, which would perhaps give 30 millions of acres of cultivable land, cleared and not cleared, its possession cost at least 7*s.* 6*d.* per acre at that period; but the cultivated portion was not supposed to exceed one-eighth of the whole, and consequently stood its European owners in something near three guineas an acre. But the account is here not closed, even if we add an estimate of the value of the thousands of lives lost* in the acquisition of this treasure. We have the authority of M. van den Bosch, or of his advocate, for the following statement:—

“On the closing of the Indian accounts, which did not finally take place until 1832 (for the period since the restoration), it appeared that on the 1st of January, 1830, there was a deficit in the Indian administration of 23,450,851 florins, 96 cents, without reckoning the sum charged to the account of Jugyakerta, being 18,673,839 florins, 78 cents, for the expenses of the war, both of which sums were alone to be defrayed by means of the before-mentioned loan.”—*Jets*, &c. p. 21.

Thus a small addition is made to the purchase-money of 42,124,691 florins, 74 cents, of three millions and a-half sterling, or about another guinea per acre for the cultivated lands.

The tenure of this valuable colony may now be a good one, but M. van den Bosch describes it as having been precarious enough no long time since. The change once more effected in the island, from the Ryotwar tenure of land introduced by Governor Raffles, to the old system of prescribed cultivation and forced deliveries, excited an insurrection, in which a native adventurer played so conspicuous a part, that the following testimonies from an enemy, to his credit, are worth preserving:—

“And if we inquire what was the condition of the people during this second period, it will suffice to remark, that in Java alone, besides the wars and insurrections already alluded to, a rising in Bantam, and another in Cheribon, took place. In the war which arose with Diepo Negoro, an invasion of his occasioned insurrections in a part of the Kadee, in Rambang and in Damak, and thus within the last twenty-five years nine wars and popular insurrections have broken out; whereas formerly, when no extraordinary military force was kept on foot, a peace of more than fifty

* Sir S. Raffles cites the assertion of M. Raynal, that between 1714 and 1776, 87,000 sailors and soldiers died in the hospitals of Batavia alone.

years was kept uninterrupted in Java. In these wars and insurrections it is calculated that *more than 30,000 men on our side, and 200,000 Javans, have been sacrificed.* In the invasions of Diepo Negoro into our territories, it appeared on the whole that the salaried native chiefs remained faithful; but the mass of the people took part with the rebels with a bitterness of feeling approaching to rage, as was manifested by the annihilation of Major Busken's column, and the murder of all the Europeans that fell into their hands, among others, of many of the citizens of Samarang, who served as volunteers. All the property of Europeans which they could get at was wasted and burnt."—*Jets*, &c. p. 26.

This resentment against their taskmasters is attributed by M. van den Bosch to the effects of the freedom which the English allowed them to taste, but which he maliciously explains as having caused the natives to dread any change in the internal administration of the island. We must, however, add one more extract on the score of the formidable Diepo Negoro:—

"All the chief leaders of the enemy were either taken prisoners or subdued; Diepo himself, with a small body of followers, wandered about in the woods, and was as far as possible tracked out, and restlessly pursued. As long as he was free it was considered imprudent to reduce our forces, which amounted, with the line and auxiliary troops, to 36,000 men. It was not until Diepo Negoro was made prisoner, upon the 28th March, 1830, that it was possible to dismiss the auxiliaries."—*Jets*, p. 25.

It is a pity that more is not known of the adventures and fate of this Javan Spartacus, whose name we perhaps for the first time mention in English print, but whose talents, if estimated at the rate of 36,000 men, must not have been contemptible. It seems that he carried on the war from 1825 until 1830.

If the terms upon which Java is held do not appear to be the most inviting, there is still less to excite envy in those upon which Sumatra is likely to be obtained. The following particulars from a private source may prove a not uninteresting addition to Mr. Anderson's information respecting this island. The oldest permanent settlement of the Dutch is Palembang, on the west coast, opposite to the valuable island of Banca. In 1819 the inhabitants revolted, and in 1820 and 1821 two expeditions from Batavia were defeated by them. They were at length reduced in 1822; and as the resistance offered by the natives was in some measure attributed to British aid, these events contributed chiefly to the accom-

plishment of the treaty of 1824. In October of that year a corps was sent against the Padries, or Malays, who inhabit the country round Bencoolen, and which brought them under the Dutch rule. The Papes, another tribe dwelling more in the centre of the island, then took up arms to aid the Padries, and threatened Padang, a settlement lying to the north-west of Bencoolen, on the west coast. The contest with this tribe was prolonged in consequence of the serious diversion caused by the revolt in Java, to quell which some of the troops sent to Sumatra were recalled; and until 1830, when Diepo Negoro was taken and shipped off to Malacca, the Dutch were reduced to act upon the defensive in Sumatra. As soon as they were freed from this incumbrance the Dutch declared war against their next neighbour, the Imaun of Linda, with whom they had, since 1825, been at peace. They stormed his frontier-fort, the Campong Kandies, on the 19th of June 1830, and obliged the Imaun of Boujal to join them with his troops. Thus aided and strengthened by a native corps from Java, which had deserted from the rebels of that island, two columns, 4000 men strong, commanded by Colonel Krieger and Lieut.-col. Raff, advanced against Linda. The principal part of the force consisted of the above-mentioned præjurits, or sepoy, from Java, under their chiefs Sendot and Djojo Sindiriko, who were mostly armed with lances. The Papes had taken energetic measures of defence. All their Campongs were stockaded, and as far as possible armed with cannon, but which, from their being made fast to blocks of wood, were not easily managed. The ditches around the palisaded walls were fitted with spikes of pointed bamboos boiled in oil to harden them, and which were as sharp as pointed steel. The small arms of the Papes were mostly a kind of blunderbuss or carbine, with a large muzzle, and their kris were long and serpentine in shape, calculated to inflict a jagged wound, and formidable in close combat. Into a country thus provided with artificial means of defence, but more strongly fortified by the morasses of the lowlands, and the almost impracticable passes of the hills, did the Dutch advance; at first with some good fortune, but massacring without quarter all who made resistance. Whenever a Campong was taken, the inhabitants of the neighbouring district were assembled, as far

as it was possible to collect them, and the regulations to which they were to submit by order of their new lords were read to them. At the close of every sentence, as it was delivered, the old men and the chiefs expressed their assent or remonstrance by the exclamations "*Bai*" (good), "*Drada Bai*" (not good); to which however the officer officiating gave no heed, but phlegmatically continued his recital. Nearly the whole of the open country was thus subdued; but the Imaun held his capital Linda, protected on three sides by impassable morasses, and on the fourth by rocks surmounted with batteries. Here no impression could be made, and the attacking force, having lost three-fourths of its men, was obliged by the wet monsoon to retreat. No reinforcements came from Java, where new troubles had broken out, and the war with Belgium prevented much attention from being bestowed upon colonial affairs by the mother country. The commanders of the Dutch force now experienced all the chances of reversed fortune. On their commencing their retreat, the Imaun of Boujal threw off their alliance, and attacked the corps of Lieut.-col. Raff, now only 400 men, while on their march, with a body of 5000 natives, and put them to the sword. Three hundred sick and wounded who were left in a hospital at Boujal were murdered in cold blood. The detachments left in garrison in the Campongs that had been taken were told by the inhabitants that they had to make the best of their way to the coast, and in most cases they were supplied with provisions by the chiefs, and allowed a fair start, no attack being made upon them until the morning after they had left the station.

The language in which they were desired to depart is as touching as it is primitive in its character, and the whole proceedings of these natives, who have usually been represented as intractable savages, has something noble and chivalrous for which we were not prepared. The chief of the village, addressing the commander of the station, told him to remove his troops, for the natives were convinced that they had only suffered wrongs at his hands. He had forcibly intruded himself into a strange country, and even called its inhabitants savages, whereas the only persons who had demeaned themselves as barbarians were himself and his followers. It was

then formally announced that the Papes would come and carry on the war in the European's territory. We may here half fancy we hear a knight of our own parts a few centuries back consoling his defeated adversary with the promise of another fight at "outrance."

The army of Boujal, carrying all before it, advanced upon Kandies, and would have cut off the column of Colonel Krieger likewise, if the severity of the monsoon had not even impeded the movements of the natives; while a movement executed by Major Shenk from Padang secured the rear of the discomfited army. This was the campaign of 1832. The following year, reinforcements having arrived from Batavia, Colonel Krieger advanced again at the head of 4000 men; first against Boujal, but finding the difficulties in that direction too great, he turned against Linda, which was taken by storm on the 26th of August 1833. The Imaun was not in the town, and it was said he had fled to Mecca. Major Shenk was killed in this expedition. The year 1834 was taken up with an expedition into the mountain-land of Boujal, in which the Dutch penetrated to within a short distance of the capital. A revolt in the neighbourhood of Palembang had again to be quelled by force of arms; and an expedition against a native tribe in the southern part of the island, on the Straits of Sunda, was defeated and driven back with loss. The natives of this tribe, named Lompongs, emboldened by success, attacked the Dutch vessels in their passage through the Straits of Sunda, and even threatened the forts in the neighbourhood of Batavia.

This tribe becoming formidable, a detachment of 700 to 800 men, consisting of Dutch, sepoys from Amboina, and negroes recently recruited (?) on the coast of Africa, landed near Weinrang, the chief town of the Lompongs, and took it by storm. The Lompongs attacked the outposts during the night, and killed the greater part of the detached parties, chiefly negroes. The next day a pitched battle was fought, and the natives being unable to keep their ground withdrew into the hills, where the artillery could not follow them. Several redoubts were carried by the infantry in the hills, and as usual no quarter was given to the natives, who were called and treated as rebels. In November 1834 the Lompongs

came to terms, and gave up their leader, Raja Depik, upon which hostilities ceased.

The campaign of 1835 brought the greatest part of the territory of Boujal into the hands of the Dutch; and the Imaun, trembling for the consequences, offered to purchase peace with a thousand Kantangs* of gold. This was refused on the pretence of his having ordered the massacre of the sick and wounded; and the residence which was able to offer so good a ransom was declared to be devoted to pillage. The troops in this campaign made, too, acquaintance with another land, that of the Rauws, situated to the eastward of Boujal, and both fertile and well cultivated.

In May 1836, a strong body of troops, under the command of Major-general Cleerens, amongst which was a corps of riflemen, chiefly composed of deserters from the Belgian army, commenced operations by storming all the remaining stockades in Boujal, with the exception of the Varkens battery, a strong hill-fort in the vicinity of the capital. In 1837, when it was thought that the capital could not long hold out, the commander-in-chief, General Cochijs, came over from Batavia to share the glory, and perchance the spoil, of the expected conquest. The natives defended themselves with unexampled bravery; and notwithstanding almost daily assaults, held out through the greater part of the summer. In August eight eighteen-pounders were brought from Padang, and the fort was battered in form. A powder-magazine in the town blew up, and a breach in the Varkens battery having been made, a successful storm, led by Captain Van de Haart, was effected. The garrison received no quarter; but the Raja made his escape and wandered about in the woods, until driven by hunger he surrendered to the Dutch, who sent him to Batavia. Boujal and Rauws were taken formal possession of, and the Javan system of cultivation was introduced.

The close of the year 1837 was employed in reducing the Kottas, a Malay tribe which had assisted the Papes. Two columns under Colonel Machil and Lieut.-col. Ovouthout were despatched against them. The two districts, named Diegablas (nine) Kottas and Sambielang (thirteen) Kottas,

* A measure of about a gallon.

were easily overrun, as the tactics of these tribes were not very formidable. Their main body was preceded by a detached corps of skirmishers, dressed in red war-dresses, and armed with swords and long shields. These bodies engaged with the Dutch skirmishers, and if they were driven back the main body took to flight, and retreated into their stockades.

From the land of the Kottas an expedition 3000 men strong, under Colonel Machil, penetrated, in 1838, into the country of Dulodulo, situated further to the northward. By November in that year this territory was subdued, the Imaun having sued for terms on the approach of the army to his fortified capital. The conditions to which he was obliged to submit were of the hardest description: he acknowledged the supremacy of the Dutch, and surrendered all his fortified positions into their hands.

By the conquest of Dulodulo the Dutch became the immediate neighbours of Atcheen. With this empire it was not easy to pick a quarrel on the subject of debatable frontiers, as boundless and impassable forests intervene between the two territories. An excuse was however soon furnished by a reported attack of the Atcheen people at sea upon some Malay prahees belonging to one of the newly-conquered native tribes. To avenge this aggression, a corps of 4000 men was despatched from Padang to besiege Barus, the second capital of the empire, situated upon the west coast of Sumatra, and the nearest important point to the Dutch possessions, which was taken by storm in November of that year. The Atcheen soldiers were armed like the *Papes* with swords and shields; but in the Campongs guns seven feet long were found, which fired balls a quarter of a pound in weight. These Campongs were surrounded with very high walls and deep ditches. Colonel Roeps, the first commandant of Barus, was assassinated by a native in January 1840, and the occupying corps had to be strengthened till it reached 8000 men. A squadron was likewise sent round to assist the operations upon the coast, and the fort of Toapus, lying to the southward of Barus, was stormed by the united forces. The loss on the side of Atcheen was calculated at 1000 men upon this occasion. Sinkel was the last place of which the surrender has as yet become public, but the war is still carrying on with energy

against Atcheen, and will doubtless end in the subjection of that empire.

Under these circumstances, it appears matter of wonder that the charge in the Indian budget for Sumatra in this year does not exceed 300,000 florins. This shows either very economical management, or must be a mystification. At all events, we think that there are few Englishmen who will not rejoice that the dark pages of our colonial history are not blotted with the crimes inseparable from a series of conquests like those which we have here briefly recorded; at the same time, before we hastily throw our stone at our neighbours across the channel, we ought to be more conscious than we can be of ourselves "being without sin."

We have asserted that the full investigation and demonstration of the importance of Indian colonies did not necessarily imply that the result would induce us to desire that Java and the other islands had been retained as British possessions. On the contrary, we think that such an investigation would have clearly proved them to be rather a burden than an advantage. Much of the information which we now possess concerning the East could not then have been procured by the most diligent inquiry. Such works as those of Mr. Royll on the productive resources of India, or the evidence published by the recent committees of both houses of parliament, could not have been so rich in startling facts, nor so valuable for the application of grand and simple scientific principles to the practice of government and commerce, at an earlier period. Still it is impossible to peruse these publications, and those named at the commencement of this article, without perceiving that a much more limited insight into the productive powers of Asia ought long since to have spread the conviction, that the resources of Great Britain, the extent of which none knows better how to appreciate than we do, are alone not sufficient to develope and bring into play these mighty producing faculties. Had we but considered the demands upon the capital of our merchants from the American and European trades, from the West Indian, African and South American settlements, we should have been convinced that an extension of our settlements was only synonymous with the dispersion, and consequently the weakening, of our

means. Nay, it is perhaps not too much to say, that if our artificial domestic legislation had not kept the price of food and other indispensable articles unnaturally high, the demand for our shipping and mediation in facilitating commercial intercourse immediately after the war, and before the shipping of other countries had revived, would have been so great as to have prevented any efflux of capital and exertion to distant colonies. It must never be forgotten, that, as long as lands are poor, the consumption of even the most indispensable articles is a matter of price, and that a slight increase in the cost of production or transport is sufficient to make them abstain even from old and useful habits; and under such poverty a large portion of Europe is still struggling.

By the cession of the eastern islands to Holland we in fact allowed an influx of capital and commercial enterprise into Asia. We might have prevented it, no doubt; but it will require but little consideration to see that we could not have supplied the deficiency. We could not, moreover, have prevented that capital and enterprise from meeting us in other markets nearer home; where, under the prevailing opinion (which we do not share) that there is too much of both, its competition would have been even more sensible. Even now we think it will not be difficult to show, that what we surrendered has in fact proved to be only a gain which our merchants would have despised, and which they would not now accept if proffered on the terms on which the Dutch hold possession of it. But the epoch of 1814 was one of those periods of transition, a proper use of which would have placed our commercial and colonial relations upon a sound footing, and have saved immense losses to individuals as well as to the country, both of capital, of time and of exertion. Our object in calling attention most forcibly to this subject at present is, to induce influential men not to let slip the present almost equally favourable opportunity, when so many commercial questions are open. Our colonial speculations, especially, may be brought back into a sound course, or more properly speaking, may be kept from straying once more into ill-chosen channels, if we do not wilfully shut our eyes against the experience of the past, and heedlessly persist in steering

without a compass through the rocky and untracked paths of the ocean that lies spread before us.

The very cause of the importance of the present conjuncture imparts an invaluable lesson. The total failure of the attempt to secure a monopoly of colonial produce to the West Indian settlements, and the immense losses which all concerned in those colonies have sustained, have had the double effect of rendering them less worthy of party exertion; while it has been shown that the loss imposed upon the nation by their protection is not even compensated by private gain. The result of this conviction has been the extension of the British market to our Eastern colonies upon equal terms, and the consequent prospect that a sound system of speculation will be adopted in the West Indies, which in future will be constantly checked when diverging into forced and unnatural branches of cultivation, by the competition of equally well situated, if not better managed lands. It is our principal object, at present, to hold up a few landmarks to serve as partial guides to our countrymen in the East Indies, while obeying the impulse which the Eastern trade cannot fail to receive from the new position of affairs. Convinced that, especially in commercial speculations, too much caution cannot be used, and that all unnatural profits, especially if realized with too much ease, must be timidly viewed, and be regarded as grounds not for confidence but distrust, we think we shall present our readers with no unacceptable picture in an investigation of the proceedings of the Dutch in their eastern colonies, and in attempting to show how far they have been gainers in their dealings with those settlements. This investigation may lead us to useful conclusions respecting the markets to be supplied with the productions of tropical climates, and the most advantageous manner of meeting their demands. We avail ourselves for this purpose of official documents hitherto unpublished, the communication of which cannot but be acceptable both to those who are interested either in a commercial or in a scientific point of view in the Eastern world. These valuable documents likewise allow us to adhere to the plan which we have hitherto followed, of basing all our speculations upon international trade on facts, as

illustrated by the experience of the nations of which we treat. We are not so sanguine as to suppose that we shall bring to many minds the conviction which so ardently pervades our own, that instead of reason for jealousy of one another's prosperity, the nations of the civilized world have all the greatest need of mutual cooperation, in order to secure a tolerable degree of happiness to the mass of the population. We can scarcely expect our belief to be generally shared, that the difference in point of comfort, and in a great measure of mental cultivation, between the Javan and the European, as between the inhabitants of the different countries of our quarter of the world, is not a natural but a factitious one, for which the governments and rulers of the people are answerable to God and to mankind. We are still further from expecting, that if the connexion between the conduct of political parties and the civilization of the people were displayed in a still clearer manner than has been done, it would for that reason become a principle of action. But we may perhaps succeed, by a simple statement of facts, in allowing the exertions of a nation, which at least has the merit of enterprise and perseverance, not only to remain uninterrupted, but perhaps even to meet that kind of encouragement, which will evidently not be at variance with our own immediate interests.

We shall endeavour as concisely as possible to sketch out the various modes of cultivation successively forced upon the inhabitants of Java by the European intruders, less with the intention of raking up old grievances, or catering to national jealousy, than in the hope of throwing some light upon so complicated a subject as colonial interests have always been found to be.

When the Dutch first acquired a footing in Java, in the sixteenth century, their territory was limited to a settlement at Bantam, which was afterwards exchanged for Batavia. Without territory and with the English for rivals, who afterwards formed a settlement at Bantam, they carried on a trade with the inhabitants, which appears to have been even more advantageous than the returns of the last few years. Between 1653 and 1663 their profits averaged $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions of florins per annum; from 1663 to 1683 the average profits were $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions, and between 1683 and 1693 nearly 5 millions of

florins per annum. From this moment they began to decline, and in 1730 there was already a loss in their accounts of 7,737,610 florins, which went on progressively increasing to the sum which we have before stated. It is worthy of especial remark, that the English settlement was abandoned in 1683, and that their first extensive acquisition of land was in consequence of a treaty concluded in 1705 with the Susunan Pangeran Pugar, who owed his throne to their aid. Their losses consequently date from the moment when they had no rivals, and increase progressively with the extension of their territorial sovereignty. In other words, their dealings were advantageous to themselves as long as they availed themselves of the resources of the country, amongst which the energies and the intelligence of the inhabitants were the most valuable; and they declined in proportion as these were diminished or crippled by oppressive systems of rule, and the exclusion of the capital brought by other nations. By the treaty of 1705 the Susunan was bound to shut his ports against the traders from Macassar, Borneo, Malacca, Bali, and all foreigners. As their sovereignty extended over large districts, they were in the beginning wise enough to retain the native form of government, by which a shadow of independence was left to their tributary chiefs, the more powerful of whom were entitled regents. Hence the division which still exists of the island into regencies. Under the regents were the provincial chiefs, called *Demangs* or *Mantris*, which latter word, as well as the title *Mandor*, seems to be borrowed, like the institution, from the Chinese. Under these again stood the *Bukul* or appointed chief of the *desa* or village, who was named *Petingi*, in such as claimed the right of electing their particular chief.

According to the original arrangements, the regent seems to have contracted for the tribute to be paid by his country, and which he then levied as he thought proper through his subordinate officers. When one description of produce came to be preferred as most valuable in Europe, the introduction of its cultivation seems to have been superintended by the *Demang* or *Mantri*, the execution of whose orders was entrusted to the village chief. The *sawas*, or low lands capable of irrigation, which formed the chief property of the villages, were chiefly devoted to the cultivation of rice, and the tribute de-

manded was the fifth sheaf, which, it appears, was originally left by the cultivator standing uncut upon the ground. As the authority of the chief was naturally supported both by his superior and by the Dutch, where they represented the supreme authority, the transition to the right to demand the grain housed was an easy one, and the labour thus bestowed we find afterwards estimated at a second fifth of the produce. At a later period the tribute was required to be delivered at certain seaports; and, in the course of growing rapacity, it was very much increased by a reduction in the weight of the pikul or sack, from 225 lbs., which it had formerly been, to 160 lbs. each; which means that the countryman, continuing to deliver the former, only received payment for the latter quantity. Out of this overweight, the pay of the regents and subordinate officers was entirely, or in part, defrayed; and, while the burden of supporting these official personages, who daily assumed more and more the character of interested servants of the Dutch, was disproportionately raised, their exertions in driving the cultivator to produce the utmost possible were secured. In proportion as these intermediate classes gradually exchanged the character of a native nobility for official rank, their dependence upon the supreme authority became more sensible, while they acquired more power to oppress the people whom they governed. Personal services were exacted in their houses, on their lands, and during their journeys, which it was easy to represent as being undertaken for the benefit of the state. A capitation-tax seems to have been early introduced as a kind of rent; to this was afterwards added the expense of maintaining water-courses for the irrigated fields and of making roads, besides a regular payment for the support of their priesthood. The military conscription must be added to this list of demands upon the national resources.

The difficulty of keeping within bounds the rapacity of officers who are screened from the influence of public opinion by the absence of a free press, is well known: there can be little doubt, therefore, but that the countless wars and rebellions which occurred in the course of the last century are easily to be accounted for; and as the East India Company lost power to control their servants, in proportion as their

financial difficulties increased, Java presented at the commencement of the present century a frightful picture of rapacity combined with waste, of oppression leagued with the most abject slavery. In this state it was found by Marshal Daendels in 1808, a frank and straightforward soldier, who, while he saw the evils of the old system, and applied, as far as he was able, the remedies which the emergency rendered indispensable, was yet without the power to effect a radical change, the only means of curing them. His reforms, however, paved the way for the revolution effected under the British sway.

Coffee, as one of the most saleable, was, at an early period, the most desirable article of cultivation; and, unfortunately for the natives, being supposed of easy management, and best suited to the high lands, was deemed neither to encroach upon their time nor upon their property. No allowance was made in the ordinance by which each *chacha* or household which owned a *yung*, or about $6\frac{1}{2}$ acres of sawa land, was bound to plant and keep in order 1000 coffee-trees, for the trouble and expense of clearing and planting land at a distance from the habitations. The Dutch calculation was based upon the comparatively easy task of weeding and cropping when the tree is planted and bears, and thus, especially in the beginning, the price of 3 rix dollars per pikul, or less than 5s. per cwt., was, of course, no fair remuneration to the grower. Marshal Daendels reformed the whole system of the deliveries, and, having ordered the sacks to be made of one size to facilitate control, fixed the proportions payable by the government agents as follows:

| | | | |
|----------------------|-------|---------|-------------|
| To the planter | 2 rix | dollars | 13 stivers. |
| „ regent | 1 | „ | 13 „ |
| „ demang | 0 | „ | 12 „ |
| „ overseer | 0 | „ | 12 „ |
| Carriage | 0 | „ | 12 „ |
| | <hr/> | | <hr/> |
| | 4 | | 1 |

which increased the price to the government nominally by 50 per cent., but put a stop to the robberies of the officers both against the peasant and the state. By this activity the Marshal brought some order into the finances, and would probably have at length achieved a surplus of revenue, if the

native princes and the English had left him at rest. Against the former he was obliged to organize a force of nearly 20,000 men, while Sir Edward Pellew burned his whole fleet in the year in which he went out. Another change of an important kind, which took place during the interval of the extension of territorial power and the decay of commercial prosperity, was the natural transition from the system of limiting the supply of colonial produce, to that of occupying all the countries which furnished it. In the beginning, treaties by which the native chiefs bound themselves to destroy their plantations, in order that the market might not be overstocked, were common. It was soon, however, found, that although competition might be extinguished at Java, yet the French, the English, the Spaniards and the Portuguese could not be prevented from producing, and experience showed that the worst of all commercial speculations is the attempt to bolster up unnaturally high prices by artificial means. As, however, the consumption of these productions increased in Europe in nearly the same proportion as they became abundant, the policy of the trader became that of furnishing as much as possible to the consuming nations. While the English were masters of Java, although they had the direct and indirect supply of all Europe to effect, this policy had not (and it has not to this day) become the principle by which they were guided. The market at home was too large to be overflowed by our West India produce, and yet the amount of that produce was supposed to be so great as to make it advisable to exclude the East Indies, and still more Java, from competing with the Western colonies. Here we have the secret why the change effected by Governor Raffles did not produce a more immediate effect, both upon the revenues of the island and on the condition of its inhabitants.

The adoption, in a great portion of the island, of the tenure of land common in Western India, in the commencement on the plan of the permanent settlement, but eventually on that of the ryutwar system, brought with it the necessary payment of rent for those lands only which were occupied and cultivated. From the complaints of the Dutch since the restoration, it would appear that a great number of the coffee-gardens which had got into bearing were, during the English occupa-

tion, abandoned, and relapsed into bush. Thus we certainly freed the peasant from a laborious occupation; but it would have been a more meritorious task to make that labour profitable. A natural home-market in the East would certainly by degrees have sprung up in the Chinese and Arab traders whose visits to the island were encouraged, while the position which they commonly occupied towards the Javans, of brokers, forestallers and dealers, were regulated and deprived of many temptations to abuse. On the other hand, the interval which naturally elapsed before this new order of things could be established seems to have sufficed to cause a considerable decrease of the laborious cultivation of sugar and coffee, one half of the produce of which was claimed by the crown, while for the other half the sale was very limited. We, in short, had taken from them the market of Europe, and had not had time to open to them that of Asia.

On the resumption of the authority by the Dutch, the system introduced by our governor was in part continued, doubtless on account of the evident financial improvement which it promised to effect. In one very material point, however, it was departed from, and consequently in their hands proved a total failure. The old jealousy of the Dutch towards all other traders caused them immediately to lay restrictions upon the movements of the Arabs and Chinese, both as carriers by sea and dealers in the island. It was expected that the natives, who were accustomed to dispose of their superfluous produce to these convenient hucksters, perhaps at a low price, or in exchange for foreign articles of little value, would carry it to the sea-coast, and traffic on less questionable terms with phlegmatic storekeepers, who did not understand their language, and who were above consulting either their fancies or their wants. The little gains made by these supple and intelligent Asiatic competitors in farming the bazaars, or other public establishments, were likewise viewed with a jealous eye. They were driven from one immunity to another, until, by a decree of the Batavian government, the immigration of Chinese into the island, which formerly took place to the number of several thousands annually, was prohibited by a fine of 50 florins per head for each. It will excite no surprise that the adoption of such measures

caused a further decrease in the revenue. The official report given in the appendix to the 'Jets,' etc. states that the highest price obtained of the Arabs and Chinese for coffee amounted to 4 florins for the weight of 225 lbs., and that this price was only paid in one regency ; whereas in others 2 florins only were given for that quantity, and in many it was altogether unsaleable, at the time that the Dutch government was freely paying 7 florins at the stores. The Dutch must, from this calculation, set no value upon transport, or the natural conclusion from this state of things would have been, that even the 7 florins did not pay for the carriage from the districts which had no sale.

A future historian of these times, who should chance to light upon the treaty of 1824 without an immediate explanation of the attendant circumstances, will be tempted to conceive that its stipulations promise an ample compensation to Java for the loss of Chinese and Arabian capital and intelligence. Our readers are, however, informed that this treaty indeed opened the ports of Java to English goods and vessels, while the ports of England were hermetically sealed against the productions and the ships of Java. For the supply of the Continent, from 1816 to 1825, the Dutch were in a great measure dependent upon British and other foreign vessels, as no striking advantages offered to turn the tide of Dutch capital into the line of ship-building for India. This foreign carrying trade with one of their own colonies was naturally regarded with a jealous eye by the Netherlands, who were at that time not in the enjoyment of the treaty of reciprocity which Mr. Huskisson brought about. To the extent, therefore, of a few return-freights to Europe, and no further, did Java profit from the aid of British capital ; whereas, had we admitted the sugar and coffee of the island at a fair duty, we should have insured a larger market for our manufactured goods, and have only hastened the crisis to which the West Indies under their unnatural system were tottering.

A state-paper submitted to the States-General assembled at Brussels in 1825, shows the East Indian revenue and expenditure since the restoration to have been as follows :—

| | Receipts. | Expenditure. |
|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1817. | 18,278,105 florins. | 17,399,426 florins. |
| 1818. | 23,452,482 „ | 19,804,216 „ |
| 1819. | 22,240,374 „ | 21,071,513 „ |
| 1820. | 23,765,979 „ | 25,070,542 „ |
| 1821. | 21,071,225 „ | 23,836,810 „ |
| 1822. | 22,518,812 „ | 22,654,976 „ |
| 1823. | 21,889,883 „ | 22,115,133 „ |
| 1824. } estimate. | 27,334,332 „ | 26,236,139 „ |

The revenue of Java during the last year of Sir S. Raffles's administration only amounted to 7,500,000 rupees, or about 9,400,000 florins, while the expenditure was about 11,200,000 florins ; but in this estimate no account is taken of the Spice Islands, and the government carried on no trade ; whereas the Dutch estimates are principally swelled by the supposed value of the productions shipped on government account on the one side, and by the cost of cultivation and European wares and the specie sent from Holland on the other.

The apparent increase here noticeable in the revenue is to be attributed also in part to another deviation from the system introduced by the British. The Dutch were not satisfied with the amount of cultivation voluntarily undertaken by the Javans, and for which alone the latter were bound to pay rent. Measuring the resources of the island solely by the fertility of the soil and the extent of cultivable land, they gradually returned to the plan of obliging each village to plant and crop a certain number of coffee-trees. Two hundred was the number required annually to be planted, for which the ground had first to be cleared. The above statement of the revenue shows, that although by this regulation they nominally increased the income of the island, yet that at first the expense of enforcing it more than consumed all the profit. The estimate of 1824, which was made for the purpose of obtaining the consent of the Chambers to a loan, turned out to be very incorrect, and the receipts were again below the expenditure.

The above financial statement is however far from giving a correct picture of the true state of things in these colonies. In 1824 the colonial administration found itself obliged to negotiate a loan in Calcutta, and had agreed with the house of Palmer and Company for the sum of fifteen millions of

rupees at 9 per cent., besides commission, and payable in fixed rates within twenty years. As security for this advance, His Majesty was to pledge all the revenues and produce of his Eastern colonies, the territory of which was likewise made responsible for the due fulfilment of the contract. The interest and instalments were to be paid by consignments of produce to Calcutta, where as much as suited the market was to be disposed of, and the remainder reshipped to China, or other countries, to be sold. On each of these transactions, of course, a merchant's commission was chargeable, and thus we have a contract which shows us the terms on which a Bengal (or English) house thinks it worth while to do business in Java. If the gains of the Dutch in these colonies do not yield a proportionate return, we can have little to envy in their success.

The terms of this contract excited universal displeasure on their being known in Holland, where profits of so enormous a nature upon such large transactions are of course rare. The Dutch government saw the necessity of taking some decisive step with respect to possessions which appeared tenable only on such disadvantageous terms. A man of great firmness of character and of irreproachable integrity, M. Dubus de Ghisignies, the first Belgian who had been employed in so confidential a station, was sent out with the powers of Governor, but the title of Commissary General, to investigate and report upon the state of the islands. During this nobleman's residence there, the war with Yugyakerta and the insurrection of Diepo Negoro took place, which very much increased the difficulties of his administration; and the result was, as before remarked, that a deficiency of 42 millions of florins was found in the colonial account on closing the books to 1830. Notwithstanding these discouraging occurrences, the report of M. Dubus de Ghisignies was of a cheering nature. He pointed out the necessity of correcting the endless abuses in the official classes, which drained the native cultivators without enriching the government; and concluded by giving as his opinion, that order and energy were alone wanting to make the colonies productive. In the meantime, two men of active minds and no small resolution had formed a plan for reforming the whole system of agriculture in Java :

these were M. Van den Bosch and M. Kruseman, whose experience had been gained in the office of inspector of the crown lands in Java.

The financial difficulties had been diminished by a spirited undertaking, at the head of which the king placed himself. This was the foundation of the "Maatschappij," or Company of Commerce, as it was termed, probably to avoid the disagreeable recollections attaching to the title of "East India Company." A large capital was subscribed in shares, of which the king took a great number, and further guaranteed out of his private property the payment of interest for several years—a part of the contract which he was afterwards called upon to perform. The "Maatschappij" was formed in 1825, and commenced operations by lending eight millions of florins to the colonial government, receiving the consignment of the produce sent to Europe, and exporting European wares to supply the Indian market. The ambiguous position which this Company has always occupied arises from the interest taken in it by the king, who, as we have seen, was the principal shareholder, and who retained under the old constitution the despotic management of the colonies. A loan of twenty millions was also voted by the States-General in 1826, to which seven millions were added a few years after. The commencement of the operations of the "Maatschappij" was by no means brilliant, and up to 1830 the losses of the Company were considerable; being perhaps in some degree occasioned by the double attempt to favour the exportation of Belgian manufactures, and so to compete with the free traders in the island that they should soon abandon their rivalry. The differential duties complained of by our merchants were, however, not imposed with particular reference to the dealings of the "Maatschappij;" the first order, by which a duty of 25 per cent. was laid on goods manufactured to the westward of the Cape of Good Hope, having appeared in 1823, under the governorship of M. van der Capellen. As no alteration was made after the publication of the treaty, the Dutch have been equally consistent with ourselves in interpreting the clauses thereof as if applying to the shipping and not to the introduction of goods for consumption; as it is clear they had as good a right to charge us 25 per cent. on cottons and

woollens, as we had to lay a duty of 63 shillings per cwt. (being a differential duty of 100 per cent.) upon the sugar of Java. In the subsequent prohibition of sugar into Bengal, the treaty of 1824 was clearly deliberately set at nought.

The year 1830 brought with the appointment of General van den Bosch as Governor a new phase both in the internal condition of the colonies and in their relations to Europe. The system of prescribed cultivation and forced delivery was openly resumed, and perhaps somewhat suddenly, and consequently harshly enforced. This harshness does not appear to have lain in the plan laid down by M. van den Bosch, who however has incurred the responsibility by not protesting in time against the deviations from his system. We give his own description of the system, as published in the official instructions to the civil officers. The reader will remember that the spirit of the islanders having been completely broken by the quelling of the insurrection of Diepo Negoro, and the subjection of the last independent principality, Jugyakerta, the Dutch had, in 1830, acquired the power of enforcing implicit obedience to the minutest orders.

(Extract from the 'Stelsel de Cultures.')

"The princes may be said in so far to be the proprietors of the soil, that they had a right to a certain proportion of the produce of all cultivated lands, or, in lieu of this, to personal services; whereas the cultivator had a right to free himself from these claims by giving up his share of the ground to the village community, which received it with all its profits and responsibilities. The dues and services had been fixed by usage at one-fifth of the crop, or in labour equivalent to sixty-six days' work in the year. This custom was departed from by the English government*. The services were abolished, and the dues from cultivated land were raised to one-fifth, two-fifths, and one-half, according to the fertility of the soil.

* * * * *

"For these reasons the principle was adopted, that a *desa* (or village), which set apart one-fifth of its rice-fields for the growth of produce adapted to the European market, and which should not require more labour than rice, should be freed from the payment of rent.

"That the *desa* should besides enjoy all the advantage of difference of price, which upon valuation should appear to exceed the rent due.

"That failures of the harvest should be placed to the account of government, wherever the failure of the crop was not to be ascribed to want of care and zeal on the part of the Javans.

* How the good old usage was observed by the Dutch under the old system we have seen above.

"It requires no demonstration, that this principle was altogether favourable to the Javan, and that under it he derived more profit from his land, while, if he were inclined to work less, he might do so, as shall presently appear.

"It was not enough to cause such produce to be raised as suited the markets of Europe; the productions had afterwards to undergo a manufacturing process before the object could be attained. To this end capital, intelligence and other requisites were indispensable, which in many cases could not be expected from the Javans, and which had to be sought amongst Europeans or Chinese. In some cases, as for instance in the cultivation of sugar, in order to secure its production it was necessary to charge one portion of the inhabitants with the cultivation until it became ripe, another with the task of cropping, a third with the carriage to the factory, and a fourth with the work in the mills: in the last case this plan was adopted where a sufficient number of day-labourers could not be hired.

"As the Javan does not like work under Europeans as overseers, and prefers to be directed by his chief, his disposition was in this respect likewise consulted, and the interference of the European officials as much as possible confined to their watching over the season and manner of cultivating the fields, and to the harvesting and delivery of the crop.

"The principles thus laid down were in practice often modified according to local circumstances; for instance, in some residencies, the wish of the Javans to cultivate their productions on their own account, as they imagined they should derive more advantage from the new system of crops, although in such cases they were charged with the usual rent paid by rice-fields. Plantations of this description were made chiefly in the eastern districts, in which sugar-planting had already been extensive, and where the new system consequently spread rapidly. Care had likewise to be bestowed on some places where indolent or discontented officers agreed to free the planter from rent on his delivering the produce he should thus grow; but as from want of skill, or other causes independent of him, the crop proved a failure, he found himself duped, and was prejudiced against the system. In some cases, where neither the chiefs nor the people understood the method of cultivation recommended, a number of labourers had to be collected to perform the necessary work.

"But rice-fields were not exclusively used for the desired system of cultivation; where these were not abundant, the Javan was allowed to plant highlands that he might undertake the task the more willingly. In these cases it was necessary to provide against future inconveniences, as these lands are difficult to manure, and the exchange to a better soil, as well as the carriage to the factories, is both laborious and expensive.

* * * * *

"In those parts where the system of cultivation is already improved, it is advisable to introduce no alteration, at least as long as the natives do not desire it: the Javan is no friend to changes.

"In districts in which want of skill in the native forms an impediment to the spread of the new system, it must be introduced upon the following footing.

"A portion of the fields of a *desa*, if possible of the rice-fields, equal to one-fifth of the cultivated land being set apart, the inhabitants must be brought to cultivate it in the following manner. For every '*bouw*' of land a man must be appointed to labour by the week or by the month, at the option of the *desa*, and to be relieved by others in such a manner that four men being appointed to each '*bouw*,' only one of them is employed at a time. Where there are not rice-fields in sufficient abundance, so that the natives are unwilling to part with them, the highlands may be resorted to, which must as soon as possible be irrigated.

"The labour must be carried on under the direction of a Chinese *Mandor*, or of the *Javan* chiefs, and the portion of the population called upon to labour must not be subject to any other demands for work than what is required to bring the crops to maturity. The harvest and manufacture must be managed upon similar principles; and before the crop is gathered in, a fixed number of persons must be designated in the same manner, so that one-fourth of the whole number shall be constantly at work at one time.

"The transporting of the produce is subject to a like arrangement. The beasts of burden, and the cars that are required, must, as far as possible, be supplied by the manufacturer, and the natives must be called upon to work with them in lieu of payment of rent, like the other labourers.

"In the factories hired labourers must, as far as possible, be employed; but where these cannot be obtained, workmen can be ordered to them, who are to be in the same manner freed from rent, and to receive daily rations of rice and salt, as this kind of work requires more skill and diligence than the others."

The calculation of the cost of sugar to the government under this system, will not be uninteresting to such of our readers as have turned their attention to tropical agriculture.

"The average production of a '*bouw*'* of land ($1\frac{1}{2}$ English acre), planted with sugar, can be taken at 15 pikols (nearly 18 cwt. *avoirdupois*). A sugar establishment, calculated to produce 6000 pikols of sugar, requires 400 *bouws* of land, the cultivation of which employs 400 men daily; so that it can be reckoned to free 1600 householders, who probably together hold 2000 *bouws* of land, from rent. The rent is calculated at $7\frac{1}{4}$ florins per *bouw*, and 2000 *bouws* pay about 15,000 florins rent. The householders own, on an average, more than one *bouw* each.

"One man cuts, on an average, 500 to 550 cane-stocks in the day, and 2000 to 2200 stocks are required to yield a pikol of sugar (133 lbs.); so that the labour of four men as cutters is requisite for every pikol of sugar which the establishment daily produces.

"As the period for manufacturing lasts about ten months, the daily produce must be 20 pikols of sugar: 80 cutters will therefore be required daily, and to furnish them 320 householders are freed from rent.

"The carriage to the mills demands daily 140 car-loads, each loaded with 300 stocks. More frequently, however, the cars can make three or four

* The *bouw* has 500 roods, equal to 12 feet 4 inches each. The acre has 293 square roods.

trips in the day, for which 70 cars are wanting. If one man be reckoned to every car, 280 householders are thus freed from rent.

"Wood for firing, the quantity of which used is much less since the furnaces are better constructed, may be calculated at one *vadem* per day for 20 pikols of sugar. To cut this quantity five men will be required, and if as many be reckoned for the carriage, then 40 householders will be freed.

"With the delivery of the canes to the mills the manufacturing process properly begins; for which, when labourers must be furnished, 50 men will be required, being equivalent to 200 householders.

"Thus an establishment of 6000 pikols requires,

| | Householders. |
|--|---------------|
| For planting and cultivating the cane..... | 1600 |
| Cutting | 320 |
| Carriage, etc..... | 280 |
| Wood for firing..... | 40 |
| Workmen for the mill .. | 200 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 2440 |

"A sugar-mill in the vicinity of Batavia, which employs 200 men, makes 2500 pikols of sugar; whereas the 610 men, which according to the above given calculation are at daily work, only produce 6000 pikols. The labour thus required is consequently not so severe as that which is performed in the neighbourhood of Batavia.

"2440 householders have to pay, at $7\frac{1}{2}$ florins each, 18,500 florins rent; or, in order to free themselves from the burden, to work for 300 days before and during the manufacture; or rather, since the mill requires to be repaired from time to time, for not more than 250 to 260 days; so that the price paid for their labour, if 65 days be reckoned to each, amounts to 12 cents daily, which is about the price of labour at Java (about $2\frac{1}{2}d.$)*.

* If we compare this statement with the following, given in the papers on the labouring population in the West Indies, we find the following number of hands employed at Jamaica to manufacture three hogsheads of sugar daily.—*Part I. c. 2, p. 19.*

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|-----|----|----|
| 20 cutters, at 2s. 6d. | 2 | 10 | 0 |
| 10 tyers, at 2s. 6d. | 1 | 5 | 0 |
| 10 wainmen, at 3s. 1½d. | 1 | 11 | 3 |
| 7 at the mill, at 3s. 9d. | 1 | 6 | 3 |
| 12 greentrash carriers, at 3s. 9d. | 2 | 5 | 0 |
| 9 boiler men, at 4s. 2d. | 1 | 17 | 6 |
| 4 stoker men, at 1s. 10½d. | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| 6 dry trash carriers, at 2s. 6d. | 0 | 15 | 0 |
| 2 gutter cleaners, at 1s. 3d. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| 80 hands. | £12 | 0 | 0 |

To produce 20 pikols (23 cwt.) daily, 180 men are required; consequently for 3 hogsheads, averaging 45 to 46 cwt., 260 men would be necessary, or three times the number employed at Jamaica. Even thus the proportionate value of labour in money is not raised in the East above threefold, or to $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ per diem. It must not be forgotten by those who may be surprised at the result of these comparative statements, that rice, timber, fish and meat, the chief necessities for the maintenance of life, and the materials of industry, may be purchased by the Javan at a price not much exceeding the *reduced* duty imposed by the act of last session upon the introduction of those articles into our West India islands.

* * * * *

"The cane required to produce a pikol of sugar is delivered at the mill for 3 florins 60 cents, so that (besides 50 cents for cost of cattle and cars) something remains to cover the costs of administration, failures of the crop, etc. Whatever the natives deliver at the mill, without the intervention of government, is requited likewise with 3 florins 60 cents per pikol.

"An order has further been issued to the effect that, if the land so cultivated by government should produce more than 15 pikols to the bouw, one-third of the surplus is to go to the cultivator, one-third to the Chinese Mandor, and one-third to the government, as a compensation for the loss experienced on less fertile soils.

"The further working of the cane into sugar is undertaken on contract by the manufacturer. The expenses in a well-managed establishment are 3 florins 40 cents per pikol; so that the sugar costs the manufacturer 7 florins per pikol*.

"The funds requisite to erect a sugar-factory, and which average 50,000 to 60,000 florins, owing to the dearness of building, are advanced upon good security, without rent being exacted, on condition of the millers delivering all the sugar thus received on government account at 10 florins, after paying the 3 florins 60 cents to the grower, and for the wood which he receives. Whatever sugar he makes beyond this quantity he disposes of as his own property. The advance he is required to repay in instalments in the course of one, two or three years.

* * * * *

"In order that the European and native civil officers may encourage to the utmost the production of articles suited to the market of Europe, a resolution, dated 5th Dec. 1832, allows them 50 cents per pikol, to be allotted as follows:—

| | cents. |
|---|--------|
| To the resident, for every pikol of sugar produced within his residency | 10 |
| To the regent, for the sugar grown in his regency | 10 |
| To the assistant resident | 10 |
| To the controllers..... | 5 |
| To the chiefs of division and other native officers..... | 15 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 50 |

"Some modifications of these allowances occur in particular districts, according to circumstances: the above is, however, the average allowance made."

From this statement, which it will be observed does not include the rent of the 400 bouws on which the canes are grown, but merely the cost of growing and manufacturing, we may at least learn what the sugar grown at Java costs to the government.

* About 10s. per cwt.

| | |
|---|---------------|
| Cost of cultivation and delivery..... | 3·55 florins. |
| Rent on 6000 pikols at 3000 florins for 400 bouws | 0·30 „ |
| Allowances to resident, &c. | 0·50 „ |

4·35 per pikol.

So that the government, in the first instance, appears to lose 75 cents per pikol by the contract with the miller. This loss is, however, most probably confined to the best situated districts; for the rent of 7 florins 50 cents for the bouw of land, or about 9*s.* 6*d.* per acre, as an average return for the whole island, must be a high estimate.

Ten florins per pikol, which, as we have seen, leaves an immense profit to the miller, is equal to 14*s.* per cwt., to which must be added the cost of transport to the coast, of agency, interest of money, etc., which at this rate would bring it to about the value of sugar at any port of Bengal. The government was, however, so convinced that this would be a profitable speculation, that the following governor, M. Baud, was empowered to contract with the miller for the sugar which he manufactured above the government quota, and at the advanced price of 12 florins per pikol, or 16*s.* 6*d.* per cwt. The chief inducement to this latter step was to monopolize the whole trade in sugar for the Maatschappij, to the exclusion of all other merchants, and to swell the amount upon which that body had a right to charge commission. The extent to which the king was interested in the company will explain why the government was so desirous to forward its interests, as to make them appear identified with those of the government itself.

The calculation upon which the cultivation of indigo is based is the following:—

“With one set of tubs, 12,500 lbs. weight of leaves, or 10 loads each of 10 pikols, which yield 15 to 20 lbs. of indigo, can be daily prepared; giving, in the course of the year, 4000 lbs. of indigo, as the work cannot be carried on with equal vigour all the year round.

“100 bouws, of 500 square roods each, cultivated with indigo plants, are required for one set of tubs.

“In order to obtain these, 400 householders must be freed from rent, and the other operations performed by natives in the factories demand 200 householders besides; so that the rent of 600 bouws of Sawa land is sacrificed.

“The production of the plant, transport to the factory, and the remaining

labour of the Javans, cost thus 4500 florins, or nearly 1 florin 12 cents per lb. The salaries of the European workmen, and other requisites, amount to an outlay of 50 cents; so that one pound of indigo in this manner costs 1 florin 62 cents (about 2s. 8d. per lb. English).

"The European and native officers receive 20 to 25 cents for every pound of indigo delivered; so that, as in the case of sugar, they are all interested in its production. Indigo is besides specially grown by private farmers, chiefly on account of the government.

"In this branch of cultivation the choice of the ground is of the greatest importance, and experience shows that the production of the "tarum kambang" is more advantageous than growing indigo from the seed.

"There is another manner of planting, which is after the rice harvest; and this is most usual in the residency of Pekalongang, where indigo planting was early introduced. In this case the planter enjoys the freedom from rent on undertaking to deliver five-eighths of his produce, or on that proportion of his land being appropriated to indigo as a second crop.

* * * * *

"A better result has, however, been obtained in Cheribon, from the experiment to obtain indigo manufactured by the natives themselves, which they deliver in payment of rent, at 1 florin 50 cents per lb., to which 60 cents for packing and allowance to officers must be added. There are already 150 of these small factories established."

In this case, as we before observed respecting the calculation of the cost of producing sugar, no account is taken of the rent of the land; which being added, gives 1 florin 80 cents, or nearly 3s. per English pound, as the price which indigo delivered in this manner costs the government at the factory.

All that we have hitherto stated shows that the system proposed by M. van den Bosch kept the interest of the planter, no less than that of the government (and they are inseparable), in view. The principal alteration he would have effected was the imposition upon the native of an obligation to work in a given direction, without much regard to his indolent habits and prejudices, but in the explanation here given it is evident that he was benefited by the innovation. The misfortune attending the attempt lay in the fact, that this system *never was fully acted upon*. The delivery of sugar, coffee and indigo was indeed enforced instead of that of rice, but the rate taken from the native was not reduced to one-fifth instead of two-fifths or one-half, but in his account with the crown he was charged the full rent that he had hitherto paid. In excuse for this breach of faith, the financial distress of the kingdom is alleged.

With the small indigo manufacturers also an unfair game was played. The cupidity of the government was no doubt excited by the large profits made by the sugar factories, and, the price of indigo having risen on the continent, means that will not well bear investigation are said to have been resorted to, when the owners of factories refused to sell them to the agents employed to buy them up. For some years back the manufacture and exportation of indigo has been a crown monopoly, against which, but especially against the manner of effecting the change, complaints have been openly preferred in the public prints in Holland.

Yet, with all this appearance of oppression, the island has incontestably flourished. A rapid increase of production has taken place, which proves, together with the peaceable condition of the interior, that the system of cultivation is to a certain degree working well. The Dutch have attained their end of augmenting their commercial navy, and a few years of economical administration at home will suffice to place their affairs once more upon a sound financial footing.

The solution of the riddle is not difficult.

If the Dutch government forced a particular kind of industry upon the Javans, it rendered them at the same time the greatest service, by guaranteeing the contracts at which the produce delivered was rated. The very nature of the system made it imperative to have intelligent and industrious factors everywhere, and numerous stations at which the produce could be delivered, perhaps at a low, but at all events at a fixed price. If any one was a loser by this state of things it was the government, as the king was the only person who had to calculate rent in his estimate of the value of the produce. A country of which no more than one-eighth is cultivated can scarcely be said to know what rent is, and the price of labour alone fixes the value of a commodity. If the government really was able to raise 7 florins 50 cents per bouw from the average cultivated land, it would clearly have been a gainer by continuing to do so, and giving the Javans every possible facility to buy cheap and sell dear, and so to augment the quantity of cultivated land paying such rent. But governments, as we all know, are not in the habit of taking so much trouble; and the advantages, such as they

are, which the Javans have reaped, would not have been gained if the crown had not held the immense profits in view which a monopoly as usual promised, and as usual failed to realize.

Let any Englishman, however patriotic, lay his hand upon his heart, and say whether he believes that, under British rule, such advantages would have been held out to the Javans. If any entertain a doubt, let them look at the manner in which British India has been treated. Has it been allowed to buy cheap and to sell dear? And at what price have the sums been levied which we have drawn from these splendid possessions?

If Java has only become a profitable possession in consequence of the pains which the Dutch government has taken to encourage industry and to induce European capital to embark in its cultivation, how absurd must our jealousy of our neighbours be, seeing that, under English rule, such a consummation was out of the question!

But let us inquire into the nature of the trade which is said to be so profitable to Holland.

From the official documents before mentioned, we learn that, in 1827, as compared with the last two years, the exports to and imports from Java were as follows:—

| Imports into Java. | | | |
|------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|
| PLACES IMPORTED FROM. | 1827. | 1838. | 1839. |
| | Florins. | Florins. | Florins. |
| Europe and America | 6,447,594 | 15,144,514 | 16,172,865 |
| Western India and Bengal... | 2,474,818 | 934,644 | 647,877 |
| China, Manilla and Siam..... | 99,029 | 1,701,719 | 1,607,614 |
| Japan..... | 664,733 | 564,270 | 680,800 |
| Eastern Archipelago | 2,473,312 | 4,860,065 | 4,880,624 |
| Total in goods..... | 13,143,988 | 23,305,212 | 23,980,780 |
| Specie | 4,512,213 | 976,665 | 971,332 |
| Total..... | 17,656,201 | 24,181,877 | 24,961,012 |

Of the importations from Europe, there came from

| | 1827. | 1838. | 1839. |
|----------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| | Florins. | Florins. | Florins. |
| The Netherlands..... | 3,263,677 | 9,469,840 | 10,875,106 |
| England | 2,094,825 | 4,509,345 | 3,878,880 |

The shipping employed stood thus :—

| | 1827. | | 1838. | | 1839. | |
|----------------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| | Ships. | Tons. | Ships. | Tons. | Ships. | Tons. |
| (European) Dutch vessels . | 64 | 11,312 | 173 | 43,110 | 178 | 46,174 |
| British vessels. | 56 | 9,349 | 88 | 17,059 | 106 | 20,081 |

The exports were as follows :—

| | 1827. | 1838. | 1839. |
|--------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | Florins. | Florins. | Florins. |
| To the Netherlands | 8,362,966 | 29,279,559 | 49,092,471 |
| England..... | 77,897 | 1,400,018 | 1,938,506 |
| France..... | | 1,100,272 | 832,737 |
| Hamburg..... | 59,803 | 275,211 | 226,894 |
| Bremen..... | | 32,397 | 23,380 |
| Sweden..... | 37,247 | 45,631 | 311,723 |
| America..... | 34,377 | 829,293 | 957,523 |
| Cape of Good Hope..... | 4,767 | 87,054 | 79,543 |
| Isle of France..... | 33,039 | 114,853 | 45,276 |
| Bengal and Western India..... | 383,864 | 22,131 | 7,510 |
| Spain..... | | | 6,050 |
| Denmark..... | 80,337 | | 16,085 |
| China..... | 1,267,045 | 1,536,232 | 2,093,889 |
| Japan..... | 401,629 | 217,301 | 224,745 |
| New Holland..... | 47,441 | 234,245 | 725,104 |
| Eastern Archipelago..... | 3,967,425 | 6,846,533 | 9,033,716 |
| Manilla, Siam, Cochin China... | 45,848 | 53,204 | 103,688 |
| Total..... | 14,868,227 | 42,073,934 | 56,718,833 |

The trade between Java and the British colonies was as follows :—

| | IMPORTS OF GOODS TO JAVA. | | | EXPORTS OF GOODS FROM JAVA. | | |
|--|---------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| | 1827. | 1838. | 1839. | 1827. | 1838. | 1839. |
| | Florins. | Florins. | Florins. | Florins. | Florins. | Florins. |
| Cape of Good Hope | 9,116 | 29,807 | 38,874 | 4,767 | 87,054 | 79,543 |
| Isle of France..... | 103,112 | 4,632 | 10,710 | 33,039 | 114,853 | 45,276 |
| Bengal and Ceylon | 1,130,657 | 401,311 | 435,521 | 383,864 | 22,131 | 7,510 |
| New Holland | 6,108 | 28,100 | 37,707 | 47,441 | 234,245 | 725,104 |
| Singapore, Malacca, and Prince of Wales's Island.... | 1,818,415 | 1,098,085 | 1,186,387 | 1,121,871 | 1,021,664 | 1,611,639 |
| | 3,067,508 | 1,561,935 | 1,309,199 | 1,587,009 | 1,479,947 | 2,469,072 |
| Great Britain..... | 2,094,825 | 4,509,345 | 3,878,880 | 77,879 | 1,400,018 | 1,938,506 |

The diminution here observable in the imports from Bengal and Singapore is of course occasioned by the high differential duties imposed upon European wares imported from harbours lying to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, and which, it would seem, have had the effect of increasing

the direct trade with Great Britain. The increase in the exports to Singapore, Malacca, and Prince of Wales's Island, shows the increasing prosperity of these colonies ; for we do not belong to that school which supposes it possible to receive without giving something, either directly or indirectly, in exchange.

We regard in the same manner the sums drawn as tribute from Java by the Dutch, or from any colony by the mother country. They are, and only can be, the merited return for the enterprise and intelligence which Europeans introduce into these countries ; and such elements of national prosperity are entitled to their fair reward. If the measure be overstepped, and exchange be converted into robbery, we have now sufficient experience to know that the source whence these returns proceed will dry up, and the avaricious spoiler in his turn become the spoiled. There is nothing so demoralizing as oppression, and no so vital enemy to order and to industry as a demoralized social state. From the circumstance of the amazing increase in the productiveness of the island, and the steady augmentation of the importations from Europe, we infer that, hitherto, the due measure which ought to exist between exertion and its recompence has not been exceeded between the Dutch and their East India colonies. It will not be attributed to national jealousy if we add, that this is perhaps as much to be ascribed to accident as to calculation ; for the history of our own colonies sufficiently shows how blind a vice avarice has ever been, how incapable her votaries are of looking beyond the prey which they see within their power. It is likewise not impossible that the advantages which these possessions have of late derived from the new system may have reached their zenith ; and symptoms are not wanting to show that such is the case. The tables annexed to these pages show the increase in the produce shipped from Java in the last two years to have been the following :—

| | EXPORTED IN 1838. | EXPORTED IN 1839. |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Coffee | 589,599 pikols. | 757,476 pikols. |
| Sugar | 734,979 " | 842,017 " |
| Indigo..... | 743,186 lbs. | 1,191,636 lbs. |
| Rice | 949,456 pikols. | 1,103,378 pikols. |
| Tin from Banca... | 41,573 " | 47,631 " |

We say that symptoms are not wanting of the system's having produced its utmost good to the colony; for the quantity of sugar produced has of late increased, but a great portion of it is of very inferior quality. This deterioration of quality will naturally rather increase than diminish, in proportion as the miller finds the contracts made with the government insecure, and thinks himself obliged to make the best use of the time left him to get rich. If the government, or the company which it protects, will remain the sole dealer, it must above all be prepared to keep exact faith, in order to indemnify the producer for the loss of the general market, which, under a more liberal trading system, he would enjoy. Now, under the present state of things, the government loses by the contracts for sugar made at even 10 florins, and, it would seem, is desirous of breaking those made by M. Baud at 12 florins. As the ultimate and greatest sufferer by such a proceeding would of course be the native planter, to whom a less price would immediately be paid if the mill was to be carried on as before, he would be discouraged from growing canes, and, if forced, would grow rebellious. The coffee-plantations offer likewise ground for apprehension. The present large amount of production derives from the circumstance of the greater part of the trees planted since 1818 being now in full bearing. These will, however, in the course of a few years, begin to die off, and the renewing of the gardens will be a laborious and expensive undertaking, to which encouragement would be more likely to induce the natives to proceed than force. The price of indigo is now a remunerating one on the continent, but the efforts made to increase the production must ultimately cause it to decline; and, in short, if the exertions now making in Western India, in Brazil, in Cuba and Porto Rico, to say nothing of the other West India islands, be taken into account, either lower prices must be looked forward to, or the market for this produce must be greatly increased.

Another still more disquieting symptom is the plan recently resorted to by the Dutch government, of tampering with the currency of the island. By sending out copper coin of reduced value, in which sums that were originally contracted for in silver florins are paid, a profit is now annually made

which the minister of the finances is not ashamed to introduce as an item into the budget laid before the Estates General. In 1838 a bank was established at Java, with power to issue notes on the responsibility of government, which endowed it with a capital of two millions of florins. The scarcity of ready money, arising from the necessity of paying for most of the articles imported into Java in specie, since the produce of the island is monopolized for Europe, has obliged this bank to stop payment. The state of the currency is thus curiously related by the writer who has answered the 'Jets,' etc.

"The suspension of payments is the result of the measure adopted by government of not selling the produce of the island on the spot, but of sending it to the Netherlands. The produce is bought with the surplus of the Indian revenue, in *copper money*, which is of scarcely a third of the nominal value, and with the sums flowing into the Indian treasury, as the result of the exportation of a larger amount of value than this surplus, such as the salaries of the civil and military officers, the value of wares, of the silver and copper specie sent from the Netherlands, and the payments made by the factory of the Maatschappij to the Indian treasury in advance, all of which are made in copper money or in bank-notes.

"While, therefore, the private Dutch, or foreign merchant can obtain no return for his cargo, the Javan population consumes a certain quantity of silver in ornaments; and the Indian government, besides sending a large portion of the two millions of gold and silver coin annually imported to Banca for tin, and to the Molucca isles, has to pay the allowances to the native princes in ready money. It will, therefore, be easily comprehended that the bank of Java cannot long retain any stock of specie.

"The wares which private traders bring are paid for in bank-notes. For these notes no productions are to be had; they must, therefore, be converted into silver, and then clandestinely exported; for an export duty of 4 per cent. is imposed in the Indian colonies upon the exportation of specie. Thus the bank is obliged to give up its silver, without any prospect of its being returned. The value of the bank-notes is upheld by their being received as ready money by all the government collectors. This state of things causes the Dutch merchants and manufacturers to have enormous sums of money in copper coin and bank-notes lying at Java, for which they can obtain no returns. Loud complaints were made upon this subject under the government of Count van den Bosch, and the most powerful opposition was raised. Occasionally some produce was given to one merchant or another against money paid to the Indian treasury; but the principle has not been altered, and a merchant of Amsterdam and proprietor of vessels in the East Indian trade has even declared in writing, that if some alteration is not made he must give up the business."

Surely this is drawing the bow too tight, and the result

must be injurious to the revenue if this course be followed long.

Under these circumstances, and with the disposition which we firmly believe prevails in Holland just now, to improve the footing upon which the commercial relations of that country with other lands are based, we cannot help looking upon the present moment as one particularly fitted for taking up the treaty of 1824; not with a view to forcing the Dutch to grant us new concessions, but in order to give effect to the wise provisions which it contains for freedom of trade in the East. We would earnestly beg those influential men, in whose hands the prosperity of millions is placed, to consider the vast responsibility which they incur, if favourable conjunctures for acquiring a sound state of commercial speculation be let slip; and it requires but little consideration to see the high importance of the present opportunity.

From what has been done we may best conclude what yet remains to do. We have endeavoured to show the real advantages afforded to the colonist by the present system of cultivation, and that the profit of the government stands in direct proportion to the profits which it secures to the natives. Let us now consider the European side of the question, and see whether here the monopoly of the trade confers any advantage beyond the fair remuneration for the employment of capital and intelligence in the colonial trade.

France, Germany, and the Baltic states offer the market for the sale of Dutch colonial produce; as to these countries, with the exception of indigo, no British plantation-produce can wander, the supply not sufficing to meet our own demand. In these markets, however, Holland meets powerful rivals. The Brazils, Cuba, and the French West India islands are the most formidable, and the produce of all is introduced through Hamburg and Bremen even more cheaply than through Holland. From this competition the people of the Continent have derived the greatest advantage, as will be evident from a comparison between the prices paid in Holland and in London for sugar for some years past.

London Prices for Sugar.

| | | | | | | |
|-------|--------|--------------|----------|-----------|--------------|----------|
| 1838. | Bengal | 50s. to 70s. | per cwt. | Mauritius | 48s. to 66s. | per cwt. |
| 1839. | " | 50s. to 69s. | " | " | 50s. to 67s. | " |
| 1840. | " | 60s. to 86s. | " | " | 56s. to 84s. | " |

Average Auction Price of Sugar in Rotterdam.

| | | | | | | |
|-------|------|--------------------------------|----------|---|----------|----------|
| 1838. | Java | 33 <i>fl.</i> to 37 <i>fl.</i> | equal to | 27 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> and 31 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> | per cwt. | English. |
| 1839. | " | 30 <i>fl.</i> to 36 <i>fl.</i> | " | 25 <i>s.</i> and 30 <i>s.</i> | " | " |
| 1840. | " | 30 <i>fl.</i> to | " | 25 <i>s.</i> | " | " |

These prices and the following are quoted from the second pamphlet of M. Elten, who gives the prices of all kinds of produce at the auctions of the Maatschappij for a great many years. It must be observed that a large proportion of the Java sugar is of inferior quality. At this moment, white Havanna sugar, which, if grown in British plantations, would be worth 80*s.* per cwt. in London, is selling at Rotterdam at 47 florins per 100 kilogrammes, or about 40*s.* per English cwt. A system of laws which would give a monopoly of supply to any colonies in the manner in which our West India islands have been protected, would have doubled the price of the sugar which the countries supplied through these ports have consumed, and would have proved a most oppressive tax. Under these circumstances alone, as we have described them, was it possible for the importation of sugar into the ports of the German Ocean to increase between the years 1832 and 1838 from 118,000 tons to 184,000 tons, as has been the case. The present prices, however, leave the Dutch government no profit. The loss on the annual sugar importation has been reckoned at three millions of florins; but this is chiefly to be ascribed to the bad quality of the sugar delivered by the millers, and would be covered by an advance on the average of their sales of 2*s.* 6*d.* per cwt. This loss is solely to be ascribed to the want of sufficient control over the millers, and to the nature of the contract entered into with the Maatschappij, to whom a commission is paid upon all the produce sent to Europe, whatever the quality may be, and whose agents consequently think of nothing else but of swelling the amount on which that charge can be made. In short, as far as sugar is concerned, it is evident that, if the circumstances under which alone the present monopoly in Java is practicable did not exist, the government would not be a loser by the deterioration in the quality of this article. On the other hand, as the continental market has been open to our merchants through Hamburg and Bremen, and we find no shipments of East or West India British sugar to those

ports, we are justified in saying that the Dutch government deserves the credit of having cultivated a market which we have despised.

Let us see how matters stand with other articles of monopoly.

London Prices of Coffee.

| | | | |
|-------|------------|---------------|----------|
| 1838. | East India | 75s. to 100s. | Jamaica. |
| 1839. | " | 72s. to 115s. | " |
| 1840. | " | 60s. to 93s. | " |

Auction Prices of Coffee in Holland.

| | | |
|-------|------------------|---|
| 1838. | Java and Sumatra | 27 fl. to 41 fl. equal to 45s. to 68s. 4d. per cwt. |
| 1839. | " " | 32 fl. to 44 fl. " 53s. to 73s. " |
| 1840. | " " | 27 fl. to 41 fl. " 45s. to 68s. 4d. " |

Here again we find the foreign consumer most advantageously situated, and so much so that we are astonished to learn that it is possible for the Dutch government to make the great profits which they declare they do in so low a market. We find that the colonial minister, in his report, states the coffee received on government account, being 797,007 pikols, cost 10,484,206 florins, or about 13½ florins per pikol; so that the government profit, at the low prices above quoted, was about seven millions of florins. As the free planter has the same advantages for producing coffee as he has for the growth of sugar, it would appear that a well managed free trade ought to leave even more advantage to those concerned in it. With these prices, the importation of coffee from all parts into the harbours of the German Ocean, from Antwerp to Hamburg inclusive, increased between 1832 and 1838 from 118,000 to 200,000 tons.

The article which produces the greatest profit is indigo. We have seen that, on the liberal calculation of M. van den Bosch, indigo costs the government in Java about 1 florin 62 cents, or 2s. 8d. per lb. avoirdupois. The sales of 1840 averaged 3 florins 16½ cents, after clearing all expenses, and considerably exceeded the estimate which had been made by the colonial minister. The comparative prices have been for the last three years as follows:—

| London Prices of Indigo. | | | Average Auction Prices of Indigo in Holland. | | |
|--------------------------|--------|------------------------|--|------------------------------|----------|
| 1838. | Bengal | 5s. to 8s. 0d. per lb. | Java | 355½ cents equal to 5s. 4½d. | |
| 1839. | " | 6s. to 9s. 8d. " | " | 448½ cents " | 6s. 8½d. |
| 1840. | " | 6s. to 9s. 2d. " | " | 371½ cents " | 5s. 7½d. |

The highest price quoted in the Rotterdam circulars, on the 31st December 1840, for the German market, was, for fine violet, 580 cents, or 8*s.* 9*d.* per lb. In the year 1832 there were but 77 chests of indigo imported into Holland from all parts; in 1840 the importation was 2735 chests.

Here it will perhaps be objected, that the article in which the monopoly is most complete bears the highest comparative price in the European market, and remunerates the government the best. But the high price of indigo depends on other circumstances, and is mainly owing to the cheapness of cotton, which has furnished the dyers with so much additional employment. On the contrary, the low rate of the average price for 1840, which is 3*s.* per lb. below the highest price in the market, shows that the government, by annihilating the small factories, has not attained the end of procuring the fine qualities of the dye.

The anomalous position of the *Maatschappij* has already been alluded to. There can be no doubt but that, through its influence, the monopoly of the colonial trade has been made more complete, and perhaps facilities for overlooking and controlling all commercial transactions been afforded to the minister. These are, however, too trifling gains, when weighed in the balance against national prosperity, for any enlightened minister to set a value on them. The true advantage which Holland derived from this company was, that by its means the capital and energies of the country were directed to the Eastern trade. That a minister should feel inclined occasionally to abuse the facilities offered by such a body is nothing new. The *Maatschappij* was induced to advance money within a few years past to the amount of thirty-nine millions of florins, on the credit of the profits to be expected from the increase of production in Java. When the crisis took place, which last year took the uncontrolled management of the colonies from the crown, and placed them under the guarantee of the constitution, the company demanded security for this debt, and the minister somewhat boldly took upon himself the responsibility of concluding two contracts with them, which have proved one of the greatest sources of unpopularity for the late king. By one, called the contract of capitalization, the state is bound to pay five millions annually to the

company for nine years, in which term this sum with the interest must be paid off. By the other, the contract of consignment, the whole of the produce of the colonies raised or bought on government account is consigned to the care of the Maatschappij for shipment and sale, and a commission of four per cent. is guaranteed to them for this business. As both this commission and the rate of interest at five per cent. are much above the market price, the dissatisfaction of the nation is easily explained, and the large investments of the king in the company's funds tell the reason why the burden of the unpopularity thus incurred falls back upon His Majesty. The effect of these contracts has been, as we have seen, to induce the factory at Java only to think of swelling the amount of produce, and the efforts to increase the quantity seem to act prejudicially upon the quality of the merchandise*.

A still more interesting result than the success or failure of the speculations of a single government may be drawn from this inquiry, in the clue which it affords to discover upon

* The following account of the constitution and present state of the Maatschappij has been lately published in a Berlin paper, and may be regarded as semi-official :—

The original shares of the Company were for 1000 florins each; the holder of four shares had a vote in the elections of twelve commissaries, who must hold at least seven shares. These commissaries elect the directors, three in number, who must be holders of twenty-five shares. The king, as patron, names a thirteenth commissary, who is president, and permanent. The others go out in rotation, one-fourth in every year. The directors and commissaries, united, form the council or court of the Company.

The directors can hold no office under the state, nor be partners in any industrial or commercial undertaking; their salary is 17,000 francs per annum, besides one-half per cent. upon the general dividends and travelling expenses. The president receives 25,000 francs: each director further receives 21 francs for each day's attendance at the sittings.

The Company is restricted to employ only ships built in Holland and the colonies, and cannot itself own ships. The arrival and departure of the vessels must be so arranged that $\frac{1}{4}$ fall to the share of Amsterdam, $\frac{1}{4}$ to Rotterdam, $\frac{1}{4}$ to Dordrecht, and $\frac{1}{4}$ to Middleburg.

The officers of the government deliver the wares to the factory of the Company at Java, which contracts to convey them to Europe for a fixed sum; the price of transporting coffee in 1839 was 28 centimes per kilogramme. Sugar was contracted for at 37 centimes per kilogramme.

In 1838 the tonnage freighted by the Company amounted to 100,000 tons, in 1839 it was 116,000, and in 1840, 138,000 tons.

The present capital of the Company amounts to 97 millions of florins (about 8,000,000 sterling), of which 20 millions stand in the name of the abdicated king. The dividends in 1838 and 1839 are stated to have been $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. above the interest, $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., besides which $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. was added to the reserve fund.

In the last sitting of the Estates-general both the commission allowed to the Company and the rate of interest upon its advances were reduced.

what foundation the fears of our colonists, that competition with foreign growers would ruin them, rest. The importations of sugar and coffee into the principal harbours of the German Ocean were, for some years past, as follows:—

| | 1832. | 1833. | 1834. | 1835. | 1836. |
|---|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| German ports .. | Kilogrammes. 66,085,000 | Kilogrammes. 44,750,000 | Kilogrammes. 42,690,000 | Kilogrammes. 45,156,000 | Kilogrammes. 50,530,000 |
| Dutch ports ... | 38,001,000 | 30,798,000 | 39,039,000 | 50,264,000 | 54,816,000 |
| Belgian ports .. | 13,975,918 | 18,385,413 | 19,115,100 | 24,639,742 | 22,396,590 |
| Total... | 118,061,918 | 93,933,413 | 100,844,100 | 120,059,742 | 127,742,590 |
| Average prices at the Dutch Auctions for Java Sugar ... | Per cwt. 29s. 3d. | Per cwt. 27s. 6d. | Per cwt. 27s. 6d. | Per cwt. 33s. 4d. | Per cwt. 35s. 10d. |
| Average prices in England in bond | Per cwt. 28s. 8½d. | Per cwt. 29s. 5½d. | Per cwt. 29s. 8½d. | Per cwt. 34s. 9d. | Per cwt. 39s. 8d. |
| Quantity of su- gar imported into England from the West Indies, India, & Mauritius | Tons. 224,872 | Tons. 219,663 | Tons. 227,071 | Tons. 214,790 | Tons. 216,074 |

| | 1837. | 1838. | 1839. | 1840. |
|---|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| German ports .. | Kilogrammes. 49,625,000 | Kilogrammes. 57,825,000 | Kilogrammes. 91,250,000 | Kilogrammes. 108,000,000 |
| Dutch ports ... | 54,415,000 | 71,791,000 | 72,200,000 | 70,050,000 |
| Belgian ports .. | 19,400,158 | 17,382,843 | 21,026,863 | 23,403,273 |
| Total... | 123,440,158 | 146,798,843 | 184,476,863 | 201,453,273 |
| Average prices at the Dutch Auctions for Java Sugar ... | Per cwt. 29s. 8d. | Per cwt. 29s. 8d. | Per cwt. 27s. 3d. | Per cwt. 25s. 0d. |
| Average prices in England in bond | Per cwt. 37s. 9½d. | Per cwt. 33s. 11d. | Per cwt. 39s. 8½d. | Per cwt. 50s. 2½d. |
| Quantity of su- gar imported into England from the West Indies, India, & Mauritius | Tons. 206,996 | Tons. 227,746 | Tons. 197,718 | Tons. 160,291 |

From this statement we see, that up to 1835, if the low quality of the sugar on which the average is taken be considered, the prices were higher in Holland than in England. In 1836 they were about equal, and the low averages of the last three years are mainly to be ascribed to the deterioration of quality which we have mentioned and accounted for some pages back. Havannah sugar is worth from 10s. to 15s. per cwt. more in the Dutch markets at all times. We see that the Dutch and German markets will bear an importation of 145,000 tons (the quantity imported in 1838) without materially diverging from the fair average price in England, and that an increased importation of 55,000 tons only occasions a fall of five shillings per cwt. At this price we are told that a loss is complained of by the Dutch government; besides which, it is evident that the consumption abroad must have proportionately increased, or the fall would have been much greater. The financial crisis in which Holland was placed last year obliged the government to force the sales of colonial produce, whatever the price might be; and under such circumstances, united with the increased importation and the deterioration of quality, it is only surprising that the fall was not greater. Between 1832 and 1839 (making allowance for deterioration of quality) we perceive no decline of prices in Holland, although the importation increased from 118,000 to 184,000 tons, which shows that the increasing prosperity of the continental nations, united with the improvements in the means of communication, are able to cope with a rapid increase of production. The statement of importations into Great Britain shows us that the price began to rise as soon as the importations fell below 215,000 tons. Between that quantity and the importation of 1840 there is a difference of 50,000 tons, which quantity the consumer has a right to expect will be supplied at a fair average price. Now, we ask, had the duty upon foreign sugar been such as to allow our consumers to take so much from the foreign market in 1840 at a price which would not check our consumption, could it have been obtained at the prices quoted above? Assuredly not. The sudden abstraction of one quarter of the stock from a large market would have excited a spirit of speculation which would have caused

a great advance. But how would things have stood if our importation of foreign sugar had commenced with the decrease in the production of our own plantations? Would not the Dutch averages have been proportionately higher than they have been? Where would then have been the loss to our planters? Unless it be contended that they are entitled to the highest prices which their fellow-subjects are willing to give rather than cease from consuming sugar altogether, it is evident that they would have received not only fair remunerating, but even high prices, for their produce.

Are we not, upon these facts, which are open to every one for investigation, justified in asking, upon what are the apprehensions of our colonists founded, in opening the most unbounded competition to foreign producers?

How often must experience teach us the lesson, so important for a trading community, that the investment of capital upon any other footing than that of competition is building on a quicksand, which is sure to involve the fabric in its gorge? While our West India interests are still in a state of transition, and speculation in these branches of produce is only commencing in the East Indies, is the moment to pause; and we expect, from the good sense of the speculators who meditate embarking in these ventures, that they will themselves come forward and reject such dangerous allurements.

But what has been our situation in consequence of our rejection of these supplies?

The principle so forcibly applied by one of our highest authorities upon international commerce*, that in the case of a deficient supply of an extensively consumed and generally useful article, "*the price of the supplement is what fixes the value of the whole mass*," was never more clearly illustrated than on the present occasion. The price of Java sugar in bond in the London market we find quoted, at the end of 1840, at 28*s.* per cwt.; if we add to this the differential duty between British plantation and foreign sugar, which is 39*s.*, we have 67*s.* per cwt., which was about the average value of East India sugar of equal quality at that time.

As the law at present stands, therefore, the failure of a

* Letters on the Corn Trade, by H. B. T.

crop in the West Indies, from whatever chance, is tantamount to the raising of a tax of about $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ per lb. upon all the sugar consumed in Great Britain, or a sum which does not go into the treasury of £8,000,000 sterling.

And to what end is this tax levied?

The improvident outlay of capital in the West Indies is one of the most crying abuses of our times. It was this protection alone, continued for more than a century, which enabled our planters to exist with slave labour, when the competition of free labour from the East would long since have driven them out of the market. It was under the ægis of this protection that the least productive and most uncertain of our islands absorbed the largest share of British capital, to the serious detriment of such splendid possessions as Trinidad* and Guiana. It stands recorded in history, that the prosperity of the British islands stood in direct proportion to their proximity to the great slave marts; and it is probable that without this allurements the most flourishing among them, Barbadoes, never would have been settled. Now that the slaves have been paid for, this capital so improvidently squandered is put forward as a ground for taxing the consumer to the extent that we have shown. But if the emancipation of the sugar trade is not to be obtained upon other terms, the nation will clearly be a gainer by speedily coming to an understanding with the West India planters, for we see that eight millions were paid in the course of last year, without thanks from any side.

We contend too that we are justified in calling the present year one of the most momentous for our commercial and national interests that we have as yet seen. All the great questions are afloat. Germany, France, Austria, Holland, and last, not least, our own colonies, give us a pretext and an opportunity that may not soon recur for reviewing our relations with them, and placing them upon a healthy footing. Once more, therefore, we call upon those to whom the national welfare is entrusted to pause and consider the immense responsibility they incur. Let them beware of trifling with the pillars upon which the power, nay the existence, of this great and favoured nation rest. Every sin of omission or of

* Trinidad lies out of the range of the hurricanes.

commission, in cases that have been so fully discussed, and in which ignorance is not a misfortune but a crime, will be visited with the execrations of future bankrupts, similar to those of many a ruined West India planter, whose family now regrets in beggary the lulling policy of Tory protection and the dear prices paid for quiet senates. We call upon the ministers to brave the storm, which will prove powerless against honest intentions and a fair appeal to the nation.

The present year is important too on account of the condition of the East India trade. Let us beware of enticing our merchants by false allurements to embark their capital in undertakings, which, however specious they may be made to appear, cannot in the end be profitable. The nation, accustomed to high rates of duty, would perhaps not demur to the continuation of what is falsely called protection, to a certain extent. But let our East India merchants pause while it is yet time, and before they have got entangled in the treacherous labyrinth. With the cheapness of labour in India there will be little difficulty in raising sugar fully as cheap as it can be produced at Java or Manilla, and we promise them at such prices that the market will not fail them. As long as they have things upon the principle which they claimed in their struggle with the West India planters they will be safe, and their danger will only commence when they depart from it.

The obnoxious prohibition of all foreign sugar in India ought at once to be repealed, and the duty named by the treaty of 1824, that is to say, 6 per cent. differential duty, ought to be imposed as the sole restriction. We believe we have shown that the nation will lose nothing by honestly fulfilling her agreement, whereas she will gain considerably by being then able with a good conscience to call upon the Dutch to observe theirs. Under these circumstances we will venture to assert that they will not demur.

The islands of the Eastern Archipelago are scarcely less populous when taken together than the United States*. Need

* The population of Java is estimated by M. Baud at eight millions, in which case it must nearly have doubled in the twenty-five years since its restoration to Holland. Borneo is supposed to contain three millions, Celebes two millions, and Sumatra between five and six millions of inhabitants. The Molucca islands are supposed to contain 500,000 souls. There may be an exaggeration in this estimate for Sumatra, but Celebes has been rated much higher by travellers in the Dutch services.

we ask what the amount of their trade is? Instead of fearing that the competition of our neighbours will injure us in any manner, we look forward to the development of vast and remunerating fields of activity for our manufacturers, our shipping, our speculators. The Dutch met in this manner would, especially in the present temper of the nation, not hesitate to throw open all their colonies, as we should open ours; and if we consider that this would take place at a time when we are seeking to open new lines of communication to Asia through the Levant, while our steamers are bringing the productive regions of the West into such close and intimate contact with us, we rather tremble at the immense claims upon our energies from all sides, than anticipate our being forced from a field of such gigantic dimensions.

In the present state of mutual jealousy and restriction, our East Indian possessions are moreover losers in a direct manner, as can by some facts be proved.

The contracts issued by government for the sale of opium for 1838 in Java, contained 396 bales 990 katjes of Bengal opium, and 2495 katjes of opium from the Levant. Now the latter article is preferred by the Dutch, because they transport it in their own ships, for which they with difficulty find cargoes in Europe. If they were received with their sugar and coffee on hospitable terms in Singapore and Calcutta, this branch of trade would probably be monopolized by Bengal; and if the expenses on the article were reduced, its consumption might be greater. They would then too be induced to take out our manufactures from Europe, the demand for which is evidently susceptible of great extension. On the other hand, the opening of the Moluccas to a free trade would doubtless considerably increase the production of spices, and, while it lowered the price, would facilitate their consumption. Of the truth of this we are enabled to offer to our readers a confirmatory anecdote, which involves at the same time an useful lesson for our neighbours in the Netherlands. The nutmeg-tree has been introduced into Trinidad, and about 60 trees, standing in the vicinity of the government house at St. Ann's, and which were hitherto treated as exotics, bore, we are informed, last year 600 lbs. weight of nutmegs. A gentleman from that island had the curiosity to bring some samples of

the nuts and the mace over with him to London, where one of the first houses offered him the highest price for any quantity of both spices which he could furnish. We believe that this island will soon produce a small supply ; but what has been gathered of late years, with the exception of the samples in question, never found its way to Europe. They were consumed in the islands, or on the main, where perhaps these spices were well relished, although, in the abundance of stimulating productions, they had never been sought from a distant soil.

So absurd are our attempts to measure the future by the scale of the present, and to limit the extent of our exertions to our notions of the extent of our markets !

The production of spices, like every other species of cultivation, is limited in the West Indies solely by the want of hands. Cloves especially, which cannot be gathered as a general crop, but must be picked with care according as the blossoms come to maturity, are, like tea, only to be cultivated where the population is comparatively dense. There is no fear that the West therefore will compete successfully with the East in those branches of cultivation which have always been the exclusive property of the former ; and there can be no doubt but that competition will best induce both parties cautiously to study, and resolutely to pursue, what each has natural facilities for cultivating.

We think a proposal ought without delay to be made to Parliament, authorizing the minister to keep faith with the Dutch in order to open and extend that market in the East to our manufacturers, while we, with a moderate differential duty, allow ourselves the indulgence of sugar at a reasonable price.

We think it proper, however, to acknowledge, that we do not expect so desirable a result to be attained by the *sole* measure of a reduction of the duty. Our Dutch neighbours, like other nations not far distant from them, have made such proficiency in our school, that unless the reduction here shown to be desirable for our consumers were made conditional upon their admission of our manufactures, they might be inclined to try how the one change would work without the other. The extent of the sugar market fortu-

nately enables us to choose our place of purchase, and places us, in treating with Holland, in an equally advantageous position to that which, in a former number, we have shown that we occupy for treating with Germany. The Spanish colonies, Manilla, Porto Rico and Cuba, as well as the Brazils, could each furnish the quantity required to make up the present deficiency, or to meet the increased demand which may reasonably be expected in our market. It will be enough to find one of these sources accessible upon the terms which we have suggested to ensure the acquiescence of the rest; and as the quantity of sugar we require will at all events be taken from the mass which supplies the continent generally, the effect on the market will be almost the same, whether we draw it from one or from all of these sources at once.

While, as sincere friends to free trade, we have not scrupled to hold up the disadvantages resulting from the commercial policy which this country has hitherto pursued, we on the other hand think that those very errors only make it more incumbent on the government in effecting changes to deal most carefully with the vested interests; and if sacrifices are to be made, which we do not believe need be demanded to any great extent, to be sure that on some other side a compensation is provided.

Specification of Goods imported into Java and Madura during the under-mentioned years.

| | 1838. | | 1839. | |
|-------------------------|-------------|-------------------|-------------|-------------------|
| | Quantities. | Value in Florins. | Quantities. | Value in Florins. |
| <i>European Wares.</i> | | | | |
| Levant opium | 158 pikols | 236,917 | 225 pikols | 337,500 |
| Cloth & woollen goods: | | | | |
| Dutch manufacture .. | ... .. | 129,119 | ... .. | 332,893 |
| Foreign manufacture. | ... .. | 181,197 | ... .. | 265,643 |
| Linen & cotton stuffs: | | | | |
| Dutch manufacture... | ... .. | 5,775,321 | ... .. | 7,304,258 |
| Foreign manufacture. | ... .. | 3,969,047 | ... .. | 3,231,867 |
| Leather and saddlery... | ... .. | 81,398 | ... .. | 103,519 |
| Iron wares & machines. | ... .. | 1,095,492 | ... .. | 1,177,359 |
| Provisions ..... | ... .. | 785,431 | ... .. | 446,458 |
| Wines & spirituous liq. | ... .. | 1,009,023 | ... .. | 768,768 |
| Copper wares ..... | ... .. | 268,440 | ... .. | 380,300 |
| Sundries ..... | ... .. | 1,613,129 | ... .. | 1,924,290 |

| | 1838. | | 1839. | |
|---|------------------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|
| | Quantities. | Value in Florins. | Quantities. | Value in Florins. |
| <i>Indian Wares.</i> | | | | |
| Linen and cotton wares | ... .. | 269,039 | ... .. | 218,221 |
| Opium..... | 174 chests | 315,000 | 120 chests | 120,000 |
| Wheat..... | 4,656 sacks | 32,772 | 7,752 sacks | 50,735 |
| Saltpetre..... | 1,424 pikols | 24,777 | 1,778 pikols | 31,391 |
| Coarse sacks..... | 1,082,415 „ | 207,794 | 787,012 „ | 142,851 |
| <i>Wares from Siam, Cochinchina and Manilla...</i> | | | | |
| China and Manilla... | ... .. | 564,270 | ... .. | 1,607,614 |
| <i>Wares from Japan.</i> | | | | |
| Camphor..... | 1,136 bales | 107,920 | 1,190 bales | 113,050 |
| Linen and silk stuffs.... | ... .. | 14,106 | ... .. | 18,106 |
| Gauze and crape..... | ... .. | ... | ... .. | 1,206 |
| Copper in bars..... | 7,168 pikols | 434,753 | 7,085 pikols | 513,675 |
| Japan wares..... | ... .. | 110 | ... .. | 15,533 |
| <i>From the Eastern Archipelago.</i> | | | | |
| Gum Benjamin..... | 3,774 $\frac{1}{10}$ pikols | 111,177 | 2,204 pikols | 111,233 |
| Provisions..... | ... .. | 127,421 | ... .. | 158,181 |
| Gambier..... | 50,193 $\frac{1}{10}$ pikols | 1,375,690 | 42,265 $\frac{1}{10}$ pikols | 422,653 |
| Sandal wood..... | 6,517 $\frac{1}{10}$ „ | 191,760 | 8,456 $\frac{1}{10}$ „ | 236,819 |
| Gold dust..... | 4,570 thails | 326,819 | 4,783 thails | 334,809 |
| Hides..... | 14,042 „ | 21,729 | 8,879 „ | 15,499 |
| Jewels..... | 6,047 karats | 49,850 | 3,560 karats | 118,375 |
| Cotton wool..... | 22,807 $\frac{1}{10}$ pikols | 255,275 | 22,302 pikols | 245,328 |
| Cinnamon..... | 621 „ | 10,813 | ... | ... |
| Cassia..... | ... .. | ... | 316 $\frac{1}{10}$ „ | 6,335 |
| Coffee..... | 22,016 pikols | 441,384 | 25,902 „ | 647,567 |
| Linen and cotton yarn.. | ... .. | 63,022 | ... .. | 138,107 |
| Mats..... | ... .. | 60,882 | ... .. | 67,028 |
| Drugs..... | ... .. | 38,845 | ... .. | 53,686 |
| Oil..... | 3,652 pikols | 64,550 | 9,209 $\frac{1}{10}$ pikols | 221,020 |
| Horses..... | 1,602 | 116,250 | 1,510 | 116,630 |
| Bamboo rattans..... | 36,550 „ | 176,861 | 47,252 „ | 236,263 |
| Rice..... | 13,080 „ | 39,420 | 37,192 „ | 111,577 |
| Tortoise-shell..... | 28 $\frac{1}{10}$ „ | 52,140 | 23 $\frac{1}{10}$ „ | 42,627 |
| Spices { | 58 $\frac{1}{10}$ „ | 5,817 | 263 $\frac{1}{10}$ „ | 18,467 |
| | 719 $\frac{1}{10}$ „ | 194,466 | 551 $\frac{1}{10}$ „ | 154,414 |
| | 155 $\frac{1}{10}$ „ | 45,303 | 188 $\frac{1}{10}$ „ | 60,212 |
| | 258 $\frac{1}{10}$ „ | 10,382 | 922 $\frac{1}{10}$ „ | 39,573 |
| Biche de mer..... | 2,890 $\frac{1}{10}$ „ | 106,015 | 4,709 $\frac{1}{10}$ „ | 164,835 |
| Birds' nests..... | 91 $\frac{1}{10}$ „ | 62,070 | 123 $\frac{1}{10}$ „ | 98,632 |
| Wax..... | 5,001 $\frac{1}{10}$ „ | 528,536 | 5,988 „ | 658,750 |
| Mother-of-pearl..... | 479 „ | 12,505 | ... | ... |
| | | | 1838. | 1839. |
| | | | Florins. | Florins. |
| Besides the above quantities imported, amounting to.... | | | 24,181,877 | 24,961,012 |
| The imports of wares on government account amounted to | | | 10,281,331 | 8,700,366 |
| Total imports..... | | | 34,463,208 | 33,661,378 |

The latter item contains the spices from the Moluccas, as specified in table.

*Specification of Goods exported from Java and Madura in the
under-mentioned years.*

| Goods from the Eastern Archipelago, including Java. | 1838. | | 1839. | |
|---|---------------|----------------------|----------------|----------------------|
| | Quantities. | Value in Florins. | Quantities. | Value in Florins. |
| Rum..... | 2,954 casks | 148,185 | 4,601½ casks | 299,123 |
| Provisions ..... | ... .. | 204,413 | ... .. | 176,323 |
| Gambier | 1,553½ pikols | 40,152 | 1,189 pikols | 28,554 |
| Gold dust..... | 1,630½ thails | 170,611 | 2,464 thails | 184,857 |
| Sandal wood..... | 5,044 pikols | 162,962 | 17,522 pikols | 525,660 |
| Japan wood..... | 5,434 „ | 28,257 | 6,150 „ | 30,750 |
| Wooden wares..... | ... .. | 24,795 | ... .. | 35,788 |
| Hides (cow & buffalo) | 70,991 | 146,208 | 130,334 | 239,420 |
| Indigo..... | 743,186½ lbs. | 3,168,065 | 1,191,636 lbs. | 3,574,900 |
| Cotton wool | 1,233 pikols | 13,739 | 1,370 pikols | 16,450 |
| Kurkuma (turmeric) . | 2,559 „ | 28,105 | 5,183 „ | 25,919 |
| Coffee..... | 589,599 „ | 15,095,793 | 757,476 „ | 23,860,499 |
| Cinnamon..... | 52 „ | 6,453 | 178½ „ | 17,846 |
| Copper wares..... | ... .. | 122,698 | ... .. | 117,959 |
| Linen and cotton yarn | ... .. | 948,460 | ... .. | 839,963 |
| Mats..... | ... .. | 59,143 | ... .. | 50,262 |
| Drugs..... | ... .. | 39,789 | ... .. | 76,744 |
| Oil..... | 1,838 pikols | 40,814 | 5,126 pikols | 138,417 |
| Mother-of-pearl..... | ... .. | ... .. | 153½ „ | 4,617 |
| Pepper..... | 8,886 pikols | 143,020 | 1,204 „ | 227,611 |
| Bamboos (rattans)... | 53,360 „ | 169,425 | 40,068 „ | 220,377 |
| Rice..... | 949,456 „ | 3,020,446 | 1,103,378 „ | 4,689,353 |
| Tortoise-shell..... | 36½ „ | 53,352 | 25½ „ | 51,140 |
| Spices { | Mace..... | 1,496½ „ | 1,581½ „ | 537,629 |
| | Cloves..... | 2,912½ „ | 2,334½ „ | 175,078 |
| | Nutmegs..... | 5,031½ „ | 5,026½ „ | 1,508,014 |
| Sugar..... | 734,979 „ | 9,823,028 | 842,017 „ | 10,946,222 |
| Tobacco..... | 2,636½ „ | 739,204 | 2,809 kodies | 842,892 |
| Tin..... | 41,573½ „ | 1,950,432 | 47,631½ pikols | 2,381,577 |
| Biche de mer..... | 2,925 „ | 86,269 | 3,885 pikols | 155,417 |
| Dye stuffs ..... | ... .. | 12,320 | ... .. | 27,470 |
| Birds' nests..... | 134½ „ | 260,472 | 279½ pikols | 559,750 |
| Salt..... | 4,170 kojangs | 250,879 | 3,543 kojangs | 196,009 |
| | | | 1838. | 1839. |
| | | | Florins. | Florins. |
| The total amount of goods exported by private persons and the Maatschappij was | | | 43,340,327 | 57,674,934 |
| On account of the government..... | | | 1,552,708 | 1,797,247 |
| Total..... | | | 44,892,935 | 59,472,181 |

In other years, caoutchouc, sticklac, tamarinds, birds of paradise, gum-copal, ivory and sago occur as items amongst the productions exported.

View of the trade between Java and the Eastern Archipelago.

| | 1838. | | 1839. | |
|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| | Imports. | Exports. | Imports. | Exports. |
| | Florins. | Florins. | Florins. | Florins. |
| West coast of Sumatra | 882,283 | 1,881,005 | 1,204,236 | 1,740,384 |
| Palembang and Banca | 397,371 | 514,695 | 364,571 | 881,664 |
| Riouw | 1,454,069 | 725,516 | 525,049 | 1,256,090 |
| Borneo | 1,080,999 | 1,065,465 | 1,301,019 | 1,157,068 |
| Moluccas | 184,788 | 484,326 | 178,797 | 1,147,073 |
| Celebes | 391,225 | 388,927 | 457,043 | 335,933 |
| Timor Koepang..... | 293,648 | 74,254 | 276,720 | 77,305 |
| Timor Delhie..... | ..... | 3,586 | 13,675 | 1,730 |
| Singapore | 1,098,085 | 1,021,664 | 1,186,387 | 1,611,639 |
| Bali | 244,579 | 53,786 | 554,261 | 126,704 |
| Biliton | 29 | ..... | 770 | ..... |
| Bima | 47,850 | 9,077 | 56,643 | 6,258 |
| Linga..... | 4,574 | 6,390 | 4,484 | 3,067 |
| Trenganoe | 15,704 | 29,956 | 10,070 | 30,718 |
| Sumbawa | 84,286 | 3,696 | 1,540 | 7,644 |
| Madura | 37,304 | 586,190 | 36,171 | 647,530 |
| Cocos Islands ..... | ..... | ..... | 450 | 2,928 |
| Specie | 124,350 | 976,844 | 232,770 | 650,077 |
| Total..... | 6,291,144 | 7,823,377 | 6,404,656 | 9,683,793 |

From this table we may draw some useful conclusions in favour of freedom of trade in the East. It seems that the trade between Java and Singapore, which contains but 30,000 inhabitants, is equal to that carried on with Borneo, which is supposed to contain $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions of inhabitants.

According to Mr. Newbold, the exports from Singapore to Pinang, which contains 38,454 inhabitants, amounted in 1836 to 554,640 Spanish dollars, or 1,497,600 florins, the imports from the same place being equal to 1,150,600 florins: the trade between these two little places was equal to half the trade carried on by Java with the Moluccas on government and private account taken together. The exports from Singapore to Malacca, with 37,700 inhabitants, equalled 455,900 florins; the imports from that town 434,616 florins in 1836, and consequently equalled in amount the trade in 1838 between Java and the large islands of Celebes and Timor taken together. The trade of Singapore in 1836 very much

exceeded that of Java with all Asia, the imports having amounted to 6,618,671 Spanish dollars, or 17,970,000 florins, and the exports to 6,735,851 dollars, or 18,186,900 florins.

*Specification of the Goods imported into, and exported from,
Java on Government Account in 1838 and 1839.*

| Imports on Government Account. | | 1838. | | 1839. |
|------------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| <i>From the Netherlands.</i> | | | | |
| Copper Money plates | | 1,735,984 <i>fl.</i> | | 1,973,618 <i>fl.</i> |
| Goods | | 1,076,307 | | 975,483 |
| <i>From the Molucca Islands.</i> | | 2,812,291 <i>fl.</i> | | 2,949,101 <i>fl.</i> |
| Coffee | 4,806 pik. | 124,974 | 9,976 pik. | 249,423 |
| Cloves | 3,348 $\frac{2}{10}$ " | 334,869 | | |
| Mace (good) | 1,048 $\frac{2}{10}$ " | 293,602 | 1,291 $\frac{2}{10}$ " | 413,435 |
| Ditto (dust) | 4,565 $\frac{1}{10}$ " | 4,548 | 64 $\frac{2}{10}$ " | 3,922 |
| Nutmegs (good) | 4,565 $\frac{1}{10}$ " | 1,278,228 | 2,943 " | 824,974 |
| Ditto (thin) | 941 $\frac{1}{10}$ " | 207,170 | 535 " | 133,960 |
| Ditto (spoiled) | 825 $\frac{2}{10}$ " | 123,837 | 188 " | 18,145 |
| Ditto (soap) | 2,336 lbs. | 3,504 | 3,898 lbs. | 5,847 |
| Miscellaneous | | | | 15,006 |
| <i>From Banca.</i> | | | | |
| Tin | 48,860 pik. | 2,443,030 <i>fl.</i> | 48,651 pik. | 2,433,420 |
| Specie from the Netherlands | | 2,665,318 | | 1,654,000 |
| | Total... | 10,281,331 <i>fl.</i> | Total... | 8,700,366 <i>fl.</i> |
| Exports on Government Account. | | 1838. | | 1839. |
| Goods | | 241,708 <i>fl.</i> | | 803,247 <i>fl.</i> |
| Specie to the Moluccas | | 1,311,000 | | 994,000 |
| | Total... | 1,552,708 <i>fl.</i> | Total... | 1,797,247 <i>fl.</i> |
| Exclusive of specie to Japan | | 8,295 <i>fl.</i> | | 12,000 <i>fl.</i> |

Extract from the first Official Statement submitted to the States General:—Budget of the Eastern Colonies for 1840.

REVENUE.

| | |
|--|-----------------------|
| Proceeds of privileges farmed out | 11,018,682 <i>fl.</i> |
| Rents and other charges upon land | 8,850,652 |
| Taxes and other revenues | 10,714,195 |
| Net proceeds of the system of cultivation and trade | 36,923,745 |
| Sundry and extraordinary receipts | 2,170,153 |
| Gained by remitting 7,113,522 <i>fl.</i> in copper money, valued at 10,536,227 <i>fl.</i> less expenses | 1,422,705 |

71,100,132 *fl.*

| | |
|---|----------------------|
| Governor-general's and government expenses | 5,590,566 <i>fl.</i> |
| Pensions and allowances | 606,372 |
| Various and extraordinary expenses | 2,701,780 |
| Department of War | 7,063,207 |
| Ditto of Marine | 1,569,622 |
| Expenses of system of cultivation and trade | 30,961,043 |

Charges on the Indian Budget.

| | |
|---|------------|
| Outlay in Europe | 19,406,380 |
| Including charges, &c. | 1,773,129 |
| Interest, &c. on loan, 1836 | 1,170,000 |
| Ditto, ditto to the Maat- schappij for 9 years | 5,000,000 |
| For Sumatra | 300,000 |
| For the West India Colonies | 190,000 |
| For the coast of Guinea | 58,680 |
| For the tug steamers on the Rhine and Waal | 145,000 |
| Balance in favour of government | 734,413 |

71,100,132 *fl.*

The revenue derived by Holland this year from these colonies was thus about 17 millions of florins, or $1\frac{1}{2}$ million sterling, on the credit of which the following loans have been contracted :—

| | | | |
|--|------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|
| In 1836, | 200,000,000 <i>fl.</i> | Interest at 4 per cent. | 8,000,000 <i>fl.</i> annually. |
| In 1837, | 8,500,000 | „ at 5 per cent. | 425,000 „ |
| In 1838, | 27,500,000 | „ at 5 per cent. | 1,375,000 „ |
| 45,000,000 <i>fl.</i> { payable to the Maatschappij in instalments of 5,000,000 annually for 9 years. | | | |

281,000,000 *fl.*, or more than 23 millions of pounds sterling.

In consequence of the last-named advance, the Maatschappij has the consignment of all the produce imported on government account, with a commission of 4 per cent., about 2 millions of florins annually.

Auctions of the Maatschappij.

| Coffee. | | | Sugar. | | | |
|---------|----------------|--------------------------------|-----------|--------|--------|--------------------------------|
| Year. | Quantity. | Average price per 100 kilogrs. | Quantity. | | | Average price per 100 kilogrs. |
| | | florins. cents. | Baskets. | Boxes. | Sacks. | Florins. |
| 1826. | 27,495 Bales. | 34 00 | | | | |
| 1827. | 147,706 " | 29 26 | | | | |
| 1828. | 159,569 " | 24 52 | | | | |
| 1829. | 252,625 " | 25 43 | ..... | 91 | | |
| 1830. | 258,708 " | 21 99 | 1,465 | 421 | 1,427 | 33½ |
| 1831. | 180,258 " | 27 88 | 12,147 | 4,951 | 279 | 33½ |
| 1832. | 215,216 " | 35 98 | 28,066 | 2,620 | ..... | 35 |
| 1833. | 202,648 " | 38 30 | 35,626 | 694 | 53 | 33½ |
| 1834. | 297,748 " | 33 63 | 68,893 | 412 | ... .. | 33½ |
| 1835. | 395,836 " | 36 10 | 75,549 | 377 | 1,675 | 40 |
| 1836. | 523,841 " | 32 56 | 94,052 | 293 | 9,912 | 43 |
| 1837. | 633,865 " | 26 97 | 120,241 | 1,353 | 1,140 | 35½ |
| 1838. | 694,166 " | 28 82 | 143,689 | 601 | 10,264 | 35½ |
| 1839. | 665,721 " | 33 25 | 178,096 | 1,116 | 4,611 | 32½ |
| | 3,717 Casks. | | | | | |
| 1840. | 810,789 Bales. | 29 00 | 224,661 | 420 | 3,145 | 30½ |
| | 8,577 Casks. | | | | | |

1 cwt. = 50 $\frac{7}{10}$ kilogrammes : 30 florins per 100 kilogrammes
= 25s. per cwt.

Indigo Auctions of the Maatschappij.

| At Amsterdam. | | | At Rotterdam. | |
|---------------|---------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Year. | Chests. | Cents per lb. | Chests. | Cents per lb. |
| 1833. | 586 | 280 to 465 | 174 | 300 to 415 |
| 1834. | 444 | 200 to 410 | 449 | 250 to 425 |
| 1835. | 603 | 185 to 380 | 546 | 205 to 385 |
| Spring, 1836. | 898 | 200 to 480 | 682 | 160 to 480 |
| Autumn, „ | 457 | 280 to 525 | 763 | 305 to 490 |
| Spring, 1837. | 700 | 210 to 500 | 351 | 190 to 505 |
| Autumn, „ | 1009 | 175 to 505 | 834 | 150 to 490 |
| Spring, 1838. | 1015 | 165 to 485 | 761 | 175 to 485 |
| Autumn, „ | 1361 | 210 to 520 | 507 | 210 to 520 |
| Spring, 1839. | 1167 | 250 to 590 | 1319 | 280 to 600 |
| Autumn, „ | 1517 | 280 to 605 | 1051 | 285 to 600 |
| Spring, 1840. | 1003 | 200 to 545 | 1348 | 225 to 620 |
| „ „ | 1947 | 135 to 560 | 1468 | 125 to 560 |
| Spring, 1841. | 2512 | 135 to 525 | 1799 | 108 to 535 |

In 1840, 45 chests of Cochinelle at 200 to 380 cents.
 In 1841, 19 Do. Do. at 175 to 385 cents,
 100 cents, or 1 florin = at par to 1s. 8d.

Average Prices of Sugar at Bremen for the last ten years, from the "Handel's Organ" on the 1st of January.

| Year. | Quantity imported in millions of lbs. | Havanna. | | Brasil White. | Muscovado. | Manilla. |
|-------|---------------------------------------|-----------|-------------------|---------------|------------|----------|
| | | White. | Yellow and Brown. | | | |
| 1832. | 24½ | 7 to 7½ | 5 to 5½ | 5½ to 6½ | 4½ to 4½ | 5½ to 5½ |
| 1833. | 16½ | 6½ „ 7½ | 5½ „ 6 | 5½ „ 6½ | 5 „ 5½ | 5½ „ 6 |
| 1834. | 12½ | 6½ „ 7½ | 5½ „ 6½ | 6 „ 6½ | ... | 6½ „ 7½ |
| 1835. | 13 | 7½ „ 8 | 6½ „ 7½ | 7½ „ 7½ | ... | 6½ „ 7½ |
| 1836. | 15½ | 10½ „ 11½ | 7½ „ 8½ | ... | 6½ „ 7 | 5 „ 5½ |
| 1837. | 12½ | 9½ „ 10 | 5½ „ 6½ | 7½ „ 7½ | 5½ „ 5½ | 5 „ 5½ |
| 1838. | 14 | 8½ „ 9½ | 5½ „ 7½ | 7 „ 7½ | 4½ „ 5½ | 5½ „ 6 |
| 1839. | 12½ | 8 „ 9 | 5½ „ 7 | 6 „ 6½ | ... | 5 „ 5½ |
| 1840. | 14 | 7½ „ 8½ | 5½ „ 6½ | 5½ „ 6 | ... | ... |
| 1841. | ... | 6½ „ 8 | 4½ „ 5½ | ... | ... | ... |

A grot is equal to one halfpenny English.

ARTICLE V.

The Policy of a Repeal of the Corn Laws.

1. *Report from the Select Committee on Agriculture.* June 28, 1821.
2. *Copy of Instructions given to W. Jacob, Esq., directing an Inquiry into the Price of Corn, and Mr. Jacob's Reports.* 1826, 1827, and 1828.
3. *Papers from Her Majesty's Consuls on the State of Agriculture in Europe from 1833 to 1835.* March 29, 1836.
4. *Statements respecting the proposed Repeal of the Existing Corn Laws.* By J. R. McCULLOCH, Esq. Lond. 1841.
5. *Report from the Select Committee on Import Duties.* April 22, 1841.

WE have earnestly laboured, in many of our preceding numbers, to dispel the antiquated prejudices which have hitherto obstructed a reform in our commercial policy, and have, in common with all friends of social improvement, hailed with unmixed satisfaction the announcement, that the government had at length determined to enter upon a readjustment of our tariff,—to the end that those defects in the system under which the industry of the country has been so long conducted should be gradually corrected. We have no doubt that eventually the judgment of the nation will be in favour of a return to those sound principles, that, under any circumstances, are best calculated to promote the true interests of all classes of the people, but the adoption of which, in the present aspect of our affairs, we believe to be essential to the preservation of our commerce and manufactures—the two great branches of our national industry, and main sources of our prosperity and wealth. It is the merest delusion to suppose that the owners of land have any interest opposed to, or independent of, that of the mass of the people; yet invidious distinctions are still attempted to be made between the agricultural and commercial classes, although refuted by the nature of things and the voice of experience. “Trade and land,” said one of

our earliest political economists, "are knit each to other and
"must wax and wane together; so that it shall never be well
"with land but trade must feel it, nor ill with trade but land
"must fall*."

The question of "Free Trade," which now agitates the country from one end to the other, ought not therefore to be considered in reference to individual interests, but as it affects the entire community; it ought not to be viewed through the distorting medium of party zeal, but carefully examined by the sober and dispassionate judgment of men;—its truth or fallacy resting for confirmation, not upon theoretical reasoning, but upon the results of experience and deductions drawn from authenticated facts.

The interference of the legislature in the free course of the corn trade originated in a desire to promote abundance and secure low prices: but in course of time the object was completely changed; the necessity of protecting the landed interest and of maintaining high, or as they were termed, remunerative prices, was proclaimed with few dissentient voices in Parliament, and laws were enacted to prevent the importation of foreign corn until these prices should be attained. This system was subsequently extended to other branches of production, until at length it became the leading principle of our commercial code, and other countries, retaliating upon us our perverse and mistaken policy, imposed heavy duties on our manufactures, or prohibited their importation altogether, because we declined to receive their produce in return. It is long since these restrictions, with their train of protections, prohibitions and bounties, were first devised, and they have long been condemned by all thinking people as founded in ignorance of the most obvious principles; yet, after the theory has been repudiated, the practice exists in extensive operation, still producing its fatal and infallible results, but still persevered in, and proving how inveterate is the prejudice which clings to an error that time has rendered venerable. The period, however, has at length arrived when our financial difficulties compel us to retrace our steps; when all impolitic restraints on the free application of labour and capital must

* Mr. Child.

be removed; and when the adoption of a more liberal and enlightened policy towards other countries will, we trust, restore to our people those commercial advantages which their ingenuity, industry and enterprise, combined with the possession of those powerful elements of production—coal and iron—entitle them to expect.

There are some leading principles which ought not to be lost sight of in a consideration of this question. Every one endeavours to employ his capital in that pursuit which will afford him the best return, and the pursuit which most conduces to the advantage of each individual must prove most advantageous to the community. Every individual can better judge what species of industry is most likely to increase his own capital, and consequently to increase the annual revenue of the society to which he belongs, than the legislature can possibly do; and therefore the natural direction which capital takes is more likely to prove beneficial to society than the artificial direction which is given to it by the legislature. We cannot better give the conclusions to be drawn from these premises than in the words of Adam Smith:—

“To give the monopoly of the home market,” he observes in his celebrated work, “to the produce of domestic industry in any particular art or manufacture, is in some measure to direct private people in what manner they ought to employ their capitals, and must, in almost all cases, be either a useless or a hurtful regulation. If the produce of domestic can be brought there as cheap as that of foreign industry, the regulation is evidently useless; if it cannot, it must generally be hurtful. It is the maxim of every prudent master of a family, never to attempt to make at home what it will cost him more to make than to buy. The tailor does not attempt to make his own shoes, but buys them of the shoemaker. The shoemaker does not attempt to make his own clothes, but employs a tailor. The farmer attempts to make neither the one nor the other, but employs those different artificers. All of them find it their interest to employ their whole industry in a way in which they have some advantage over their neighbours, and to purchase with a part of its produce, or, what is the same thing, with the price of a part of it, whatever else they have occasion for.

“What is prudence in the conduct of every private family, can scarce be folly in that of a great kingdom. If a foreign country can supply us with a commodity cheaper than we ourselves can make it, better buy it of them with some part of the produce of our own industry employed in a way in which we have some advantage. The general industry of the country being always in proportion to the capital which employs it, will not thereby

be diminished, no more than that of the above-mentioned artificers; but only left to find out the way in which it can be employed to the greatest advantage. It is certainly not employed to the greatest advantage when it is thus directed towards an object which it can buy cheaper than it can make. The value of its annual produce is certainly more or less diminished when it is thus turned away from producing commodities evidently of more value than the commodity which it is directed to produce. According to the supposition, that commodity could be purchased from foreign countries cheaper than it can be made at home. It could, therefore, have been purchased with a part only of the commodities, or, what is the same thing, with a part only of the price of the commodities, which the industry employed by an equal capital would have produced at home had it been left to follow its natural course. The industry of the country, therefore, is thus turned away from a more to a less advantageous employment; and the exchangeable value of its annual produce, instead of being increased, according to the intention of the lawgiver, must necessarily be diminished by every such regulation."

There are certain fluctuations which appear inseparable from trade even when left to its free course, which are always increased and rendered more injurious to the community by the interference of the legislature. A derangement, in the usual proportion, between supply and demand may be occasioned by various causes. For some branch of production, the opening of a new market, or some other contingency, may give an increased demand; the natural consequence of which would be, enhanced prices and increased profits to the producer. Capital would thereupon be transferred from some less productive into the more productive channel; and as production so stimulated never stops at that point where the increased supply becomes sufficient to meet the increased demand, an over-production and a depreciation in the value of the article produced is the natural result. The history of trade furnishes the most convincing proofs of the constant and invariable operation of this principle. The sufferers commonly appeal to government for relief from the responsibility they have incurred, and government often weakly yields to their solicitations. Many of the restrictions and prohibitions which fetter our commerce originated in this mistaken interference. In commercial and agricultural pursuits, especially the latter, the natural distribution of capital and labour has a tendency to remedy these derangements, and readjust the occasional inequality between demand and supply;—this, and

a perfectly free intercourse with other countries, which extends as much as possible the market for our productions, is the only remedy for these fluctuations and the distress they frequently occasion.

It is obvious that the legislature departed from sound principles on every occasion of a bounty being given for the encouragement of some domestic production which was supposed to deserve particular favour. The bounty given in such cases diminished the price to the purchaser in proportion to the bounty paid; but being raised by a tax on some other branch of industry, it enhanced the price of the one as much as it diminished the price of the other. Thus every shilling expended in bounties must be collected in duties, and is attended with an expense for collection that is lost to the nation. Nothing is effected by the operation but to direct industry into some new channel, which, if its capital was likely to be augmented thereby, it would have sought of its own accord.

By a bounty on importation the nation pays a part of the expense of the commodity imported; by this means the consumer is enabled to purchase it cheaper, but he pays the difference in taxes or duties, and therefore gains nothing by the transaction. A bounty on exportation is still more impolitic; for if the article be one of general consumption, the consumer pays a tax which has the effect of raising the price of the commodity on himself. He is, therefore, doubly a loser, for the sole purpose of lowering the price of the article exported to the foreigner. Bounties are only required on those trades which cannot be carried on without them; they therefore imply that the price received for the commodity encouraged thereby does not replace the cost of its production. Capital is thus diverted to a channel into which it would not naturally flow, and industry directed to an employment where the expense is greater than the returns, and where the public is obliged to make up the loss. There is no useful commodity which trade, if unrestricted, will not be certain to supply in a quantity equal to the demand; but by restraining importation by means of high duties or absolute prohibition in some cases, and encouraging exportation by means of bounties in other cases—by watching over what was called the balance of trade on the one hand, and guarding against the exportation

of gold and silver on the other, the government of former days was commonly engaged in vain endeavours to effect, by legislation, what was alien to its function and beyond its control. No stronger evidence can be produced of the mischievous effects of legislative interference with the natural laws which govern our productive industry than is supplied by the statute-book itself. In it we commonly find that every enactment for the regulation of our commerce and agriculture requires a subsequent enactment to remedy the evils it has occasioned, each proclaiming in its turn the imperfection and failure of that which preceded it.

There is scarcely any interest in the country which has not petitioned Parliament, at one time or other, for a monopoly of its own particular trade. At an early period of our history the inhabitants of the different towns of England claimed and obtained for themselves the exclusive privilege of buying and selling within their several precincts by right of the charters of franchise granted to them, or upon the plea of usage and custom. These monopolies were abolished in the reign of Edward the Third*, when it was declared that all merchants, strangers and denizens, of whatsoever state or condition they might be, should be free to buy or sell all manner of provisions, and every sort of merchandise, whether of foreign or native production, within those towns. Provisions exactly opposed to each other were at different times adopted for the promotion of the same object. At one time it was enacted, that for the encouragement of our mines, iron made in England and iron brought into England should not be carried out of the realm upon pain of forfeiting double its value to the king†—a prohibition that was afterwards extended to copper and bell-metal. At a period somewhat later it was declared lawful to export these metals to any foreign country except France, with which we were then at war, for the same reason that they were before prohibited, namely, as is expressed in the preamble of the Act “for the better encouragement of the “working of copper-mines, &c. within their Majesties dominions ‡.” Shoemakers were at one time prevented by

* Vide 9 Edward III. c. 1, and 25 Edw. III. st. 4. c. 2.

† 28 Edw. III. c. 5.

‡ 5 Wm. and Mary, c. 17.

heavy penalties from exercising the trade of a tanner *; at another they were permitted to do so †, and again prevented ‡; and all for the same reason, namely, “to promote and improve the manufacture of leather.” To encourage the woollen manufacture it was provided, in one reign, that any person exporting wool should be subject to the penalty of death §; and in another, burying in woollen was enjoined under a heavy penalty ||. By one act, to keep more than a certain quantity of sheep was declared penal ¶, and by another, to convey them out of the realm was declared felony **. The importation of gunpowder was prohibited by various enactments up to the reign of Charles I., when an act was passed declaring the ill effects of such prohibition, and repealing those enactments ††. This act was doomed to receive the same measure of condemnation it had bestowed on its predecessors, and was itself repealed by an act passed in a succeeding reign ‡‡. In like manner the exportation of horses was prohibited up to the reign of Charles II., for the purpose of “encouraging the breed;” but an act was passed in that reign permitting their exportation, and *for the same reason* as was expressed in its preamble §§. Merchant strangers were by turns encouraged and maltreated by Act of Parliament. They were encouraged to bring their merchandize to England, and in the staple towns were enabled to appoint a number of their own body to be associated with the mayor and constables, who were authorized to regulate all matters relating to the staple ||||; but, on the other hand, restraints and penalties were capriciously imposed upon them, requiring them to sell their commodities in gross and not by retail, and within a reasonable time, and not to be handicrafts-men, nor to manufacture cloth, nor keep servants other than the king’s subjects ¶¶. These penalties were revoked in the reign of Henry VII., in consequence of a supplication, backed it is said by a valuable consideration, having been laid before the king in parliament by the Italian merchants *†.

* 13 Richard I. c. 12 (st. 2).

§ 27 Edward III. c. 3.

** 8 Eliz. c. 3.

§§ 22 Car. II. c. 13, s. 8.

*† 1 Hen. VII. c. 10.

† 4 Hen. IV. c. 35.

|| 18 Car. II. c. 2.

†† 16 Car. I. c. 21.

|||| 28 Edw. III.

‡ 2 Hen. VI. c. 7.

¶ 25 Henry VIII. c. 13.

‡‡ 1 James II. c. 8.

¶¶ 1 Richard III. c. 9.

The manufacture of certain commodities was restricted to certain places. In the reign of Henry VIII. the clothiers of Worcester complained that "the poor people had engrossed" and taken into their hands divers farms, and had also begun "to exercise the mysteries of cloth-making; making all manner of cloth, to the decay and ruin of the towns." An act was thereupon passed to restrict the making of cloths to Worcester, and certain towns therein specified*. The worsted yarn trade was declared to be the exclusive property of Norfolk and Norwich; and it was provided that no person should weave or manufacture it save the artificers belonging to the said county or city†.

An act of Henry VIII.‡ restrained all persons from buying wool except the merchants of the staple, under heavy penalties. In the following reign the "spinners of wools upon the rock into yarn" complained, that, being only able to buy "eight pennyworth or twelve pennyworth at one time," they had been used to buy of the retailers; but, in consequence of the act before mentioned, the retailers no longer bought wools and sold them to the poor spinners "in overt markets," by reason whereof a great number of them "were enforced to beg for lack of work." The act of Henry VIII. was thereupon repealed, and wool permitted to be bought and sold in open market§. One trade was frequently encouraged at the expense of another. The saddlers got a monopoly of the trade in leather in the reign of Edward VI.|| The shoemakers and cobblers complained that the passing of this act had wrought "their utter impoverishment and undoing," in consequence of which it was repealed by 1 Mary (sess. 3), c. 8; which, after reciting the fact as to the cobblers, gave the following information to the political economists of that day: "and forasmuch also as sithence the making of the said estatute all kind of stuff made of leather is more slenderly and deceitfully wrought and made than ever it was, and nevertheless as dear or dearer." Monopoly, it appears, therefore, is the same at all times, proving always injurious to the trade it pretends to foster, and ever vindi-

* 25 Hen. VIII. c. 18.

† 37 Hen. VIII. c. 15.

|| 5 and 6 Edward VI. c. 15.

‡ 33 Hen. VIII. c. 16.

§ 1 Edward VI. c. 6.

cating its claim to public condemnation by the *production of an inferior article at a dearer price*. There are many other examples of the legislature sacrificing the interests of persons employed in one branch of manufacture to those employed in another, but we cannot stop to enumerate them, with one exception. By the 7th George I. c. 7, passed for the encouragement of the woollen and silk trades, any person wearing a garment of printed calico was subjected to a penalty of five pounds!

Until the reign of James the First, the right of exercising exclusively the most important branches of our foreign trade, as well as of our domestic industry, was enjoyed by monopolists, who had purchased them from the crown or received them as marks of royal favour. Many of these grants violated the laws then in force. By an act of Henry the Eighth*, the exportation of woollen cloths "not wrought or dressed" was prohibited under heavy penalties. Notwithstanding that this law was still in force, Queen Elizabeth granted a patent to the Hamburgh Company, authorizing them to export 30,000 cloths not wrought or dressed. Charles the Second granted another patent to Sir James Hayes and Sir Peter Apsley, Knights, in trust for the Countess of Portland for the term of twenty-one years, to license the exportation of all manner of woollen cloths, wrought or unwrought, dressed or undressed, without limitation as to price or number, with power to agree and compound with the exporter for the sum to be paid to them for license to transport the same. It was not until the reign of Queen Anne, when the last-mentioned patent had expired, that the export trade was made free to all persons by Act of Parliament†.

The statute-book is crowded with similar enactments, showing the absurdity, caprice and injustice of legislative interference with the various branches of our commerce. We have only space for one further evidence from these records, so little referred to, but which contain the most important lessons for modern statesmen, and establish the fact of the loss our early trade sustained in consequence of our merchants not being permitted to take the productions of other

* 14 and 15 Henry VIII. c. 3.

† 6 Anne, c. 9.

countries in exchange for our manufactures. By 13 and 14 Car. II. c. 13, the importation of foreign bone-lace, cut work, embroidery, fringe, band-strings, buttons and needlework were prohibited, for the advantage, it was declared in the preamble, of our own manufactures. The 5 Anne, c. 17, recites, "that whereas it is by experience found that the said "act, and divers other acts heretofore made, prohibiting or "restraining the importation of foreign lace, have obstructed "the exportation and vending or selling of the woollen manufactures of England in the Spanish low countries and "other places abroad," and repeals the said act accordingly.

One of the leading errors of early times, in reference to our commercial system, was the belief that wealth consisted in gold and silver. This notion was not confined to England. The early adventurers from every country in Europe went forth in search of gold. Its acquisition was the great object of science and the chief aim of commerce; and the legislature forbade, under heavy penalties, its being carried out of the kingdom. It is long however since this popular delusion has been corrected, and the truth fully appreciated, that the real wealth or poverty of a country depends on the abundance or scarcity of its native productions. But many of the errors that had their origin in this fallacy still exist, and continue to press down the springs of our commerce.

To render what was called the "balance of trade" favourable to us, was the next grand object of legislation; the meaning of which was, that, by increasing as much as possible the exportation of the produce of our domestic industry, and diminishing as much as possible the importation of foreign goods for home consumption, we should increase our store of the precious metals, or, in other words, augment the national wealth. Restraints on importation, bounties on exportation and drawbacks, were part of the machinery by which this object was to be effected. Some of these have since been continued from other motives; but all have been condemned by the universal reason of mankind.

Hence monopolies of the home-market were granted to the several branches of our manufacturing industry—first secured to one, and then sought for by others as a measure of equal justice; and hence all the complex regulations and

intricate details of our laws of the customs. Foreign nations retaliated upon us and each other; national jealousies were awakened; and the several great branches of the human family that were bound together by the strongest ties of mutual interest were alienated by the unwise and impolitic regulations of man*.

We think it proper to lay before our readers a short account of the Corn Laws,—that monopoly before which all others sink into comparative insignificance,—before we proceed to examine their effects upon our social system and the general interests of mankind. The interference of the legislature with the trade in corn commenced at a very early period. The object of the early enactments was clearly to promote a more abundant supply of the necessities of life; and compulsory provisions of different kinds were passed, and penalties imposed, for the purpose of enforcing their growth and reducing their price. By the 7 Hen. VIII. c. 1, it was enacted, that if any person *should decay a town, a hamlet, or a house of industry*, or convert tillage into pasture, the immediate lord of the fee should have the moiety of the offender's land until the offence should be reformed. By the 25th of the same reign, c. 13, harsher expedients were adopted for extending tillage, by making it penal for any person to have *above 2000 sheep at one time*. It was then supposed that an advance which had taken place in the price of sheep had tended to induce landowners to turn their ground into pasture, and that this had enhanced the price of corn; “which things thus used,” the act recites, “be principally to the high displeasure of Almighty God, to the decay of the hospitality of this realm, to the diminishing of the king's people, and to the let of the cloth-making, where—by many poor people have been accustomed to be set on work; and in conclusion, if remedy be not found it may turn to the utter destruction and desolation of this realm, which God defend.” By the 27 Henry VIII. c. 22, it was

* Colbert, who was in his day the great patron of monopolists, by the tariff of 1667 imposed high duties on a number of foreign manufactures. The Dutch retaliated by prohibiting the importation of the wines, brandies and manufactures of France. The war of 1672 was occasioned by this commercial dispute, which lasted for six years, being at last concluded by the peace of Nimeguen, when the one agreed to moderate the duties and the other to take off the prohibitions.

provided that the king should have the moiety of the profits of lands converted from tillage to pasture until they should be restored to their original use; and the like object was sought to be enforced by the infliction of heavy penalties under the 5th and 6th Edward VI. c. 5, and the 5th Elizabeth, c. 2.

It was also considered that low prices of food would be best secured by requiring the consumer to purchase his supplies direct from the farmer, on the supposition that the dealer had an interest hostile to both, by raising prices to the one and reducing profits to the other. By the 5 and 6 Edward VI. c. 14, it was declared penal to purchase corn with intent to sell again; and incorrigible offenders were liable to be put in the pillory or imprisoned during the king's pleasure. Independent of the violation of the natural liberty of the subject inflicted by this law, the effect of its operation was exactly the reverse of the intention of its framers. By forcing the farmer to exercise the trade of a corn-dealer in addition to his own, a portion of his capital and attention was withdrawn from the cultivation of the soil, and production was to that extent obstructed; while the obvious fact was disregarded, that he could not sell his own corn at a cheaper rate than any other corn-merchant, because he could not carry on that branch of trade without deriving the ordinary rate of interest for the capital, and wages for the labour employed in it. Besides, the capital of farmers was generally insufficient for this double purpose; they were consequently obliged to sell their corn before the autumnal months were over: hence the supplies were always exhausted before the ensuing harvest was gathered, even in ordinary years; and, in deficient seasons, the people were left to endure all the horrors of famine. The law of the statute-book was directly opposed to that admirable law of society, which measures out sustenance to the people in proportion to the supply of the year by the intervention of the corn-dealer. Adam Smith remarked, that "the popular fear of engrossing and forestalling could only be compared to the popular terrors and suspicions of witchcraft*." These impolitic enactments, and several others of

* *Wealth of Nations*, vol. ii. p. 412.

the like description, were gradually relaxed and finally repealed by the 12 Geo. III. c. 71, passed in 1772, the preamble of which condemns the pernicious interference of the legislature in matters of food during the preceding reigns. It recites that—

“Whereas it hath been found by experience that the restraints laid by several statutes upon the dealing in corn, meal, flour, cattle, and sundry other sorts of victuals, *preventing a free trade in the said commodities*, have a tendency to discourage the growth and to enhance the price of the same, which statutes, if put in execution, would bring great distress upon the inhabitants of many parts of this kingdom, and in particular upon those of the cities of London and Westminster.”

Co-existent with these laws for the regulation of the home trade, a series of acts were passed for the regulation of the foreign trade in corn. By the 17th Richard II. c. 7, it was provided, that “all the king’s subjects may carry corn out of the realm when they will.” We find, however, by the preamble of the next act which appears on the statute-book, the 15th Henry VI. c. 2 (passed in 1436), that for some time previously it had been deemed necessary to prohibit the exportation of corn without the king’s licence; but it provided, that corn, being of small price, viz. wheat at 6s. 8d. and barley at 3s. the quarter, might be “carried forth of the realm without licence;” and by the 3rd Edward IV. c. 2, the importation of corn into England was prohibited until it should exceed the above prices. It does not appear, however, that these laws were much regarded, for in the preamble to the act 1st and 2nd Philip and Mary, c. 5, it is stated that—

“Whereas sundry good estatutes and laws have been made within this realm in the time of the queen’s highness’s most noble progenitors, that none should transport, carry or convey out of this realm into any place in the parts beyond the seas any corn, butter, cheese or other victual, except only for the victualling of the towns of Calice, Hames and Guines, and the Marches of the same, upon divers great pains and forfeitures in the same contained; that notwithstanding many and sundry covetous and unsatiable persons, seeking their own luces and gains, have and daily do carry and convey innumerable quantity, as well of corn, cheese, butter, and other victual, as of wood out of this realm into the parts beyond the seas, by reason whereof the said corn, victual and wood are grown unto a wonderful dearth and extreme prices, to the great detriment of the commonwealth of this your highness’s realm and your faithful subjects of the same.”

For remedy whereof the provisions contained in the act of Henry VI. were repeated and confirmed,—one of the expedients used in early times for enforcing neglected statutes,—and some additional penalties were added for any breach of those enactments.

By the 5th Elizabeth, c. 5, s. 26, the exportation of corn was permitted when the price of wheat did not exceed 10*s.* the quarter and barley 6*s.* 8*d.*, at certain ports to be appointed by her majesty's proclamation, and where alone wheat could be permitted to be shipped for exportation. This act was repealed thirty-one years afterwards by 35th Elizabeth, c. 7, s. 23, which allowed the exportation of wheat at a duty of 2*s.* per quarter when the price did not exceed 20*s.* the quarter. The doubling of the price of corn within the latter period has been accounted for by the prevalence of war, the greater abundance of specie occasioned by the remittances from the Americas, and the extension of trade with the East. By the 21st James I. c. 28, s. 3, the export limit of 20*s.* was still further advanced to 32*s.* per quarter; by the 12th Car. II. c. 4, s. 11, to 40*s.* per quarter; by 15 Car. II. c. 7, to 48*s.* per quarter; by the 22nd Car. II. c. 13, the exportation of corn was declared perfectly free, although the prices should exceed the rates set down in the preceding act, save only that a poundage should be paid thereon to the king, which amounted to one shilling per quarter. By the 1st William and Mary, c. 12, this poundage was virtually taken off when the price of wheat did not exceed 48*s.* per quarter; and by 11th and 12th William III. c. 20, it was expressly repealed.

It is obvious that the early statutes were intended to provide abundance of corn for the people at low prices; but the encouragement and protection of the agricultural interest appears to have been the paramount consideration of the legislature ever since the reign of Charles I. This is stated in the preamble of one of the acts passed in that reign, to which we have already referred, and which, when compared with that of Philip and Mary, already quoted by us, will sufficiently prove this fact. It recites that,

“ Forasmuch as the encouraging of tillage ought to be in an especial manner regarded and endeavoured; and the surest and effectualest means

of promoting and advancing trade, occupation, or mystery being by rendering it profitable to the users thereof; and great quantities of land within this kingdom for the present lying in a manner waste and yielding little, which might thereby be improved to considerable profit and advantage (if sufficient encouragement were given for the laying out of cost and labour of the same), and thereby much more corn produced; greater numbers of people, horses and cattle employed, and other lands also rendered more valuable."

To encourage the exportation of corn and prohibit its importation seemed to the legislature the most effectual means of attaining this end. The 22nd Charles II. c. 13, passed in 1670, left the export trade perfectly free, as we have seen,—no matter what might be the home prices of corn; but it also imposed a duty of 16*s.* per quarter on the importation of wheat when the price at home did not exceed 53*s.* 4*d.* per quarter. For the ten years subsequent to the passing of this act, ending 1680, the average price of wheat was 44*s.* 6*d.* per quarter; and for the nine years ending 1689, the average price was 34*s.* 1*d.* per quarter, although under its operation the importation of foreign corn was prohibited, the price remaining during that period below the import limit.

Immediately after the Revolution a new plan was adopted to benefit the owners of land and encourage exportation, by a bounty of 5*s.* per quarter on wheat exported when the price was under 48*s.* per quarter. Not satisfied with giving the landholders a monopoly of the home market, the legislature endeavoured by this means to give them a monopoly of the foreign market also, by paying foreigners to buy their corn. This absurd system, which lowered the price of corn to the foreign consumer by means of a double tax on the community at home, was advocated in those days as the perfection of wisdom. For some years after the passing of the bounty act the price of wheat was above 48*s.* per quarter; but the advance is attributed less to the statute itself than to the war with France which immediately followed its enactment, a presumption that is strengthened by the fact, that soon after the peace of Ryswick it resumed its ordinary level; and during a period of sixty-eight years, from 1697 to 1764 inclusive, the average price of wheat was only 33*s.* 3*d.*

per quarter*. Adam Smith was of opinion that the price would have been still lower but for the operation of the bounty. He mentions in his 'Wealth of Nations,' that Mr. Gregory King, a man famous for his knowledge on the subject, estimated at the period the parliamentary bounty was granted, that the average price of wheat, in years of moderate plenty, was 3*s.* 6*d.* the bushel, or 28*s.* the quarter; but he adds—

"The country gentlemen, who then composed a still greater proportion of the legislature than they do at present, had felt that the money-price of corn was falling. The bounty was an expedient to raise it artificially to the high price at which it had been frequently sold in the times of Charles I. and II. It was to take place, therefore, till wheat was so high as 48*s.* the quarter; that is, 20*s.*, or 4*ths* dearer than Mr. King had in that very year estimated the grower's price to be in times of moderate plenty. If his calculations deserve any part of the reputation which they have obtained very universally, 48*s.* the quarter was a price which, without some such expedient as the bounty, could not at that time be expected, except in years of extraordinary scarcity. But the government of King William was not then fully settled. It was in no condition to refuse anything to the country gentlemen, from whom it was at that time soliciting the first establishment of the annual land tax †."

That this enactment stimulated the application of capital to tillage is evidenced by the extraordinary increase in the quan-

* See Report of Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Corn Trade in 1814, p. 5.

The following is the table quoted from Chalmers's Estimate, 322, and Dirom's Inquiry, App. 4.

| Periods. | | Price of Wheat per Statute Quarter. | |
|----------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|-------------|
| | | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
| 5 years ending | 1701 | 42 | 8 |
| 6 | 1707 | 25 | 11 |
| 4 | 1711 | 49 | 9 |
| 4 | 1715 | 37 | 8 |
| 4 | 1719 | 33 | 1 |
| 5 | 1724 | 28 | 10 |
| 5 | 1729 | 37 | 7 |
| 5 | 1734 | 25 | 9 |
| 5 | 1739 | 30 | 10 |
| 5 | 1744 | 28 | 7 |
| 5 | 1749 | 27 | 9 |
| 5 | 1754 | 30 | 5 |
| 5 | 1759 | 36 | 2 |
| 5 | 1764 | 30 | 7 |
| | | 465 | 7 |
| Average . . | | 33 <i>s.</i> | 3 <i>d.</i> |

† Wealth of Nations, vol. i. p. 309.

tity of wheat exported from this period. While the growth of population increased about 30 per cent., the surplus produce was quadrupled during the first sixty-eight years of the eighteenth century*. It appears from the Custom-House books, that between the years 1741 and 1750, there were exported 8,029,156 quarters of all sorts of grain, and that the sum paid for bounty amounted to £1,514,962.

The increased demand for British corn, which immediately followed the passing of the bounty act, naturally enhanced the price for a time in the home market. Capital was then withdrawn from other channels to be employed on land—agriculture was extended—until the enlarged demand in the foreign market had been met by an enlarged supply, and then the price fell for a time as much below its natural level as it had been previously raised above it. Towards the year 1756 a great proportion of the lands which had been broken up for tillage were again, in consequence of the low price of corn, converted into pasture, and capital sought a more profitable employment in manufactures.

About the year 1760 wheat became the ordinary food of the labouring classes instead of rye; and soon after this period the home consumption equalled the home production, and England ceased to be an exporting country of corn. In 1765 three temporary acts were passed in consequence of the price of wheat having risen to 42s. per quarter; one to prohibit the exportation of corn, and the others permitting the importation of oats and oatmeal, and American corn. The prohibition act was made to expire on the 26th of August, 1766, and the two others on the 29th of September in the same year. In that month the price of wheat had risen to 49s. per quarter, in consequence of which riots and tumults of the most alarming character broke out through the country, to quiet which an embargo was laid on all kinds of grain destined for exportation, and the use of wheat forbidden in distilleries by an order in council. The Parliament which met soon afterwards revived the prohibition act, and extended the term of the other two. These tempo-

* From 1701 to 1720 . . . 2,172,470 quarters of wheat exported.
 1721 to 1740 . . . 4,095,687 " "
 1741 to 1764 . . . 8,165,931 " "

rary regulations having been found imperfect and unsatisfactory, a committee of the House of Commons was appointed in 1771 to consider the whole state of the corn trade and corn laws, and for obtaining such information as might serve as a basis of a comprehensive and permanent law. The chairman, Governor Pownall, stated, on the introduction of the bill into Parliament framed on the resolutions of the committee, that the existing difficulties did not arise from scarcity; that there was as much if not more corn grown than formerly; but that, from the different circumstances of the country, the consumption was greater than the supply—such disproportion arising from the increase of manufactures and commerce. The annual production of wheat was stated to be 4,000,000 quarters, all of which, with the addition of 100,000 quarters per annum imported, were consumed at home. Mr. Edmund Burke protested on this occasion against some attempts that were made to set up the agricultural against the commercial interest, and deprecated the impolicy of making any such distinction. “The interests of the landed and commercial parts of the community were,” he said, “closely united; nothing could be more detrimental to both than a jealousy of each other, and nothing more advantageous to the country than their united efforts for their mutual benefit*.”

The act of 1773 (13 Geo. III. c. 43), which was the result of this investigation, was conceived in the same spirit as that of 12 Geo. III. c. 81, to which we have already alluded, which erased from the statute-book the absurd enactments of former reigns, restraining the freedom of the home trade in corn. That it did not go to the same extent, in reference to the foreign trade, is to be accounted for by the strong opposition it encountered in Parliament. It was, however, the commencement of a new era in legislation upon this subject, as from this year until 1814 the importation of corn *was virtually free*, it being subject to the payment of a duty merely nominal;—the higher rate of duty, checking importation, being only chargeable at a few short intervals during that period. It opened the home market to foreign supplies of wheat at a duty of *sixpence* per quarter when the price exceeded 48*s.* per

* Parl. Hist. vol. xvii. p. 479.

quarter, and prohibited exportation when the price rose to 44*s.* On this act Adam Smith remarks*—

“With all its imperfections, however, we may perhaps say of it what was said of the laws of Solon, that, though not the best in itself, it is the best which the interests, prejudices, and temper of the times would admit of. It may perhaps, in due time, prepare the way for a better.”

In 1791 a new act was passed†, which provided that a duty of 24*s.* 3*d.* per quarter should be paid on the importation of wheat when the price was under 50*s.* per quarter; when it reached 50*s.*, but was under 54*s.*, there was to be payable on importation 2*s.* 6*d.* the quarter; and when at or above 54*s.*, sixpence the quarter. The Committee of the Privy Council made a report to the king during the preceding year, in which they state—

“The condition of the country labourer certainly requires that the price of corn should be low, that he may be enabled by his wages to purchase what is necessary for his subsistence. As soon as the price of wheat passes 48*s.* the legislature have thought it their duty to attend to the necessities of the poor, and to encourage the importation of foreign wheat by allowing it at very low duties.”

In the bill, as introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. Pitt, the importation of foreign corn was accordingly permitted at 2*s.* 6*d.* per quarter duty when the price reached 48*s.* per quarter. This was strongly opposed by Mr. Powys on the part of the landed interest, who moved an amendment to the effect that 52*s.* should be substituted for 48*s.* To this amendment Mr. Pitt refused to consent, being, he stated, “convinced that the system upon which the table went fixed the price high enough for the encouragement of tillage, and at the same time guarded against any serious inconvenience to the consumer‡.” In the Lords the necessity for high prices was strongly maintained, and all the arguments now employed against the importation of foreign corn were urged, especially the danger of a dependence on foreign countries for subsistence. Lord Sheffield declared that “not a session had passed without some law being obtained with a view to the interests of commerce against the interests of landed property§.” The higher price was eventually carried in the Lords by a majority of 59 to 53.

* *Wealth of Nations*, vol. ii. p. 323.

† *Parliamentary History*, vol. xlix. p. 102.

‡ 31 Geo. III. c. 30.

§ *Ibid.* vol. xxviii. p. 1380.

During the years from 1773 to 1791 a large quantity of foreign wheat was imported, but agriculture flourished more during the same period than in the course of the preceding century. A few years after the passing of the act of 1773, the quantities of wheat imported and exported were nearly equal; but in 1788, when the country had recovered from the effects of the American war, the imports permanently overbalanced the exports. With the increase of importation commerce and manufactures augmented, and, at the same time, a great stimulus was given to agriculture. In 1771 the annual production of wheat was, as we have before observed, 4,000,000 quarters, which, with the addition of 100,000 quarters per annum imported, were consumed in Britain; whereas, in 1791, the consumption of wheat had reached 500,000 quarters per month, or 6,000,000 quarters annually, of which 180,000 were imported, showing an increased produce of 1,820,000 quarters in about twenty years*, while the average price of wheat was about 44*s.* per quarter.

The continued rapid extension of the home growth of corn is proved by the fact, that from 1780 to 1803 no less than 1197 inclosure bills were carried through Parliament, while no diminution took place in the importation of foreign corn †. The average price of wheat from 1792 to 1803 was 68*s.* 5*d.* per quarter. The peace of Amiens and the favourable harvest of 1802 reduced the price to 67*s.* 9*d.*, and in 1803 it fell to 57*s.* 1*d.* The landed interest declared that this was not a remunerating price for wheat raised on the inferior soils that had been broken up during the few preceding years; and in 1804 Mr. Pitt moved for a select committee to inquire whether the principle of the act passed in 1791 had been carried completely into effect, and whether the prices fixed upon as the criterion for allowing the importation and exportation of corn were adequate to the present circumstances of the country. A bill was brought into Parliament, founded on the report of the committee, which passed through both Houses with little opposition. It provided that when the average price was at or above 66*s.* the duty on importation should be 6*d.* per quarter;

* See Mr. Comber's Treatise on National Subsistence, p. 180.

† It appears from the corn returns laid before Parliament, that 12,553,587 quarters of foreign corn (exclusive of Irish) were imported from 1792 to 1803, both inclusive.

between 66*s.* and 63*s.* the duty was to be 2*s.* 6*d.*; and below 63*s.* the duty of 24*s.* 3*d.* was to be payable. This, like the preceding enactments since 1773, was a dead letter, the ports remaining open at the merely nominal duty.

The recommencement of hostilities with France, and a deficiency in the wheat crop of 1804, caused an advance of prices, which the depreciation of the currency, some bad harvests, the extended demand consequent upon the stupendous struggle in which we were then engaged, and the continental system of Napoleon, all tended to augment. In 1805 the average price of wheat was 87*s.* 1*d.*, or 22*s.* per quarter above the import limit. In 1806 it was declared in Parliament, that it was expedient that the free importation and exportation of all corn and grain reciprocally to and from Great Britain and Ireland should be allowed, and that all restraints, duties and bounties relating thereto should cease; a most salutary provision, which was carried into effect by 46 George III. c. 29. During the years 1806–7–8 we had good harvests, and our prices were respectively 76*s.* 9*d.*, 73*s.* 1*d.*, and 78*s.* 11*d.* The harvests of 1808–9 were deficient, and the price rose to 94*s.* 5*d.*, or about 23*s.* above the import limit during the latter year. In 1810 the average reached 103*s.* 3*d.*, and in 1811 it was 92*s.* 5*d.*, notwithstanding the abundant harvest of the preceding year. In 1812 the average price was 122*s.* 8*d.*, but at one part of the season it rose to 125*s.* per quarter; the harvest however proved abundant, and prices receded to 106*s.* 6*d.* for 1813.

During the last-mentioned year a select committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the state of the corn trade. They appear to have been impressed with the belief that the high price which corn had reached during the war was the point at which it should be retained, in order to enable farmers to perform their engagements and to retain the poorer soils in cultivation; and they recommended to Parliament that foreign wheat imported should be subject to the high duty of 24*s.* 3*d.* per quarter, until the home price reached 105*s.* 2*d.* per quarter! Nothing was done in the matter during that session, but in the succeeding one it was very fully discussed. A resolution was then agreed to by the House, that “when the price of wheat should be at or under 64*s.* per

“quarter the import duty should be 24*s.* per quarter, decreasing 1*s.* with every shilling rise in the price, until the home currency should reach 86*s.*, when foreign wheat should be admitted for home consumption at a duty of 1*s.* per quarter.” A bill was introduced based on this resolution, but it was strongly opposed. Lord Milton presented a petition against it from Leeds containing 20,000 signatures, agreed to at a meeting which took place only a few days before, and Mr. Canning presented another from Liverpool with 22,000 signatures. Mr. Baring (Lord Ashburton) was then the leading advocate for cheap bread. He said, that

“steady prices were never produced by restriction. Apply the doctrine of restriction to any one county in England, and it would be found that the doing so would not have the effect of steadying the prices in that particular county; on the contrary, the bread would be alternately high and low, according as there was a good or bad harvest in that particular spot, deprived as it would be of intercourse with the rest of the kingdom. As the whole of England was to any particular county in England in this respect, such exactly was the whole of Europe as to England*.”

The bill was eventually lost, the Chancellor of the Exchequer voting against it.

During the year 1815 a new bill was introduced by Mr. Robinson, now Lord Ripon, who stated, on explaining its provisions to the House, that in order to have sufficient corn we must have poor lands in cultivation, and these could not be cultivated without considerable expense; so that the produce must be sold at a dear rate to pay it, and it was better to pay that rate than depend on foreigners for a supply. To this reasoning Mr. Baring replied—

“On the principle of forcing a supply from your own soil for your own population, your population never can exceed your own produce; and the consequence therefore of that would be, that you must cut down your population to suit your corn, instead of regulating the supply of corn by the population. This was not lengthening the bed to the man, but shortening the man to the bed†.”

The declared object of the bill was to maintain high prices, and for this purpose it *prohibited* the importation of wheat until the home price reached 80*s.* per quarter. It met most determined opposition both in and out of Parliament; the whole country was in a state of tumult; and on the 6th of

* Parliamentary Debates, vol. xxvii. p. 1100.

† *Ibid.* vol. xxix. p. 972.

March, when it was to be read a third time, the people assembled in such masses in Palace yard, that it was found necessary to call out the military, and two troops of horse could scarcely keep the approaches to the House open. Several members who supported the bill were roughly handled by the mob. Despite of all opposition, however, it was passed into a law.

The agricultural interest were taught to believe, that under the provisions of this act the price of wheat could not be reduced below 80*s.* per quarter. Its immediate effect therefore was a considerable extension of tillage. The crop of 1816 proved deficient, prices rose beyond the import limit, and in the years 1817 and 1818 the importation of foreign corn was unusually large. In 1819, 20 and 21 there were abundant harvests: the ports were closed, yet prices fell to 72*s.* 3*d.* in 1819, 65*s.* 10*d.* in 1820, 54*s.* 5*d.* in 1821, and in a part of the year 1822 to 38*s.* 2*d.*—averaging for the whole year 43*s.* 3*d.* During the year 1821 the landed interest again appealed to Parliament; but beyond a complete monopoly which the corn-growers enjoyed under the existing law, the legislature had nothing to give. The importation of foreign corn was prohibited, yet agriculture was depressed to a point which had been hitherto unknown. The select committee of the House of Commons, to whom had been referred the numerous petitions which had been laid upon the table of the House, reported—

“That in their judgment the complaints of the petitioners were founded in fact, in so far as they represented, that at the present price of corn the returns to an occupier of an arable farm, after allowing for the interest of his investment, were by no means adequate to the charges and outgoings; of which a considerable proportion can be paid only out of the capitals, and not from the profits of the tenantry.”

The natural effect of this state of things was to transfer capital from agriculture to other pursuits, and prices recovered in consequence of a reduction of supplies. In 1823 the average price of wheat was 51*s.* 9*d.*; in 1824, 62*s.*; and in 1825, 66*s.* 6*d.*

During the administration of Mr. Canning in 1826 the commerce of the country was extremely embarrassed; and in order to palliate the effects of the unfortunate statute of 1815

orders in council were issued, admitting for home consumption a quantity not exceeding 500,000 quarters of wheat, at such rates as should be thought advisable under the circumstances. In the following year he proposed a series of resolutions for the alteration of the corn-laws, which were favourably received by the public, to the effect that foreign corn might be always imported in order to be warehoused; and when the average price of wheat was 70s. the quarter it might be admitted for home consumption on payment of the duty of 1s. per quarter, which duty was to be increased one shilling with every shilling decrease in the price of wheat. A bill was introduced, based on these resolutions, which passed the House of Commons, but was abandoned in the Lords, in consequence of an amendment being carried by the Duke of Wellington, prohibiting the importation of foreign wheat until the home price reached 66s. the quarter.

The Duke of Wellington succeeded to office, and passed, in the following year, the act (9 Geo. IV. c. 60) which now regulates the corn trade, and which admits foreign wheat for home consumption upon the payment of certain duties, calculated by what is called the "sliding scale." Foreign wheat is subject to a duty of 26s. 8d. per quarter under it when the home price is 60s. a quarter, and is only admissible at 1s. duty when the home price reaches 73s. per quarter. In some respects this act is still more intolerable than that of 1815. Under the latter, foreign corn was admissible duty free when the price at home reached 80s. per quarter. But it is to be remembered, that the currency in 1828 was enhanced beyond that of 1815 fully 25 per cent.; so that, if this difference be added to 73s., it will make the admission price, at the duty of 1s. per quarter, 91s. instead of 80s. per quarter. By the act of 1804, foreign wheat was admitted at 6d. per quarter duty when the home price was at or above 66s.; at this price the duty payable under the present law, without calculating the enhanced currency, is 20s. 8d. per quarter. The act of 1791 admitted foreign wheat at 6d. per quarter duty when the home price was at or above 54s.; at this price the duty under the existing law would be 32s. 8d. per quarter. By the act of 1773 the home market was open to foreign supply at a duty of 6d. per quarter when the price exceeded

48*s.* per quarter; at this price the duty now payable would be 38*s.* 8*d.* per quarter. The present act is therefore more restrictive in the letter, and has been more disastrous in its results than any that preceded it. In its operation it has fully justified the character given of it by Lord Stanley, when it was discussed in the House of Commons before it passed into a law. "If," he observed on that occasion, "he was not entirely mistaken in the view which he had taken of this subject, the great point was to secure the corn-market from all excessive fluctuation, *and that was the very point in which the present bill was notoriously and palpably deficient*.*." The intention of this law, as expressed in Parliament by its framers, was, that under its provisions the prices of wheat should be steadily maintained at somewhere about 64*s.* per quarter, which they called the "pivot price." On the 11th of July 1828, when the first weekly average was struck under the act, the price of wheat was 55*s.* 7*d.* per quarter, and on the 26th of December following the price was 76*s.* 6*d.*, being an advance of 20*s.* 11*d.* per quarter within six months. On the 25th December 1835 the price was so low as 36*s.* per quarter, and on the 11th January 1839 it was 81*s.* 6*d.* per quarter, being an advance of 45*s.* 6*d.* per quarter. A similar effect was produced by the act of 1815. In the seventeen months which passed between January 1816 and June 1817, the price of wheat varied from 53*s.* 1*d.* to 112*s.* 7*d.* per quarter, and in the three months from June to September 1817, from 112*s.* 7*d.* to 74*s.*† Lord Stanley had no confidence in the corn-bill of Sir Robert Peel in 1828, and was "certainly inclined to the opinion of those who abstractedly supported a fixed permanent duty‡." The correctness of his lordship's views as to "the sliding-scale" at that period has been established by incontrovertible facts; and such has ever been, and must ever continue to be, the result of attempting to secure the corn-market from excessive fluctuation *by contracting the market of supply*.

The argument, that the prosperity of agriculture in this country has been matured under a system of restriction, is

* Parliamentary Debates, N. S., vol. xix. p. 24.

† Parliamentary Paper, Sess. 1841, No. 129.

‡ Parliamentary Debates, N. S., vol. xix. p. 35.

altogether fallacious. From the year 1773 to 1815, the alleged restriction was, as we have shown, merely nominal, and the corn-trade virtually free. At the former period three-fourths of Bedfordshire consisted of common fields, or of common and waste land; and many other counties in England were in no better condition. It appears from a report presented to Parliament, that to the end of the reign of George II. only 244 inclosure acts had passed, under which 338,177 acres were brought into cultivation*. The greater proportion of this became in a few years pasture-land. From the beginning of the reign of George III. to the year 1815 inclusive, 3178 inclosure acts were passed, which, supposing the number of acres inclosed by each to be 1830, according to the estimation of the Commons' committee of 1798 on waste lands, the total would amount to an area of nearly 6,000,000 of acres brought into cultivation within that period†. In 1770 the population of England and Wales amounted, according to the calculation of Mr. Finlaison of the National Debt Office, to 7,227,586; and that of Scotland, at the same period, may be estimated at about 1,432,224,—the mean between the amounts in 1750, as calculated by Dr. Webster, and that shown by the census of 1801; making the population of Great Britain in that year 8,659,810. The quantity of wheat then grown in Britain was 4,000,000 quarters, which, with the addition of 100,000 quarters imported, was consumed at home. The population of Great Britain in 1815 reached 13,023,817‡; and allowing one quarter of wheat as the average consumption of each person, according to the calculation of Mr. Charles Smith, the author of 'Tracts on the Corn-trade,'—an estimate

| | Acts. | Acres. |
|---|-------------|-------------------|
| * Anne . . . | 2 | 1,439 |
| George I. . . | 16 | 17,960 |
| George II. . . | 226 | 318,778 |
| | <u>244</u> | <u>338,177</u> |
| † From beginning of reign of George III. to 1797 inclusive | 1532 | 2,804,197 |
| From 1797 to 1815 | 1646 | 3,012,180 |
| | <u>3178</u> | <u>5,816,377</u> |
| ‡ Census of 1811 | | 11,956,303 |
| Census of 1821 | | <u>14,072,331</u> |
| Mean of these amounts, being the population for 1815 . | | 13,023,817 |

which has been confirmed by a variety of subsequent researches and authorities,—and one-seventh for seed, it appears that the quantity of wheat consumed in Great Britain in 1815 was 14,884,362 quarters, and the quantity produced about 14,200,000 quarters, making the most ample allowance for the supply from other places*. While production increased three-fold within the period we have mentioned, rents advanced in an equal proportion, and the prosperity of farmers and labourers was as remarkable as the improvement and extension of agriculture. It is the custom to attribute this altogether to the stimulus given to production by the war; but we consider it may be more fairly placed to the credit of the free course of agricultural industry during the forty years to which we refer, the rapid growth of our population, the improvements in mechanical science, and the application of steam to manufactures and commerce, which has multiplied in so surprising a degree the force of labour, and proportionally extended the sum of human enjoyments. Bridges in that time have been built; roads formed; rivers rendered navigable; canals, harbours and docks made and improved; towns, factories, warehouses have sprung up to an extent and with a rapidity altogether unprecedented in the history of our own or any other country; while, during the early periods at which we have already glanced, our population was for the most part employed in the cultivation of the soil, and scarcely produced sufficient food for the maintenance of the community. The means of acquiring the other necessities of life gradually extended with the growth of manufactures and commerce; but it was not until the productive powers of the country were aided by machinery, and the gigantic arm of steam was employed as an auxiliary to labour, that any great advance was made in wealth and civilization.

It becomes therefore a matter of grave consideration to those who are inclined to maintain the present system of corn-laws, whether, in the words of the committee on the corn-laws of 1821—

“Commerce can expand, manufactures thrive, and great public works

* The consumption of foreign wheat in 1815, taken on an average of ten years, was 429,076 quarters.—*Parl. Paper* 164, 15th June, 1841. The quantity imported from Ireland was 189,544 quarters.

be undertaken, without furnishing to the skill and labour which the capitals thus employed put in motion, increased means of paying for the productions of the land?—whether the principal part of those productions which contribute to the gratification of the wants and desires of the different classes of the community must not necessarily be drawn from our own soil,—the demand increasing with the population, as the population must increase with the riches of the country?—whether a great part of the same capital which is employed in supporting the industry connected with manufactures, commerce, and public works, does not, passing by a very rapid course into the hands of the occupier of the soil, serve also as a capital for the encouragement of agriculture?—whether, in our own country in former times, and in other naturally fertile countries up to the present time, agriculture has not languished from the want of such a stimulus?—whether, in those countries, the proprietors of the land are not themselves poor, and the people wretched, in proportion as, from want of capital, their labour is more exclusively confined to raising from their own soil the means of their own scanty subsistence? And whether, in fine, the only solid foundation of agriculture is not laid in abstaining from interference, either by protection or prohibition, with the application of capital in any branch of industry; and whether, so long as trade and manufactures shall flourish, there is any ground to fear that agriculture shall decline?

It has been contended that, although the ports were constantly open from the year 1773 to the year 1815, and the trade free, upon payment of a duty merely nominal, with the exception of a few short intervals,—yet that the continental system then in operation had the effect of diminishing the importations of foreign wheat, and of leaving the British grower in possession of the home market. This was not, however, the case. The quantity of foreign and colonial wheat and wheat-flour annually imported between the years 1801 and 1810 inclusive, amounted, on an average of these years, to 555,959 quarters; while, between the years 1821 and 1830, the annual average importation amounted only to 534,762, a proof that we had no difficulty in procuring the foreign supplies we required during the war*.

Since the passing of the corn-law of 1815 several committees have been appointed to inquire into the state of agriculture, and into the causes and extent of the distress which appeared to press upon some important branches of it at intervals during that period. The committee appointed in 1821 entered very fully into the subject, and laid a report upon the table of the House of Commons in that year—written, it has

* Parliamentary Paper, No. 164, Session, 1841.

been said, by Mr. Huskisson—of the most valuable and important character, from which we have already quoted. They remark, that there is a consideration in the article of corn which ought to be constantly borne in mind, and which is most material to enable persons to arrive at sound and safe conclusions upon the subject, namely, “that its price fluctuates more than that of any other commodity of extensive consumption, in proportion to any excess or deficiency in the supply.” They refer to the fact that there is no article for which the demand is more steady, being little increased by redundancy, or checked by scantiness of the quantity produced, and then apply this principle to the state of the country and of our corn-laws.

Assuming that the annual produce of corn, the growth of the United Kingdom, was then, upon an average crop, about equal to our annual consumption, and that with such average crop the provisions of the corn-law of 1815 were sufficient to secure to the British grower a monopoly of the home market; in such a case the fluctuation of prices might be expected to range between the maximum at which foreign corn might be admitted, or not much beyond it, and the minimum to which that price might be reduced by an abundant harvest, or a succession of them, until British corn fell below the price of some foreign market, and found a vent in exportation. It is an opinion founded upon long observation, “that years of scarcity or plenty do not come alternately, or at short intervals, but in pretty large cycles, and irregularly;” and if so, it is important to consider how hazardous and embarrassing must be the situation of the grower of corn in a country where the lowest price which is considered to afford him a remuneration shall habitually and considerably exceed the prices of the remainder of the world, although up to that price he should be secured in the complete monopoly of that country. As to a remunerative price, several witnesses represented it to the committee as a fixed amount of 80s. for the quarter of wheat, and in proportion for other grain. On this part of the question the committee remarked that much misconception prevailed; and that what was deemed a remunerative price in 1815, under one state of things, might be more or less than a remunerative price in 1821 under another.

“The meaning usually attached to this word *remunerative*,” they observe, “is the price at which corn can be raised, paying all present charges and leaving to the grower a fair profit for his capital. Now if the country should require for its annual consumption one-fifth, for example, more of corn than was sufficient in 1815, this increased demand would require an extended tillage. Lands which in 1815 would not have paid for cultivation, would be applied to the raising of corn; and it would be very possible that, upon those lands paying no rent, and notwithstanding the increased value of money and diminished expense of production, corn could not be raised for 80s. the quarter.”

In order to preserve a monopoly to the home grower, either by means of an actual prohibition of foreign corn up to a certain price which might be considered remunerative, or by imposing a duty on importation which would be equivalent to such prohibition, it would be therefore necessary to advance the import prices from time to time, as we were obliged to have recourse to inferior soils for the supply of our population. The means of raising food would thus progressively become more expensive, until our manufacturers, finding themselves unable to compete with foreigners, would remove the seats of their industry to other countries, leaving behind them an unoccupied burthensome population, and our national greatness would sink as rapidly as it rose. The provisions of the act of 1815 prohibited importation up to a certain price, beyond which there was an unlimited competition. The effects of the act of 1828 are the same. Foreign wheat is generally kept in store until it reaches the highest price in the scale at which it becomes admissible upon the payment of 1s. duty, and then the market is inundated with it, and generally at the period when the farmer is sending to market the produce of the new harvest. The following observations of the committee are therefore applicable to both acts:—

“This system is certainly liable to sudden alterations, of which the effect may be at one time to reduce prices already low lower than they would probably have been under a state of free trade, and, at another, unnecessarily to enhance prices already high; to aggravate the evils of scarcity, and to render more severe the depression of prices from abundance. On the one hand it deceives the grower with the false hope of a monopoly, and, by its occasional interruption, may lead to consequences which deprive him of the benefits of that monopoly when most wanted; on the other hand, it holds out to the country the prospect of an occasional free trade, but so ill regulated and desultory as to baffle the calculations and unsettle the transactions both of the grower and the dealer at home, to deprive the

consumer of most of the benefits of such a trade, and involve the merchant in more than the ordinary risks of mercantile speculation. It exposes the markets of the country either to be occasionally overwhelmed with an inundation of foreign corn altogether disproportionate to its wants, or, in the event of any considerable deficiency in our own harvest, it creates a sudden competition on the continent, by the effect of which the prices there are rapidly and unnecessarily raised against ourselves. But the inconvenient operation of the present corn-law, which appears to be less the consequence of the quantity of foreign grain brought into this country upon an average of years than of the manner in which that grain is introduced, is not confined to great fluctuations in price and consequent embarrassment both to the grower and the consumer; for the occasional prohibition of import has also a direct tendency to contract the extent of our commercial dealings with other states, and to excite in the rulers of those states a spirit of permanent exclusion against the productions or manufactures of this country and its colonies. In this conflict of retaliatory exclusion, injurious to both, the two parties, however, are not upon an equal footing; on our part prohibition must yield to the wants of the people, on the other side there is no such overruling necessity. And inasmuch as reciprocity of demand is the foundation of all means of payment, a large and sudden influx of corn might, under these circumstances, create a temporary derangement of the course of exchange, the effects of which (after the resumption of cash payments) might lead to a drain of specie from the Bank, the consequent contraction of its circulation, a panic among the country banks—all aggravating the distress of a public dearth, as has been experienced at former periods of scarcity."

We believe that all persons who have considered the practical working of the existing law, or have felt its effects—the merchants who have been reduced to insolvency by speculations in corn, the labouring classes who have suffered the severe privations consequent upon high prices of bread, the farmers themselves with whose complaints the table of the House of Commons has been covered—will acknowledge that the sudden and desultory transitions inseparable from the present system, and its other distressing consequences to the entire community, have not been overstated in the preceding description. Its effects upon the currency are familiar to every one. In the years 1838–39 the large importation of foreign corn nearly emptied the coffers of the Bank of England; and it is in evidence before the Committee on Bank Issues, that a stoppage of payment must have been the consequence but for the timely assistance of the Bank of France.

A great deal of evidence was given before the committees

on the state of agriculture in 1833 and 1836, all tending to show the distressed state of the farmers, and the little advantage they had derived from the corn-laws. Mr. Bernard states in 1836, that in the year 1832 he applied to farmers in different counties to furnish him with debtor and creditor statements of the outgoings and produce of farms of an average quality in different counties, and that he found "at that time no less than half the average rent of the kingdom was "paid out of capital instead of profits*." They had consequently recourse in many cases to the destructive practice of exhausting the land by a frequent repetition of corn-crops, and it was stated that considerable injury had been done by the breaking up of old pasture-land†. Mr. Lewin, a farmer, complained that the effect on the price of corn of "the sliding-scale" was, "that it goes up to a certain height and then it tumbles down immediately‡;" and Mr. H. Dowling, a corn-factor and farmer, stated that it afforded no protection to the grower.

"Under its operation," he observes, "the ports usually open about July and August; generally the highest prices range about that period at the time of our harvest; then we are glutted with corn, perhaps at a low duty, for they seldom pay the high duty on much, if they have a prospect of bad harvests. Corn gets down to a very low price; then the needy farmer must bring all his corn between that time and Christmas; he therefore reaps no benefit from the corn-law, but a serious injury, for he is selling while the foreign corn is having its full effect§."

The law has also operated to force a great proportion of the labouring peasantry to live upon potatoes instead of wheat. Mr. Jacob states, "I should imagine there must be at least "two millions of the inhabitants of England whose chief vegetable food is potatoes, according to the views I represented to the committee in 1833||."

The experience we have had of restriction, and the evidence that has been given on this important subject by all classes of the people since 1821, must strengthen and confirm the sound and statesmanlike views of Mr. Huskisson, as embodied in the invaluable Report of the Select Committee on Agriculture in that year. His prophecies have been fulfilled to the

* Report of Select Committee on State of Agriculture, 1836, as printed for the Lords, p. 121.

† *Idem*, p. 74.

§ *Idem*, p. 210.

‡ *Idem*, p. 384.

|| *Idem*, Commons, First Report.

letter, and his opinions must therefore be of great weight in the settlement of this question.

"In comparing," the committee observe, "the two periods, each of nearly equal duration, between the peace of Utrecht and the commencement of the seven years' war, and between the years 1773 and 1814, and recollecting that the first period was one of almost uninterrupted peace, and that nearly thirty years of the latter have passed away in the exertions of two most expensive wars; that during the former period, the market interest of money was generally much below, and during the latter frequently as much above, the rate fixed by law; that during the former, the aim of the legislature was by artificial means to divert the application of capital from other employments to that of agriculture, as well by positive bounties, which forced an export of grain to other countries, as by duties, which generally altogether precluded its import either from the continent or from Ireland; that during the latter agriculture has, in point of fact, been without either of those stimulants;—your committee cannot look at these contrasted circumstances, coincident during the first period with a comparative stagnation of our agriculture, and during the second, with its most rapid growth and improvement, without acknowledging *that there was nothing in the system pursued up to 1773 which necessarily promoted this most essential branch of public industry and national wealth; and also that there is nothing incompatible with the success of both these objects in the system which has prevailed since that date!*"

Mr. Huskisson was not less opposed to the corn-law of 1828 than to that of 1815; on the 25th March 1830 he stated in the House of Commons—

"It is my unalterable conviction that we cannot uphold the corn-laws now in existence, together with the present taxation, and at the same time increase national prosperity and preserve public contentment."

All the eminent political economists, from Adam Smith downwards, have exposed the fallacy of restrictions upon commerce, and especially upon the trade in corn. The views of the former, revealed at a period when the most erroneous impressions prevailed on this important subject, are well worthy of attention and serious consideration at present, when the principles which have directed our policy for a series of years are about to be re-examined and tested. In his day, as at present, the great obstacle to the adoption of a sound policy was the alleged necessity of continuing protection to existing interests, because they had previously enjoyed it, although it was allowed that it was never intended the protection should be permanent. He sought to convince the landowner that he must share in the great advantage of a

return to a natural state of things, and that the artificial system was of no real advantage to him.

"The trade of the merchant importer of foreign corn for home consumption," he observes, "evidently contributes to the immediate supply of the home market, and must so far be immediately beneficial to the great body of the people. It tends indeed to lower somewhat the average money price of corn, but not to diminish its real value or the quantity of labour which it is capable of maintaining. If importation was at all times free, our farmers and country gentlemen would probably, one year with another, get less money for their corn than they do at present, when importation is at most times in effect prohibited; but the money which they got would be of more value, would buy more goods of all other kinds, and would employ more labour. Their real wealth, their real revenue, therefore, would be the same as at present, though it might be expressed by a smaller quantity of silver, and they would neither be disabled nor discouraged from cultivating corn as they do at present. On the contrary, as the rise in the real value of silver, in consequence of lowering the money price of corn, lowers somewhat the money price of all other commodities, it gives the industry of the country where it takes place some advantage in all foreign markets, and thereby tends to encourage and increase their industry. But the extent of the home market for corn must be in proportion to the general industry of the country where it grows, or to the number of those who produce something else, and therefore have something else, or what comes to the same thing, the price of something else, to give in exchange for corn. But in every country, the home market, as it is the nearest and most convenient, so it is likewise the greatest and most important market for corn. That rise in the real value of silver, therefore, which is the effect of lowering the average money price of corn, tends to enlarge the greatest and most important market for corn, and thereby to encourage instead of discouraging its growth*."

Edmund Burke was opposed to any legislative interference whatever with the trade in corn:

"Of all things," he observed, "an indiscreet tampering with the trade of provisions is the most dangerous. My opinion is against an overdoing of any sort of administration, and more especially against this most momentous of all meddling on the part of authority,—the meddling with the subsistence of the people."

Sir Walter Raleigh, Benjamin Franklin, Jeremy Bentham, David Ricardo, Say, Adam Clarke, Dr. Johnson, Dr. Chalmers, and many others of the past and present age justly celebrated for the soundness of their views, and who have made the sources of national wealth the subject of inquiry,—all concur

* *Wealth of Nations.* Lond. 1828, vol. ii. p. 414.

in reprobating the shallow policy of monopoly, and in recommending a liberal system of commerce as affording the best security for the permanent happiness and prosperity of states. The system of restriction has been hitherto upheld by the owners of land, "who constitute almost exclusively one house of parliament, and form a large majority in the other;" but some of the largest landed proprietors in the kingdom are now in favour of a moderate fixed duty on corn instead of the "sliding-scale;" amongst whom we can include the Duke of Devonshire, Duke of Bedford, Duke of Norfolk, Duke of Cleveland, Duke of Sutherland, Duke of Leinster, Marquis of Westminster, Marquis of Lansdowne, Earl Fitzwilliam, Earl of Leicester, Earl of Radnor, Earl Spencer, Earl of Ducie and Lord Panmure. These noblemen have a large stake in the country, and must derive a proportionate advantage from any advance in its general prosperity consequent upon the change. They are aware how a depreciation in the price of corn may be counterpoised by increased production consequent upon the improved management of farms and the employment of additional labour. The whole history of monopoly shows that it acts as a discouragement to improvement, and the farmer is not an exception to the general rule;—it tends to make him rest contented with a slovenly system of cultivation, because it is cheap, under the belief that the diminished quantity of produce consequent thereon will be compensated by an increased price.

It is in evidence before the select committee on import duties, that the manufactures of silk and linen, the two branches of industry in this country most highly protected, have been most frequently depressed, and on the other hand, the cotton manufacture, the least protected, has prospered most. In Saxony and Switzerland, countries by no means naturally rich, manufactures have thriven without any protection whatever, more than in other parts of the continent of Europe. The population of both are remarkable for economical habits and persevering industry,—the usual effects of freedom,—which have enabled them, especially the latter, to overcome obstacles of the most serious kind. In consequence of a tedious and expensive overland carriage, it costs the Swiss, to convey raw cotton from the nearest seaport, double what it costs the

Lancashire and Lanark manufacturer, and yet, notwithstanding our superior natural advantages, their cotton goods successfully compete with ours in our Eastern markets, and are sent in large quantities to the United States and the Brazils. In Austria, on the other hand, under the prohibitory laws of Maria Theresa and Joseph the Second, manufacturers were merely lingering in a state of bare existence; and in Spain, where the protective system has been generally carried to a great extent, commerce and manufactures are nearly extinct;—the smugglers are the principal traders, who introduce, partly by fraud and partly by force, their contraband goods into the market: the treasury is consequently defrauded, the population are poor and demoralized, and the commercial towns deserted.

If a protecting duty be prejudicial in respect of one branch of industry, how much more so must it prove in the case of corn—operating as it then does as a general tax on the nation, and a particular tax on every other branch of industry at the same time? But the present system of protection is the worst that could be devised for the farmer, in consequence of the violent fluctuation in prices it occasions. When prices are high, the poor's-rate and the expenses of production rise in an equal proportion; when prices are low, his capital is absorbed—his farm is neglected, and finally abandoned. How frequently tenants have become insolvent and farms have reverted to landlords since 1828, has been proved by numerous witnesses before the committees on agriculture of 1833 and 1836. Surely the landlord must be a gainer by placing agriculture on a more secure foundation, even supposing rents should be thereby nominally reduced!

Mr. Canning was only favourable to a protection on corn, so far as other trades were protected. "If trade in corn," he observed, "is to be continued at all, it ought to be continued as far as is practicable under the same principles as are applied to other species of trade." The manufacturers of woollens, cottons, hardware, leather, etc., were, for a considerable period, impressed with the belief that monopoly was absolutely essential to the existence of their different branches of production, and were the most formidable opponents of the government of the day, when any attempt

was made to place the commerce of the country on a sounder footing. They had been often told that, as they depended to a considerable extent on foreign markets for the consumption of their goods, they must be in a condition to sell them as cheap in those markets as any other goods of the same quality that might be brought into competition with them from any part of the world; and that if they could successfully withstand all such competition abroad, they were certain to be able to do so at home. They held out for a long period against this obvious truth, but at length became convinced of the fact, that a protecting duty against importation was of no use to them whatever. Their prosperity depended upon their being enabled to export their goods with profit, which they could not do if they were not able to produce them cheaper than the manufacturers of other countries. Subsequent to the year 1820, the restrictive laws against the importation of foreign manufactured goods were essentially modified at the solicitation of the manufacturers of London, Liverpool, Glasgow, Manchester, Leeds, Bristol, and all the great manufacturing towns of England, from which petitions were presented to Parliament, praying for a repeal of the restrictive system. In 1824 and 1825 the system of prohibition was abandoned, and foreign manufactures admitted at certain *ad valorem* duties;—cotton manufactures at a duty of 10 per cent., and woollen at a duty of 15 per cent.; hardware 20 per cent., &c. These duties cannot be considered protective, because they do not exceed the cost of transport, and were imposed merely for the purposes of revenue. Their operation has clearly proved how unfounded the early fears of the manufacturers had been of the adoption of free-trade principles, as the imports of foreign manufactures have been since comparatively trifling.

Before Mr. Pitt's treaty with France, our woollen manufacturers had a complete monopoly of the home market; but by that treaty French broad-cloths were admitted into England on the payment of certain duties. Mr. J. D. Hume, who was thirty-eight years in the Customs and eleven years afterwards at the Board of Trade, describes, in his evidence before the committee on import duties, the effects of this change of policy.

At that time, he observes,

“ Our cloths were of a uniform and very inferior character. In the first instance, the French cloths had a very great sale in this country ; the habit was always to order a coat of French cloth ; and no tailor thought of making a bill without putting the words ‘ Coat of French cloth :’ and my informant assured me, that that habit of so charging lasted many years after there was scarcely a piece of French cloth came into the country.”

The manufacturers of this country, stimulated by competition, soon produced cloth of equal quality, and retained the trade to themselves.

Previous to 1824 the importation of foreign silk wrought goods was prohibited ; high duties were payable on the importation of raw silk ; and the exportation of manufactured silk was encouraged by a bounty. This system was completely changed by Mr. Huskisson’s act, 5 Geo. IV. c. 21. Under it foreign silks were admitted at an *ad valorem* duty of 30 per cent. ; the duty on the raw material was considerably reduced, and the bounty abolished. Since that period the manufacture of silk has been greatly improved and considerably extended. At the time this change took place there were ten manufacturers in Manchester who employed about 3000 weavers, and the value of silk manufactured there was £450,000 per annum. There are now about thirty manufacturers in that town, who employ about 15,000 weavers, and the value of silk manufactures has increased to £1,600,000 or £1,800,000 per annum ; and while the fabric has improved in quality, it has decreased in price from 20 to 30 per cent., in consequence of improved modes of manufacturing, and the stimulus to exertion which competition always gives. In 1827 our exports of manufactured silk were only to the extent of £236,113 ; in 1839 they amounted to £865,768 *. Our limits will not permit us to enumerate the various cases in which the like results have attended even a partial return to a sound system of trade. The principle is all but universally acknowledged, and our manufacturers, with scarcely an exception, have declared in favour of the policy of a free and unfettered intercourse with foreign countries.

From such a system they have nothing to fear and everything to gain. Great Britain does not possess the physical capacity of producing wine and fruit like France or Portu-

* Report of the Select Committee on Import Duties, p. 240.

gal, or silk like Italy and the East Indies, or cotton and gold like the Brazils. But she has a capital—a commercial marine—and a rare combination of physical and scientific power, which afford her unrivalled means of manufacturing the raw productions of other parts of the world;—a geographical position which enables her to receive with facility the produce of all climates, and a system of internal communication by which she can distribute them throughout the manufacturing districts with a surprising degree of rapidity and at a trifling expense. Great Britain is therefore preeminently qualified to be the workshop of the world. But with all these advantages, the quantity of British manufactures consumed at home quadruples that which is annually exported, in consequence of the system of restrictive laws by which her commerce has been impeded. Freedom of trade would probably open the markets of hundreds of millions of people to British manufactures, many of whom are now entering upon the career of civilization and beginning to acquire a taste for the comforts and conveniences of life.

One of the most plausible arguments which has been produced in favour of granting a protection to the home growth of corn is, that it would be impolitic and dangerous to become habitually dependent upon foreigners for a supply of food. We have no doubt that the apprehension of injury to the community from this cause has induced many landowners to support the corn-laws, rather than an anxiety to preserve personal interests which may have grown up under their sanction. Many have believed that the unrestricted import of foreign wheat would cause a vast quantity of continental corn to be poured into this country, producing so great a depreciation of prices as to cause capital to be withdrawn from home production, and prices be thus eventually raised to a point far beyond any they might be expected to attain under a system of protection. We believe that in the year 1815 the most erroneous impressions existed as to the quantity of corn the continent might be expected to supply, and as to the cost at which it could be produced. One might have supposed that the experience of upwards of forty years, during which we had looked to foreign countries for a portion of the corn necessary for our own consumption, and occasionally applied

every possible stimulus that high prices and bounties could effect to extend importation, might have then proved to the home-grower how inconsiderable was the quantity that could be spared to us from that source. Mr. Pitt endeavoured to make Great Britain the storehouse of all the continental grain that could be obtained in 1795, and obtained the sanction of Parliament in that year to grant a bounty of from 16s. to 20s. per quarter, according to quality, on wheat imported from the north of Europe, until the quantity should reach 900,000 quarters; and from 12s. to 15s. per quarter on wheat from the South of Europe or the Americas, until the quantity imported should reach 500,000 quarters; and from 8s. to 10s. per quarter on such additional quantity as might be imported previous to the 30th of September 1796. Notwithstanding the exertion this naturally created amongst the dealers in wheat, only 430,000 quarters could be procured from the entire of the North of Europe, and the total imports from all parts of the world during that period did not exceed 700,000 quarters. From 1761 to 1796, the average annual quantity imported into Great Britain was under 120,000 quarters, and from 1796 to 1830, it amounted to not more than 500,000 quarters. Even at present a similar impression very generally prevails although contradicted by the best information and the most authentic facts. This can only be accounted for by the exaggerations into which the parties are led who severally oppose and support the existing corn-laws. One party declares, that, by opening our ports to the surplus corn of the continent, a quantity would be introduced which would lower the price to the consumer to some level—not very accurately defined—but which would have the effect of saving to the public a *hundred million sterling a year!* This argument also serves to make a case for the opposite party, and is acquiesced in by them until at length it assumes the appearance of an admitted fact. It is therefore important to examine how far the quantity of corn now raised on the continent exceeds the quantity consumed by its inhabitants, and to what extent that quantity might be increased by a free trade with England.

The mean annual consumption of wheat in Great Britain may be estimated to be at the rate of one quarter for each

individual, besides an allowance of one-seventh for seed. The population of Great Britain amounted, according to the census of 1831, to 16,537,398 persons; and may now, in round numbers, be calculated at nineteen millions. The population of Ireland was at the same time 7,767,401, and may now be estimated at eight-and-a-half millions. Ireland, however, does not consume at the rate of half the quantity of wheat used in England; so that, allowing four millions for that country, the consumption of wheat in the United Kingdom may be considered to be twenty-three millions of quarters, and, allowing for seed, fully twenty-six millions, without calculating the quantity used in various manufactures. In 1838, 1839, and 1840, owing to deficient harvests, the imports of wheat into England were the largest ever known, our necessities having driven us to collect the quantities which had accumulated during the four or five preceding years in every market of the world, when our importations had been comparatively small*; yet, notwithstanding these efforts, the annual average quantity of foreign wheat entered for home consumption during the ten years commencing 1830, and ending 1840, only amounted to 908,118 quarters, *not one fortnight's consumption!*

We regret to say that the hopes indulged by one party, and the fears entertained by another with respect to prices, are not less destitute of foundation than with respect to supplies. The principal continental market from which we have drawn our supplies is Dantzic. The descriptions of foreign wheat which approach nearest in quality to that of England are brought a great distance down the Vistula to that port, from the provinces of Volhynia and Sandomir in Poland. The prices at Dantzic commonly regulate those of other ports of the Baltic, and will afford us data to judge what we should be likely to pay for foreign corn, supposing that the ports were opened, and all duties and restrictions abolished. A statement of the

* The following countries are mentioned in the return as places from which corn was imported into Great Britain in 1840:—Russia, Sweden and Norway, Denmark, Prussia;—Germany, Mecklenburgh, Hanover, Oldenburgh and Knipphausen, Hanseatic Towns;—Holland, Belgium, Portugal, Madeira, and the Azores, Spain and the Canaries, Gibraltar, Italy, Malta, Ionian Islands, Turkey and Egypt, East India Company's Territories, British North American Colonies, United States, Isles of Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney and Man (foreign produce).

average prices of corn at that city, free on board, in decennial periods from 1770 to 1819, was furnished to the committee of 1821, by which it appears that the aggregate average price of forty-nine years, during which (with the exception of a few years) the ports were open, was 45*s.* 4*d.* per quarter. The average price during the twenty-two years ending 1838 was much lower, viz. 34*s.* 4*d.* per quarter; but from 1820 to 1824 inclusive, and again from 1833 to 1836, our importation was greatly reduced,—*the entire quantity of foreign and colonial wheat and wheat-flour entered for home consumption during these nine years amounting only to 273,065 quarters**, or about *one-eighteenth* part of the quantity imported in any preceding period of similar length since 1791. No correct calculation for ordinary years can therefore be made on such data.

The price at which wheat can be produced in the vicinity of Dantzic, was stated by Mr. Grade of that city, in a letter printed in the appendix to the Report of the Agricultural Committee of 1821 (p. 364). He mentions that

*"If land could be had for nothing, and reckoning upon no casualties—such as a failure of the crop, extraordinary taxes, requisitions, quartering of troops, &c., the mere producing prices of wheat would be 300*f.* Prussian currency per load, or 31*s.* 9*d.* per quarter;"*

to which must be added 4*s.* or 5*s.* per quarter for bringing the produce to market, and incidental expenses on the same, which increase in proportion to the distance from which supplies may be brought.

There is no doubt that our present system has had the effect of causing great fluctuations in prices on the continent. Under it our demand for wheat arises at intervals, and only when the prospect of an unfavourable harvest induces our merchants, all at once, to send out orders; and prices rise abroad in proportion to the extent and urgency of our wants. Speculation, under such circumstances, is very different from what it is when trade is free. In the latter case its tendency is to equalize prices, and to adjust the effects of the vicissitudes of seasons in a series of years. When there is an abundant harvest at home or abroad, the speculator stores up the quantity of corn that is not re-

* Parliamentary Paper, No. 164, Sept. 1841.

quired for the consumption of one year, with which he is enabled to supply the wants of another, and thus prevents the great depression in prices which a small surplus would otherwise create, and the great advance which would be consequent upon a small deficiency. But this adjusting balance, so beneficial to the community, requires a free and unimpeded action, and its mechanism is always deranged and its power impaired by legislative restrictions on trade. One of the worst effects of the corn-law is, that it has reduced speculation in corn to mere gambling; and the capital of the prudent has therefore been, generally, withdrawn from the pursuit. The corn-merchant does not now act upon a defined and regular system, but at intervals, and in the dark. Corn is imported in large quantities when a scarcity is apprehended, and stored in bond; speculators combine to enhance the prices in the home markets, in order to raise the averages to that point which admits foreign corn at a shilling duty; large stocks are then thrown upon the market like a deluge, and the farmer, who is naturally in hopes that the deficiency in his crop caused by an unpropitious year will be compensated by some advance in price, is made to feel that the law intended for his protection adds to the misfortune of a scanty produce the infliction of a low price. An alarm is thereby excited, and the erroneous opinion so generally entertained as to the quantities of corn the continent can furnish, receives strong confirmation. The trifling surplus which foreigners can spare beyond the wants of their population would be unfelt in this country if annually imported, as it would certainly be if the ports were open; but the accumulation of years, when thrown at once upon the market, proves equally injurious to the farmer and dealer, and the baneful effects of a bad harvest are thus augmented by the uncertainty of the law.

We believe that any apprehension as to such an importation from the continent in future, as would prove injurious to our tillage, is quite unfounded. Agriculture is as little advanced in Prussia, Poland, Austria and Russia, with a few exceptions, as it was in England two centuries ago. A great portion of the land is cultivated on account of the proprietors, the cases being comparatively few where farmers are to be found with means sufficient to undertake the cultivation of

them on their own account. In the latter case leases are granted to the tenants for certain terms, usually seven, fourteen, or twenty-one years. They are bound to a prescribed mode of cultivation, the efforts of the landlords being chiefly directed to prevent the tenant from exhausting the land by overcropping. The labour is performed in a slovenly manner by peasants; and the fields are generally uninclosed, over which the proprietor enjoys a right of pasture between harvest and seed time. It will require a long period, therefore, before any great improvement can be effected,—lands divided into allotments,—the necessary farm buildings erected,—roads made,—a sufficient quantity of live stock procured, or a proper system of husbandry adopted. Mr. Jacob, who was sent out to the Continent in 1826–7, for the purpose of reporting on the state of agriculture in Poland, Prussia, and the other corn-producing countries bordering on the Baltic, gives the following account of the maritime provinces of Prussia :—

“ This tract of land is a portion of that vast sandy plain which extends from the shores of Holland to the extremity of Asiatic Russia. It has scarcely any elevations that merit the title of hills, and where not covered with woods spreads out in open fields of great extent. The soil in some cases is barren sand, occasionally with no appearance of vegetation—in many parts with no attempt at cultivation, and what is cultivated appearing to yield but scanty returns. The land is too poor to yield even middling crops without manure; and the portion of cattle of all kinds is too small to create such a quantity of that necessary ingredient in husbandry as to keep the land up to its present low standard of fertility*.”

The same unproductiveness of soil and low state of agriculture characterize, with few exceptions, the provinces of Poland, Prussia and Russia contiguous to the sea; and the enormous expense of carriage from the more distant and fertile provinces presents an obstacle to our obtaining any considerable quantity of corn from those districts, unless at greatly enhanced prices.

It is usual for the advocates of the corn-laws to quote the low prices of wheat in some parts of Northern and Southern Europe as proofs of the impossibility of our farmers being able to compete with foreigners in the growth of corn if trade were free; but they omit the important consideration of the

* Report of 1826, p. 15.

expense of carriage to the nearest seaport at which it could be shipped for England, an expense that in some cases might be equal to the entire value of the corn. Mr. Jacob describes the state of the roads, in the different agricultural districts through which he travelled, to be, with few exceptions, utterly neglected, and left to the operation of the elements. In wet weather they are scarcely passable, and in dry they are so rugged that land-carriage is extremely difficult and expensive. In Mecklenburg some of the best farms are forty or fifty English miles distant from any shipping port. The corn is usually drawn to the water-side in the winter, when the roads are frozen; but even then great delays frequently occur in consequence of sudden thaws, which rapidly alternate with severe frosts in that variable climate. In Denmark the main roads over the islands are good, but in the continental provinces of Jutland, Sleswick, Holstein and Lauenburg, they are in no better condition than those of Mecklenburg. The greatest part of the corn exported from Denmark is supplied by Holstein. On the east and west that province is bordered by the Baltic, or by the river Elbe; but it contains a considerable extent of productive land in the central districts, forty or fifty miles distant from a shipping port.

Mr. Jacob obtained from the proprietor of an estate in Mecklenburg an account of the expense of sending his produce five German, or twenty-four English miles, to market during a period of five years. The regular load for a waggon with four horses was forty sheffels, or forty-five imperial bushels of corn. For the subsistence of the horses three and a half bushels were required for the journey backwards and forwards; and the expenses in money for the keep and wages of the men, and other small matters, amounted to 4*s.* 8*d.* The value of the corn (rye) so consumed, at 3*s.* per bushel, was 10*s.* 6*d.*, which added to 4*s.* 8*d.* makes 15*s.* 2*d.*, being an expense of something more than equal to five bushels of corn, for the transport of forty-five bushels a distance of five German miles. A journey of ten German miles, occupying twice the time, would of course double the quantity of food required for the horses and the expense incurred by the men; and it is obvious, as the di-

stance to the market was extended, the produce would be diminished, until it finally disappeared. The great difference in price between some districts of the extensive empire of Russia and others may be thus accounted for, as well as the famines which have desolated several parts of the world when food was abundant in districts comparatively near, but which, from the absence of roads, were inaccessible to the sufferers.

Mr. Jacob devoted much attention to the important consideration as to the probability of an increased production of corn in those parts of the continent from which it might be conveyed to England. The state of the countries from which we derive our supplies, the defective system of agriculture pursued, to which the tenants were generally bound by restrictive clauses in their leases, the scarcity of live stock, the feudal system of tenure which continues generally to prevail from force of habit, although abolished by law, and the absence of capital amongst cultivators and proprietors,—all led him to the conclusion that any such extension must be very slow, and that no importation of corn likely to affect the English landowner could be expected, “unless “when a scarcity approaching to famine should have raised “the price so high as to extend the circle from which it “must be collected*.” His remarks are fully borne out by the several reports received from Her Majesty’s consuls abroad with respect to the state of agriculture and condition of the population within the districts of their consulates. They state, that nearly all the land within the circles of Dantzic, Elbing and Marienburg which is capable of cultivation has been broken up, and that there is little waste land, which, in consequence of the poorness of the soil and the sloping situation of the ground, would bear the expense of tillage. About one-third of the land might be considered as usually lying in pasture, and a considerable portion of that which is arable yields little, or proportionally little profit, from want of sufficient manure. It is in general of a cold nature, and has a more or less impervious (*undurchlassenden*) sub-soil, nearly throughout, requiring constant drain-

* Second Report, 1828, p. 54.

ing, which is solely effected by open canals and ditches ; under-drains, and the like means of carrying off the superabundant water, being scarcely known even by name. In the circles of Behrend, Carthaus and Neustadt, where the situation is less favourable for the sale of produce, the land is the least cultivated. When this is the state of agriculture in the vicinity of Dantzic, which is, of all the continental markets, that from which England derives the greatest supply of corn, an estimate may be formed of the state of cultivation in the more distant provinces. M. von Raumer, a German writer already well known in England, adds his testimony on this subject, in a pamphlet which he has just published in Leipsio on our corn-law question, and from which we quote the following observations :—

“ The average prices of the Continent, it is said, are so much per cent. lower than those of England ; consequently, in case of a change in the corn-laws, the latter will be inundated with immense masses of wheat at ruinously low prices. This has an appearance of mathematical certainty ; but they forget that on the Continent there are at present no great stores for yearly and regular exportation ; that the soil, without the application of very considerable capital, is not capable of an extended cultivation of wheat ; that such a revolution in agriculture (even if the capital were forthcoming) requires much time, and can only be effected by degrees ; that every man expects a return for the capital so employed ; that the transport of wheat from distant countries, by means of navigable streams, is very expensive ;—in a word, that the increased demand necessarily raises the price of wheat, and that all conclusions drawn from the present average prices in England and the Continent, with reference to the future, must be deceptive in the extreme. * * * * *

“ The assertion most confidently made, and to which the greatest importance is attached, is, that England, with her enormous debt, taxes, and high prices of labour, cannot sustain a competition with the Continent, without being involved in ruin. The question which here immediately suggests itself is, how then have the English manufacturers hitherto been able to maintain competition with foreigners, and even to increase so enormously their exports ? The means by which the manufacturer was enabled to effect this are equally at the command of the agriculturist—capital, industry, and intelligence ; and, however paradoxical it may seem, I affirm, that the English agriculturist can, taking everything into consideration, equally produce as cheap as the foreign agriculturist and manufacturer.

“ The English labourer, it is said, for instance, receives higher wages than the continental labourer. Undoubtedly ; but to put the ground in a condition to produce an equal quantity of wheat, to bring that produce to market, the Englishman requires less time, fewer men, fewer cattle, and

fewer buildings. An English labourer does also more work in a day than an unwilling serf in a week ; moreover, in almost every country in Europe the land contributes much more proportionably to the burdens of the state than the land in England.

“ To compare together,” adds M. von Raumer, “ the burdens of one country with those of another, is, however, a matter of the greatest difficulty. Who, for instance, supports the more oppressive burden, the Englishman who pays tolls for excellent roads, or the Pole, who is freed from tolls, but consumes ten times more time, and employs ten times more horses, in carrying his grain to market ? Or how can we bring into comparison the various duties in Prussia (*Schlacht and Mahl-steuer*, &c. &c.), the indispensable military service for several years, and the destruction of agriculture and cattle by the devastations of war ? ”

The principal tax on land in Prussia is the *Grund Steuer* or land-tax, which was intended, when it was imposed, to be 25 per cent. on the annual rent, but has since become, from a variety of causes, unequal in its pressure. There is also a general assessment made for the relief of the poor ; the maintenance of bridges ; the repair of roads, drains and embankments ; the support of schools and similar purposes ; the chief weight of which falls upon the land. In some parts of the country the local taxes are equal in amount to the *Grund Steuer*, in some cases they are higher and in others lower. There is also a classification-tax, to which both proprietors and tenants are liable. It is regulated and levied according to the size of the farms, and, as regards proprietors, according to the value of the estates, making an allowance for the debts to which they are liable. In addition to these, the proprietors and tenants supply the funds necessary for the support of the clergy and other religious purposes, as well as the sums raised for disabled soldiers, and the widows and orphans of those who fall in battle. Military service and the quartering of the troops, although not peculiar to the agricultural classes, is a burden which weighs heavily upon them, as well as upon the general industry of the country. It is difficult to estimate the amount of taxes arising from these various sources, many of them being indeterminate and fluctuating ; but the effect of their extreme pressure on the land was shown in an appendix attached to Mr. Jacob's report, contributed by M. Rothe, President of West Prussia, by which it appeared, that, of 262 estates within the limits of the *landschaft's* (or states') authority, 195 were mortgaged, 71

of which were then in a state of sequestration,—a remedy to which nothing but necessity could have driven the mortgagees,—and of the entire number, only 67, or about one-fourth, were free from those incumbrances. The same observations will apply in a still greater degree to Poland.

In Germany the direct and indirect taxes upon land are numerous and onerous to a great degree. Each estate is subject to the following annual taxes, payable to the treasury: viz. the land-tax, according to a certain rate of taxation of the lands; the ordinary contribution-tax, according to the number of ploughs; a payment of 6 per cent., according to the estimated value of the property; the house-tax; protection-money; moor payments for the turf moors as soon as they are partitioned; magazine corn and delivery of forage, according to the number of ploughs; carriage service by the tenant for the proprietor, and other services which are for the most part compounded; millers' fees for mills; dowries to princesses upon their marriage; billeting and conveying troops; extraordinary services upon particular occasions; and, in time of war, a war-tax. The personal taxes payable to the royal treasury are—head-money or poll-tax; a tax on wages and perquisites; and the rank or classification-tax, payable according to the difference of classes. The following parish taxes are payable by proprietors:—poor money, monthly, according to the value of the property after deduction for debts; payments for the House of Correction, and expenses attending criminals; school taxes according to the number of acres; scot and lot to the church, and salary of the clergyman, clerk and schoolmaster, according to the same. There is also dike and sluice money in the marsh, and common parish taxes, comprising casual payments to the overseers. There are besides several indirect taxes payable by the proprietor, of which we can only stop to mention, a tax on newly acquired property, on land, on inheritances and on auctions. The poor's-rate is assessed by a sworn commission, and levied by the civil authorities. The services performed by the tenant constitute a heavy charge in addition to his rent. He is obliged to provide conveyances for the government and the clergyman when required, to pay tithes and dues to the rector and clerk, plough in his turn the cler-

gyman's fields, forward letters and messages from the village to the proprietor's residence, assist in building or pulling down the proprietor's houses, assist in his garden, etc. He must bear his customary share in repairing the public and private roads, afford all necessary assistance in case of prisoners, assist in repairing the proprietor's mill, and make for the proprietor eight journeys annually of from three to five German miles. He must also assist with a good carriage for a certain period, at seed and harvest time, on the proprietor's farm*. His labour on the public roads generally occupies one team of from eight to fourteen days annually.

We think it necessary to refer to these heavy burdens to which land is liable in the corn-exporting countries of the Continent, because one of the arguments generally used in favour of our corn-laws is, that those countries are exempted from such charges. Sir Robert Peel, in his speech addressed to the electors of Tamworth on the hustings, is reported to have said—

"Who pay the highway-rates? Who pay the church-rates? Who pay the poor's-rates? Who pay the tithe? I say not perhaps altogether, but chiefly the landed occupier of this country. And if corn be the product of other land not subject to these burdens, it surely would not be just to the land of this country, which bears them all, to admit it at a low duty."

He will find, on a closer consideration of the subject, that the practice of burdening landed property with public institutions, as well as of making it largely contribute, by direct taxation, to the revenue of the country, is carried to an extent on the Continent which would not be tolerated in England.

Some of the peculiar burdens bearing upon lands in this country, namely the land-tax and tithes, are taxes upon rent, imposed at an early period, and to which estates were liable when they came into the hands of the present proprietors. They cannot be considered, therefore, as taxes on production. Tithes, which have existed above one thousand years, have been, by the best authorities, declared to be a portion of the rental of the country, appropriated by the state, to which they belong, to the support of the church. They have now taken a shape congenial to their origin, being commuted into a rent-charge. The land-tax was first imposed in 1693, and

* Parliamentary Papers on State of Agriculture, No. 127, 29th March, 1836.

was originally a tax on the rental. Poor's-rates, the principal burden on the farmer, are levied on all fixed property as well as land; but if these or any other rates press unequally upon agriculture, that may afford an argument in favour of making such a readjustment of them as may be necessary for placing merchants, manufacturers and agriculturists on the same footing; but it is no reason whatever that we should restrict the importation of foreign corn. Many of the taxes on agriculture have been repealed; as, for example, the beer-tax, amounting to about three millions annually; the leather-tax, the assessed taxes on horses and vehicles used in husbandry labour, the fire insurance duty on farming stock, etc.; while others have been modified, like the malt-tax, which was reduced 8s. per quarter in 1823, and the poor's-rates, which have been considerably diminished.

We need not look to France, Spain, Portugal, Holland or Italy for large supplies of corn, as these are generally corn-importing countries. Our North American colonies have hitherto furnished us with little; and the price in the United States, with the expenses of importation, preclude the hope of our obtaining any quantity of wheat from that quarter worthy of consideration, unless in the event of very high prices at home. The Russian wheat is of very inferior quality, and it is only in seasons of great scarcity that we are likely to have recourse to it to any extent.

To Dantzic and Elbing, the principal Prussian ports on the Baltic, from which we receive the Polish corn brought down the Vistula; Rostock and Wismar, where such portion as Mecklenburg can furnish is usually shipped, with Denmark, Hamburgh and Odessa, we have hitherto chiefly looked for our supplies of foreign corn. All these places, with the exception of Odessa, were traversed by Mr. Jacob, and the details he has given of their agricultural state and prospects are, in their main features, still deserving of attention. Of the wheat entered for home consumption in the United Kingdom in 1840, a year of great demand, and when high prices were paid, we received from Prussia 857,178 quarters; from Germany, chiefly shipped at Rostock, Wismar and Hamburgh, 388,652; from the United States, 308,346; from Russia, 244,012; from Denmark, 156,649; from Italy, 146,693;

from the British North American colonies, 108,831; and from all other parts of the world, 191,005, making a total of 2,401,366 quarters, being about four weeks' supply*. We made a calculation in 1839 of the expense of the importation of wheat from the most apparently inviting countries in ordinary years†, which we subjoin, referring to our former number for the data on which it is formed, which our subsequent experience has proved not to have been overstated.

| | | Price in England. | |
|----------------------|----|-------------------|--------------|
| | | s. | d. |
| From France | 52 | 3 | per quarter. |
| „ America | 50 | 0 | „ |
| „ Odessa..... | 52 | 0 | „ |
| „ Hamburg | 54 | 4½ | „ |
| „ Dantzic..... | 52 | 6 | „ |
| „ Lower Baltic | 51 | 5 | „ |
| „ Hungary | 50 | 7½ | „ |

The wheat shipped from Dantzic for England in 1839, amounting to 384,369 quarters, cost at that port from 45*s.* to 55*s.* per quarter; but this, being a year of scarcity and great demand, cannot be considered a criterion. Last year even higher prices were paid, for the like reason. We have shown, that on an average of fifty years the price at Dantzic was 45*s.* 4*d.* The expenses of bringing it to England are about 10*s.* per quarter. On an average of ten years ending 1840, the price in England and Wales was 56*s.* 11½*d.* per quarter‡. We think therefore that the landowners of this country have little to fear from foreign competition, supposing the trade to be perfectly free. But the government propose a fixed duty of 8*s.* per quarter on wheat. This must be considered high, especially when we find that, on all the wheat imported since 1828 under the existing law, a duty of 5*s.* 9*d.* per quarter only has been paid; still it would be a great improvement on the present system.

As to our dependence on foreign countries for food, it has for a long period existed, and must continue to increase. The question therefore now is—our dependence being unavoidable—whether we shall adopt a regular and steady system

* Parliamentary Paper, No. 137, session 1841.

† Number XVII. for July 1839.

‡ Mr. M'Culloch's Pamphlet on Corn Laws, 1841, App. 1.

of trade in corn with our continental neighbours, who will in that case provide for our wants and receive our manufactures in return; or continue our profitless and pernicious restrictions, which stand in the way of our obtaining for a constantly increasing population an adequate supply of the first necessities of life, and at the same time fetter the industry and impede the social progress of the nation;—restrictions which are opposed to the beneficent intentions of Providence, and are alike injurious to the whole family of man; which lead the different states of Europe to adopt retaliatory proceedings against us in self-defence, and then against each other, while their best interests require that they should reciprocally interchange the peculiar productions of their soil and industry; and thus universally diffuse a spirit of hostility between them instead of binding them together, as commerce is designed to do, by the strong ties of mutual interest. Sir Robert Peel has referred to the amount of our exports as a proof of our prosperity; but he does not take into the account that *we have of late years gradually increased the export of our machinery and of goods which are either raw materials or upon the manufacture of which little labour has been bestowed, and decreased the export of those goods into the manufacture and preparation of which much labour has entered**. The result is, that on the whole our export trade has considerably diminished in manufactured goods on which much labour is employed, and for which it is most important to us to find a market. This is clearly shown by Mr. G. R. Porter, of the Board of Trade, in his evidence on the subject before the select committee on import duties, to which our space will only permit us to refer. It is no longer possible, therefore, to delay a settlement of this important question. In consequence of our recent financial reforms and several unex-

* Comparing the year 1827 with 1838, it appears that the centesimal proportions of manufactured goods shipped to northern Europe—according to the degree of labour bestowed—were

| | 1827. | 1838. |
|-------------------|------------|------------|
| Much labour... | 61·78 | 39·16 |
| Little labour ... | 38·22 | 60·84 |
| | <hr/> 100· | <hr/> 100· |

Report of Committee on Import Duties.

pected drains upon the exchequer, the revenue is deficient. Lord John Russell has stated that there are four different modes in which it may be raised to meet the expenditure. The first, by diminishing the naval and military establishments; but the most sanguine person could not expect to derive more than one million from this source, and in the present state of Europe it would not be safe to make any considerable reduction in those services. The second, by raising loans; but that would eventually only augment the deficiency, and, at the same time, operate injuriously to public credit. The third, by *imposing fresh taxes*. The fourth, by *taking taxes off*, by lowering our differential duties and diminishing restrictions,—a plan which Mr. M'Gregor, one of the joint secretaries of the Board of Trade, calculates would have the effect of adding six millions to the revenue in the first year of its operation*. We believe that all parties in the state will be in favour of the latter course, because the adoption of the measures it involves are essentially “necessary to maintain that high station among the nations of the world which it has pleased Divine Providence to assign to this country.”

ARTICLE VI.

Observations on the attempted application of pantheistic principles to the theory and historic Criticism of the Gospel. Part I. On the theoretic application, being the Christian Advocate's Publication for 1840. By W. H. MILL, D.D., F.R.A.S., Chaplain to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and late Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta.

THE title prefixed to this work has excited our attention, and we have given it our careful perusal, as indeed we feel in general no slight interest in publications displaying the light in which serious and reflecting minds among ourselves regard

* Vide his evidence before Select Committee on Import Duties.

the keen and daring exercise of thought which marks our Teutonic brethren, and the struggles through which they are now passing, and probably are destined yet for a long time to pass. We trust too, that whether the immediate tendency of speculation in Germany be for good or for evil, the full understanding of it in England, and exhibition of it in its true colours to English minds, must eventually conduce to the intellectual and spiritual welfare of both nations. If it were possible for us much longer to ignore the existence of new systems in almost every path of inquiry which has grown up in Germany, diverging widely from all at present familiar to ourselves, it were yet scarcely creditable; for it is a feeble loyalty to truth which can fear that from the ordeal of the strictest search truth can in the end have to suffer. The spirit of the reasons which Dr. Mill has stated in his preface for bringing this subject before the English reader appears to us in accordance with this conviction.

It is due to our author to state, and we do it with much pleasure, that he has maintained throughout his work the tone of temperance and dignity, which is emphatically worthy of the sacredness of the subject he has chosen, and such as should always characterize the Christian controversialist—a proof of wisdom unfortunately too rare among English writers when speaking of German speculation on the highest matters of inquiry. The treatise exhibits invariably an earnest reverential piety, and in many passages acute argument and philosophic thought. But as the book is a short one, and its merits of a nature to be easily appreciated by general readers, we shall not attempt to illustrate them by extracts, but simply state that we consider them of a sufficiently high order to make us regret so much the more the very material faults which appear to us to deface the volume. While much of it is forcible, luminously expressed, and speaking to every one, there is also a considerable portion wherein lurk errors of serious magnitude which might impose upon the unwary reader, but which with the more reflecting class of those who peruse it, if they are sufficiently informed, must impede its success. The admiration which the author's talents and high qualities above-mentioned claim from us, while it assures us that if he has anywhere committed injustice he has committed it unintentionally, and would be zealous in

wishing to repair it, demands from us the avowal of our conviction that he has done injustice extensively and deeply where it was most important to have avoided it; and we shall to the best of our abilities strive to show that this conviction is not ungrounded.

It will be observed that Dr. Mill has devoted the portion of the 'Christian Advocate's Publication' now before us to that part of the question which more immediately relates to speculative philosophy, "the theoretic application of pantheistic principles to the criticism of the Gospel."

"The philosophical principles with which the present mythical theory is associated," he tells us, "are far from sharing in the odium which this attack on the Gospels has excited; and attempts are not wanting in our popular literature to represent some of the teachers or precursors of the philosophy in question as entitled to the veneration of mankind: but it is not the less radically opposed to Christianity; and as long as it continues to be maintained as scientific truth, the emission from its bosom of attacks like the present, or even worse, is ever to be expected. It is, indeed, impossible to separate the cause of Strauss from that Hegelian philosophy of which he is known as a distinguished expositor and defender."—*Pages 9, 10.*

This intimacy and necessity of the union which associates the present mythical theory with the philosophical principles, is to us by no means so obvious and unquestionable as the author appears to consider it. The view has been expressed, and may, we think, be regarded as fairly defensible, that the principle of historical criticism adopted in Strauss's work is a natural development of certain tendencies of opinion prevalent in Germany, and not united by any obvious or immediate connexion with philosophical speculation. Those views have reference to the rules of inquiry to be followed in examining *all* narratives of a period for whose events the existence of contemporary testimony has not been demonstrated: they arose or at least spread widely towards the latter part of the last century in Germany, and have gained ground there successively among the writers upon Greek, Italian, Asiatic (including Jewish) and Teutonic antiquities; and the well-known works, Wolf's *Prolegomena*, Niebuhr's* *Roman*

* Dr. Mill makes in p. 72, note 13, an assertion which is certainly inaccurate. Niebuhr, in the letter referred to, does not "declare his strong belief in a personal God, a historical Christ, in the literal verity of the articles of the creed, and of all the great facts of the Bible." He says, "That man is not in my eyes a Protestant Christian who does not believe," etc. How far he felt himself from fulfilling this condition appears from numerous passages in his letters.

History and Schleiermacher's Essay on Luke, are among their most remarkable productions. We recollect to have seen the opinion expressly stated, that the method adopted in the last-mentioned work of accounting for the production of our Gospels, owed its conception to the all but universal acceptance which Wolf's Homeric theories had obtained at the time throughout Germany. We believe it to be an undeniable fact, that among German theologians of the present day, the one who perhaps more than all others has approximated to the plan of historical criticism advocated by Strauss, is De Wette, whom certainly no Hegelian school would think of claiming; and this appears to us sufficient evidence that the identification of this philosophy with the principle of historical inquiry requires to be limited, at least not assumed as a matter so clear as to supersede the necessity of proof or explanation.

This, however, is but a point of secondary importance, and certainly, in the object of our author's criticism, the "mythical theory" and the "philosophical principles" in question are combined, whether this be casually or by a natural necessity. The manner in which Dr. Mill forms his estimate of these principles, and exhibits them to his readers, is our foremost topic of consideration, and to this we shall chiefly address ourselves in the remarks that follow. If we succeed in the attempt to show that his opinions on German philosophy are, to say the least, one-sided and erroneous, we shall be justified in abstaining from a detailed examination of Dr. Mill's criticism on Strauss, not only by the undeniable importance of the subject to which we confine ourselves, but by the stress which he has laid on these opinions as the main foundation of his argument. He has connected the speculations of Strauss with the Hegelian philosophy as result with cause, and cannot therefore have misapprehended the one without in some degree mistaking the bearings of the other. If, on the other hand, there be ground for surmising that the excursion into the vast field of German speculation did not of necessity belong to the nature of the duty he undertook, but was gratuitously imposed upon himself, we have at least the fuller right to claim that this portion of the work should not be imperfectly and weakly treated; and if it should appear that this has been the case, and some warm admirer of the volume be-

fore us should plead that the opinions therein expressed of Hegel and other philosophers are but subordinate to its main purpose, we reply, that no writer is entitled to consider it as a light matter to speak hastily, and on insufficient knowledge, of the combined labours in thought of men who have earnestly devoted their lives to subjects on which he has bestowed but a passing glance; or to endanger the success of what is well done in his undertaking by mixing it up with what is ill done, and perhaps need not have been attempted at all. In the first-mentioned defect he is unjust to his adversaries, in the latter to himself.

Is the likeness which the author presents to us of these German metaphysical speculations a real one? Do we see them brought before us in their entire, unmistakeable, distinctive features? That so it has been his wish to represent them we fully believe; but we doubt if it be under *any* circumstances possible so to represent a philosophy by the method he has adopted. We question whether any single system was ever excogitated, of which the essence could be fairly conveyed to an uninitiated reader by a few prominent sentences, without the slightest sketch of the process of reasoning by which this essence has been obtained from the first data; and the less so in proportion as the materials of thought have grown more complex, the difficulties on all sides more distinctly perceived, and the necessity therefore more imperative that the several parts of the system should keep each other in check, and occupy their place in virtue of something else than mere juxtaposition. If we would have anything beyond mere dead mass in building, we must have interwoven conceptions to make the law which binds stone to stone; and if this hold with regard to matter symbolizing mind, much more must it hold with regard to the immediate products of mind itself. Words of themselves do not form sentences; and thought too has to be spelt, not singly and apart, but along with and by the aid of conceptions which led to it step by step, and which mutually lend and borrow meaning. Speculation in the region of pure thought is of too subtle a nature to allow of its being grasped and handed about in as compendious a manner as we can abstract and exhibit the results of a discovery in the world of sense. Must not every dogma which stands at the

head of a system, especially if that system aim at being widely inclusive, be in enunciation so general, that minuter inspection is demanded into the *momenta*, as the Germans call them, which help to explain it, and which it stands there to unite and explain? When charges of unnecessary obscurity, of having violently appropriated words in a meaning which they cannot bear in the language of common life, have been advanced against a certain form of philosophy, the necessity is so much the more forcible. If I know not how Plato or Hegel thought up to this principle, how can I feel certain what he thought *in* it? Am I not exposing myself to the error of fancying that from words alone I can legitimately derive a comprehension and a knowledge of things?—a mistake in judging of the thoughts of others, closely analogous, as it appears to us, to that which the learned Historian of the Inductive Sciences has so luminously shown to have impeded physical philosophy in every direction, the habit of grasping at ideas and reasoning from them, in the belief that they were clearly apprehended, without testing accurately the conceptions they involved.

If these remarks be well founded in reference to a train of speculation in a single mind, they apply more pointedly to a philosophy like that of Germany, which may be said to have wandered its own way for fifty years, with few lookers on and yet fewer attendants, toiling to find the light by steps painful and slow, “*sì che ’l piè fermo sempre era ’l più basso.*” A philosophy, of which each successive development involves, if not the whole, much at least of the preceding; where, according to the concordant representation of all its historians, the prominent speakers, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, are relatively to each other necessary points of transition, each one essential as the condition of existence and ground of the comprehensibility of those that follow. A philosophy too, which has emphatically asserted that its predecessors have more truth in what they assert than in what they deny; and that to include, and by reconciling explain and verify, other systems is its aim.

If it be then a hopeless endeavour to transport the unprepared reader at once, “as on wing of hippogriff through the air sublime,” to the summit of a philosophy, without pointing

out to him the connexion and interdependence which may be traced in every step of the ascending fabric, it seems to us yet more dangerous and deceptive to designate it with a single epithet like that of "pantheistic." We believe, that for vagueness of application, for frequent unmeaningness, this unhappy term has been rarely equalled; and we contend, that if ever admitted, it should be carefully fenced round by rigorous definition from the possibility of misunderstanding or misapplication. It is obvious that a partial view, as gathered from such epithets, is the easiest for the idle and unthinking; that it tempts those to judge rashly who perhaps might never be qualified to judge at all, of whom too many are always to be found, nowise unwilling to deliver an opinion; that it fosters ill-will and contempt, both in the one party who complains that he is not understood, and the other who will not take the trouble to seek to understand him, or believe that he may be worth understanding.

Even in matters of the most practical import, how hard it is to reduce to the cramping confines of a single descriptive phrase any principle of action or thought which possesses vitality! How small is the number of sincere men who feel warmly and think earnestly on political topics, of whose real convictions and reasons the common phrases Liberal, Conservative, Utilitarian, would by themselves give more than a meagre, almost valueless exhibition! To the ignorant and prejudiced, the mere general terms phrenology, animal magnetism, are sufficient to annihilate all difference between the state of mind which worships the omnipotence of Mesmer and the omniscience of Deville, and that which anticipates that a wide inquiry into new and unexplained phenomena may gradually advance to the discovery of laws and relations between mind and matter, where their existence was least divined in former times. We have seen even in our own day, views most conflicting taken of a philosophy so far removed from our age and its disputes (and herein so capable, one might have supposed, of being looked on quite objectively) as Bacon's. A late brilliant writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, and some of his critics, are at internecine strife as to this point.

Is it less probable that the German philosophy may present two aspects, one of which cannot be exclusively regarded,

and an invidious phrase in consequence applied to the whole philosophy, without chance of pernicious error? It is plain that any conception whatever of God, any view of his relation to the world, must involve the vast question of causality, of freedom and necessity; and till we can lay down an inexpugnable position with regard to these in terms precluding all semblance of contradiction, we are not entitled to reprobate another's conception of the Almighty, because in some phrases it appears irreconcilable with some predicate that seems essential to our own notion. From the *πνεῦμα ὁ Θεός* of St. John, and the *ἐν ᾧ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ ἐσμεν* of St. Paul, to the *Absoluter Geist* and *Ur-Ich* of modern philosophy, words and thoughts have failed in reaching the entire import of this awful subject of contemplation. Can a churchman venture, even in the oracular fountains of truth which his church reveres, to fix his exclusive attention upon a single text, and not acknowledge the necessity of considering how far others prescribe limits to its significance and applicability? The words, "He that is not with me is against me," "He that is not against us is with us," stand in all our bibles: not to speak of other expressions bearing on yet deeper mysteries, which earnest believers are yet straining their reasoning powers to learn how they may regard as harmonizing with each other. How much more should this necessity be recognised, where human thought, whose unavoidable imperfection must be anticipated and allowed for, is labouring of itself to find out and utter the infinite meaning of all that God presents to it in Nature, in its own being, in whatever it is permitted to take in of His being!*

The only explanation Dr. Mill has given of his use of the term is found in the note (6) on p. 22, where he remarks:

* Dugald Stewart, whose reputation we suspect has not been benefited by his contemptuous treatment of Kant, has gone further than Gibbon, to whom he refers, in asserting that "it is not only *difficult* but *impossible* to speak of the omnipresence and omnipotence of God without deviating into images which require a favourable construction." Having stated that "on a subject so infinitely disproportioned to our faculties, it is vain to expect language which will bear a logical and captious examination," he mentions the fact of Spinoza's having appealed to St. Paul's well-known expression, "in God we live and move and have our being," as "a consideration which, if duly weighed, might have protected from uncharitable criticism"—not Spinoza, as the reader might have been tempted to conjecture, but—certain passages from Pope and Lucan.—*Dissertation of Metaphysical Philosophy*, p. 147.

"An objection has been made by some of these philosophers to the use of the name 'Pantheist,' as applied to them. But to whom can that name be given, if not to those who teach that God is no person with respect to other persons, but the *personality* of all beings; that when any one thinks and reasons, it is so far not he (the individual), but the Universal Spirit that is in him; that then alone is a subjective mind purely evil, when arrogating to itself (not as all pious Theists say, an independence of God's authority, or a will opposed to His, but) a *distinct personality* from that of God?"

We could have wished for somewhat more precise information as to how far Dr. Mill considers the three doctrines here described as identical or different, as invariably or only in particular instances, necessarily or casually connected; and whether any one of these is, in his opinion, sufficient to constitute a pantheistic creed, or any combination of two, or a union of all is required. We quote the following passages, to show how totally different views may be formed from those which are undoubtedly general, and which our author (see p. 87) appears to consider as nearly self-evident, with regard to one of the most prominent instances, Spinoza. Coleridge says (Biogr. Litt. ii. p. 156.), "In no system is the distinction "between the individual and God, between the modification "and the one only substance, more sharply drawn than in "that of Spinoza." Compare also p. 306-7, where he describes as "thoroughly Pauline" a passage from Spinoza, which we cannot but consider to exhibit a spirit meriting a far different name from that of "Epicureanized Pantheism." "It is inconceivable," says Schleiermacher (Gesch. d. Philos. p. 278), "how, with the close connexion between Malebranche "and Spinoza, while the former is regarded as devout, the "latter can be taken for an atheist." It is singular, by the way, that Schleiermacher himself has not escaped this charge, pantheism having been attributed to his speculative views; with what entire misapprehension (as far as the term implies confounding the Deity with the Universe, or the force manifesting itself in the operations of the Universe,) may now be best seen from his posthumous works, for instance, 'Dialektik,' pp. 113, 135, 162, and till more, p. 526. It is scarcely in the nature of language more decisively to cut off the possibility of being understood in such a sense. We give another extract from one of those philosophers described by

Dr. Mill as having objected to the use of the name "Pantheist," as applied to them, which appears to us likely to conduce towards setting the question in its true light.

"Another definition of Pantheism is this, that it consists in a complete identification of God with things, a confusion of the creature with the Creator. But a more total distinction of things from God can scarcely be imagined than is found in Spinoza, the assumed classical authority for that doctrine. God is that which exists in itself and is comprehended from itself alone; the finite is that which is necessarily in another, and can only be comprehended from this. It is manifest that, according to this distinction, things are, not (as might certainly seem according to the doctrine of modifications superficially regarded) only in degree or through their limitations, but *toto genere*, different from God. Whatever their relation to God may be in other points, they are absolutely divided from God in this, that they can exist only in and after another (namely God), that their *idea* is a derived one which would not even be possible without the idea of God; while *this idea**, on the contrary, is the sole independent and original, the sole self-predicating idea, to which all else can be related only as predicate, only as consequence to cause. Under this supposition alone are other properties of things rightly attributed to them: as, for instance, their eternity. God is in his own nature eternal; things, only with him and as the consequence of his being; that is, in a derived mode. By reason of this very difference, it is impossible that all individual things, taken together, can constitute God; since by no method of combination can that which in its nature is derived pass into that which in its nature is original, any more than the single points of a circumference taken together can constitute the circumference, which as a whole of necessity is prior to them in its *idea*. The consequence is yet more absurd, that with Spinoza the individual thing must be actually equal to God. For even if the strong expression, that every thing is a modified God, were found in him, the elements of the notion are so contradictory, that, in the very process of combination, it immediately decomposes. A modified, that is, derived God, is not God in the peculiar, eminent sense; by this single additional predicate the thing falls again into its own place, by which it is eternally separated from God."—*Schelling's Philosophische Schriften*, p. 404.

The whole passage contains more cogent and luminous argument upon the same point than we can allow ourselves to quote; but one further extract we recommend especially to the attention of all who wish to judge impartially in this

* It is not quite clear to us, whether *dieser* in the German words is *Begriff* or *Gott*: the context and the language seem to admit of either reference: if the latter be preferred, the translation should run, "while He on the contrary is the sole independent and original being." The argument is nowise affected by the ambiguity.

matter, and to avoid being seduced by plausible misrepresentation.

"A supposition which betrays an utter ignorance of the essence of the *copula*, has been repeatedly made in our time with reference to the higher application of the law of identity. For instance, let this position be laid down, *the perfect is the imperfect*; the real meaning is this: the imperfect does not exist by virtue of being imperfect, and of that wherein it is imperfect, but by virtue of the perfect element which is in it: but for our time it is made to bear the meaning: the perfect and imperfect are identical; all things are alike; the worst and the best, folly and wisdom. Again, the expression, *the good (principle) is the evil* [das gute ist das böse], which aims at conveying the meaning, Evil has not the might to exist in its own right: that which exists in it is, regarded in and for itself (an und für sich), the good—is interpreted as though it denied the eternal difference between right and wrong, virtue and vice, and asserted both to be logically the same."

Even those who consider the formula itself objectionable, or the explanatory phrases not sufficiently clear and precise, must, we think, admit that the words of the protest in themselves negative the correctness of the charge that has been levelled against the author's imputed doctrines.

The term of which we have been speaking is however undoubtedly in vogue; and though we consider this in itself a cogent reason why in a philosophical treatise it should have been guarded from misuse, far more than has been attempted by our author, we can hardly be surprised at his applying it to what his own notions of the system he reviews have led him to exhibit as its main doctrine. Has he been sufficiently careful to examine the correctness of these notions, and, consequently, the justice of such an application? He appears from the note to page 22, to have suspected that this question might possibly be asked, and we cannot think the note and the single extract in the Appendix referred to, supply a complete answer to the doubts which arise on this point. In the first place we observe, that his notion of Hegel's doctrine seems derived, not from a study of that philosopher's own works, but from a 'History of Philosophy,' written by an author who is avowedly a partisan of one section of the Hegelian school; an author, we are compelled to add, whose pages too often betray a temper which might have cautioned Dr. Mill against yielding implicit deference to his authority. Michelet, of

course, regards his own party as the genuine offspring and representative of their founder's views; but he cannot avoid admitting the existence of another party maintaining widely different opinions, equally professing to preserve the real doctrine of Hegel, and claiming to be his orthodox disciples. Was it not demanded by justice, that the impartial critic should search in the writings of this other section for their view of Hegel's persuasion as to the highest subject of thought, and compare the evidence adduced by both disputants, even if he did not seek himself to discover the truth at its primal source? Is there any *à-priori* probability why Goeschel, Rosenkrantz, Schaller or Gabler should less fairly represent Hegelianism than the opposite side of the school? If these men happened to be in the right, and Michelet as much in the wrong as Dr. Mill seems, upon Michelet's single authority, to have assumed they are, the attempts to represent a teacher of the philosophy in question as entitled to the veneration of mankind, might appear to our author himself not so utterly preposterous. From his text-book itself Dr. Mill might have gathered that this text-book alone was not able to give him entire materials to draw his conclusion from; and he was bound to have surmised the possibility that some of these writers should supply him with a passage that might have been quoted to balance his single extract at p. 157, and serve as a corrective to the inevitably imperfect judgment which the voice of the opposite party, when listened to by itself, must have obliged him to form. Let us see in what manner the last-mentioned of these writers is spoken of by a foreign theologian of esteemed piety and learning, and far from being himself associated with this school, as the article to which we refer abundantly proves. Nitzsch, in Fichte's 'Zeitschrift f. Philos. u. Spek. Theologie,' vol. i. p. 139, thus commences his review of Gabler's treatise, 'De veræ philosophiæ erga religionem Christianam pietate.'

"The respected author of this work unites with the honour of having rendered perspicuous the Hegelian philosophy, the attempt to make it known in its reverential and friendly relation to the Christian religion, and to dissipate the prejudices or negative the hard accusations which Christian theologians as such have raised against the most recent speculations upon Christianity. The reader must perceive in the author a profound warmth of feeling in behalf of Christianity, no less than the most determined con-

viction of the infallibility of the fundamental notions and the method of his school. . . . Every reflecting theologian will find his attention attracted and held fast by this treatise. Whether it will truly bring to a common understanding, reconcile and convince him, in the sense in which the author aims at this result, is another question. May the spirit of his own benignity honour the doubts which yet remain to the reviewer, and, as he believes, to many others also. It is sinful—we fully agree in this point with the author—to attribute to philosophers, who as such appropriate to themselves the doctrines of the Christian faith, false play and intention of fraud," etc.

Surely an author to whom such testimony is borne by an opponent, deserves some notice and attention in behalf of the school to which he professes his adherence. We extract a subsequent passage from Nitzsch, which it may be worth while to place by the side of Dr. Mill's description in page 22, note 6.

"Hegel has, in his 'Philosophy of Religion,' made the Church's doctrine of the common state of hereditary sin both intelligible and logically tenable, and powerfully refuted the onesidedness both of the Pelagian and Manichean views. The unmeaningness of the assertion, man is by nature neither good nor bad, the possibility of his being good in himself (an sich) and yet in his isolation selfish (in seiner Einzelheit selbstsüchtig), has been fully shown. Philosophy has completed the notion of the present common condition of mankind as a carnal and reprobate condition; she has rescued the notion of original and generic sin, in opposition to a mere atomistic power of arbitrary selection; of the original purity of finite nature, in opposition to the dualism of a good and evil being."—*Ibid.* p. 153-4.

But if Dr. Mill has considered this evidence sufficient to justify him in speaking as he has done of the "Pantheistic" tendencies of Hegel's philosophy, what shall be said to his identification, which occurs repeatedly, of *Schelling* with these principles? (See p. 12. 22. 68. 113.) An imputation of this kind, delivered in passing, upon the man who forty years since, at the age of five-and-twenty, was one of the acknowledged chiefs of philosophy in his own country, is surely not to be ventured on slight or dubious surmises. And in this instance we think the error of the confusion less excusable, because even the meagre authorities the author has consulted might have sufficed to show him that he had no right to pronounce this judgment here*. Michelet's ac-

* The only indication which we find in Dr. Mill's volume of his having looked beyond Michelet's pages to gather a right notion of Schelling's philosophy, is in page 121, note 21. To us the passage of Schelling referred to (Vorles. p. 194-5),

count of Schelling's treatise, *Ueber das Wesen der menschlichen Freiheit*, p. 384-394, was enough to make him aware that the main endeavour of this work is to find a philosophic expression of the truth that man by his own self-will has turned himself away from God, and that herein is sin, slavery and death; an expression which may approximate to bringing this truth into harmony with the no less essential truth of God's absolute omnipotence. Schelling may have utterly failed to discover this expression; he may have even perplexed the question yet more by his attempts to solve it; but all these suppositions would not remove the inappropriateness of classing him with those who are described as denying that evil in a subjective mind consists in opposition of the will to God. Michelet's pages contain extracts from Schelling, where that author designates *Will* as the highest and ultimate apex of existence, where he describes it as the universal concern of humanity, that the belief in a personal being, originator and director of the world, should be raised from mere belief into scientific comprehension.

If expressions like this, scattered and fragmentary as they may be in Michelet's volume, did not lead our author to suspect that such a philosophy as Schelling's may not be safely classed under the single generic definition which he has used to include this and other systems, describing all alike by the unfavourable epithet of "Pantheistic;" we think this can only be explained by his cherishing a persuasion, previous to all experience, that such was to be the verdict pronounced generally upon German philosophy. Had he carried his researches a little further, he might have found in the author himself descriptions of the Deity's attributes, such as the following: "absolutely free and conscious will, the will of love;" "all that is, is by virtue of the personality of God, not according to an "abstract necessity, which we could not endure in acting, God

containing the position, that the Indian whose idea of God included as a necessary element of the divine perfection, his manifestation in the flesh, *had more understanding of his own religion than the Christian missionaries of theirs*, who regarded this as a casual and arbitrary occurrence, appears by no means exactly to correspond to Dr. Mill's description. In p. 159-60, we are told that the doctrine of an absolute indifference or identity between the subject and the object, between the thought and the essence contemplated," which is represented as the main basis of Schelling's "Pantheism" (s. p. 22), was delivered long before him by Aristotle. Does Dr. Mill pronounce Aristotle other than a theist?

"far less." In the same page, Schelling adduces a passage wherein Leibnitz asserts his conviction that "the laws of nature demonstrate a supreme, intelligent and free being against the system of absolute necessity," with an eulogy upon the principle recognized herein, as one of the most welcome aspects presented by his great predecessor's system of philosophy. Indeed, the whole essay, besides containing a regular critique upon the deficiencies of Spinoza's scheme, is full of passages in which broad lines of separation are drawn between that scheme and the author's. Where a writer so prominently exhibits the leading features of other systems as different from his own, and so luminously points out the direction in which they are inadequate, as Schelling has here done, we cannot in fairness suppose that he could either have been unaware of how much the heart and mind of man have to require from a completer theory, or have imagined that his own was unable to satisfy their demands. His intention is at least evident, whatever may be the success of his accomplishment; to prove that doctrines which we are in general apt to consider as diametrically opposite, and yet neither of which we can deny or refute altogether, are in fact but complements of each other; and to give a higher meaning and authority to the truth contained in them, by showing that this truth was not apprehended in the entire compass of its relations, till included within a wider central truth, which his system purports to set forth. As bearing on this head, we may appeal to Schelling's distinction between identity and indifference, to the passages in which he characterizes the conflicting theories of dualism and of emanation, of determinism and of *æquilibrium arbitrii* (arbitrary selection without motive, like the deviation of Epicurean atoms): and we make yet one further illustrative extract from the treatise:—

"Only God as Spirit is the absolute identity of both principles; but this he is only in that, and in so far as, both are subjected to his personality. * * * * The absolute identity, the spirit of love is prior to the evil principle, for the very reason that this principle can but manifest itself in opposition to it. Hence, too, it cannot be comprehended by the absolute identity, but remains eternally excluded and rejected therefrom.* * * * Let those who please call this Pantheism: the name matters nothing.* * * * The emptiness of a polemical argument directed from mere general notions of philosophical systems against a definite system, which may very likely

have numerous points of contact common with them, but in every single point has its own peculiar modifications—the emptiness of such polemical reasoning has been already touched upon. * * * In the system each notion has its own determinate place in which it alone asserts its validity, and which determines its import and limitation. How shall he who does not enter into the inner meaning, but only takes up the most general notions out of their connexion, form a right judgment of the whole? Thus we have marked out the determinate point of the system, at which the notion of indifference is doubtless the only possible notion of the absolute. If this be taken as universal, the whole is disarranged; and then it follows that this system does away with the personality of the Supreme Being. To this often-repeated imputation, as to many others, we have hitherto listened in silence; but not the less believe that we have, in this treatise, exhibited the first distinct notion ever presented of His personality.”

Again, in the last declaration of his opinions communicated to the public, Schelling describes the *empiricism* necessary to true philosophy, not as equivalent with sensualism, but “in that higher sense, in which it can be said, that the true God is not the mere general essence, but himself at the same time a particular or empirical being.” (*Vorrede zu Cousin üb. franz. u. deutsch. Phil. p. xix.*) The writer against whom Dr. Mill’s treatise is mainly directed, might have supplied him with a passage expressive of his conviction that “it is a consistent carrying out of Schelling’s principle, when in the writings produced by his school, it is stated as a blemish of philosophy in its relation to the Christian religion to understand the facts of the bible, more especially of the gospels, as veritable facts; and when of the master himself it is said, that in a theological point of view the alteration of his system consists mainly in a closer union than before with the positions of the bible and the Church.” (*Strauss, Streitschriften, Heft iii. p. 67.*)

We have endeavoured to exhibit valid grounds in support of our impression that Dr. Mill has allowed himself upon incomplete evidence to form and deliver a hasty judgment in a question of vast moment, where any one who does not feel sure of his entire knowledge is bound to keep jealous watch over his want of it. It is incumbent upon us further to examine how far he has given proof that he is possessed of those preliminary requisites, without which the possession, even in an eminent degree, of the higher qualifications essential for such a task, must be rendered comparatively inefficient: we

mean adequate familiarity with the language wherein the speculations which the untrained reader is to learn from his book how to estimate, have grown up and found their expression. We fear a rigorous inquiry on this point would exhibit inadvertencies too frequent in so small a volume. The instances which follow (and they are not all we have remarked), are of more or less moment in themselves, but cannot be considered unimportant with reference to the habit of inaccuracy which they serve to illustrate.

Undoubtedly great allowance must be made for the difficulty of rendering German philosophical terms into English, but the misrepresentations which these passages introduce depend partly on the meaning of the passage itself being mistaken, partly on a vagueness of expression, a habitual style of translation anything but closely literal, such as naturally prevails on subjects of which the writer has not a perfect mastery, and cannot but mislead the uninformed reader, or leave him in the dark. Of this several instances strike us in the long extract from Strauss which is given in Dr. Mill's version at pages 42-45. We read here that "the newest philosophy teaches that when God is spoken of as a Spirit, it is a necessary consequence of that statement, that, so far as man is spirit, *there is no distinction or difference between them.*" We doubt how far even a literally exact translation of the words (*dass beide an sich nicht verschieden sind*) would render their force appreciable to one who had not paid attention to the position which the Hegelian category *an sich* holds in that philosopher's system of opposites successively united in a higher community; but we feel persuaded that, by a fellow-countryman of Coleridge, distinction and difference ought not to be thus identified.

"As little as man in his finite capacities and relations possesses *Truth*, so little does God in his pure Infinity and spirituality possess *actuality*." This is far from literal, and moreover inaccurate, in not exhibiting the predicate *Geist* as common to both clauses of the sentence. *No more than man, as merely finite spirit and clinging to his finiteness, has truth, has God, as merely infinite spirit, shutting himself up in his infinity, actuality.* "The infinite spirit is then alone actual when he shuts himself up in finite spirits:" *wenn er zu*

endlichen Geistern sich erschliesst is the original; when he opens himself to finite spirits.

"Inasmuch as he is viewed not in himself but as reflected in the divine substance, he is thus divinely sinless and perfect." These words, which are not placed between inverted commas as an exact translation, yet correspond, as far as they go, closely with the original which they are intended to represent, with one most important omission: "*Sofern sein Selbst sich nicht in sich, sondern in die absolute Substanz reflectirt, nichts für sich sondern nur für Gott sein will, ist er der sündlose und vollkommene,*" as far as he wills to be nothing for himself but only for God is he the sinless and perfect. Unsparing critics might have remarked that such was a convenient omission, as obviating the possible suspicion of a discrepancy between this passage and a former page (22, note 6), where we learn that one of the heresies of German theories consists in representing a subjective mind as evil, "not when arrogating to itself a will opposed to God's." We entirely disbelieve that the faintest thought of this kind occurred to our author, but we confess our wonder that the German expression should not have led him to consider the possible limitation which his former statement might require. "And shows thereby that it is God with his assumed humanity in real earnest:" *dass es Gott mit seiner Menschwerdung Ernst ist*, "that God is in earnest with his assumption of humanity." We admit that the German word *Entäusserung, sich entäussern* ('going out of self') almost defies translation, but we question whether the repeated variation of the English phrase, *exinanition, condescension, exterior manifestation, throwing off* (the infinite thrown off into the finite, *der zur Endlichkeit entäusserte unendliche Geist*, pp. 49, 50), which our author uses in its place, tends to remove the difficulty.

P. 52. "In the outward fact our age will be conducted merely to the idea." *Zur Idee im Factum will unsere Zeit geführt sein*: our age *wills, requires* to be conducted to the idea in the fact.

P. 17, note 2, we read, "The incarnation of God is no single once-occurring historical fact, but an eternal determination of the being of God; by virtue of which, inas-

“much as God becomes man in time, in the person of each individual man, so far is he man from eternity,” as a translation of some words of Baur, concluding thus: “vermöge welcher Gott nur insofern in der Zeit Mensch wird (in jedem einzelnen Menschen) sofern er von Ewigkeit Mensch ist.” The latter clause is a complete inversion of the original, “by virtue of which God only so far becomes man in time (in each individual man), inasmuch as He is man from eternity.”

P. 92. Another passage of some length is quoted from Strauss in the notes, and translated in the text. The first words, *In ersterer Hinsicht*, are inaccurately rendered *at the first view*, which in fact they never could mean. The paragraph in the original which immediately precedes this extract, shows that they refer to the former of the two points, which must be proved in order to remove the “disquieting possibility” mentioned above: the former with regard to a possible superior, the latter to a future equal.

P. 93. We are not sure that we understand Dr. Mill’s “this was not only without pretension,” for “war diess ohnehin nicht blosses Vorgeben:” *this was further not mere pretension.*

P. 94. “Now religion is the relation—thus the steps:” *Ist nun die Religion; so steigen:* and again, “this oneness was ever thus present:” and thus—*war nun diese Einheit vorhanden, so ist*—should be, “if religion—then; if this oneness—then.” In the same page, “the ever more self-developing dualization, and the unaccomplished endeavour to compensate for this,” “the perfect conquest of that duality,” appear to us but inadequately to express *Entzweiung, Zwiespalt, ausgleichen*, which mean rather *discord, disunion, reconcile.*

P. 95. “While even in other departments, beyond the point of view of his age, he may, notwithstanding, have been exceeded already.” *So sehr auch auf andern Gebieten . . . über den Standpunkt seiner Zeit . . . indessen schon hinausgeschritten . . . werden mag . . .* however much in other spheres . . . we may have advanced, and may in future advance yet further beyond the point of view of his age, etc.

In p. 105, Dr. Mill seems not to have observed the parallelism of the original. “Wie auf Thales und Parmenides,

“ Sokrates und Plato, und innerhalb des religiösen Gebietes
 “ selbst auf Moses Christus folgt ;” which he expresses, “ As
 “ Christ has exceeded Thales and Parmenides, Socrates and
 “ Plato, as well as Moses on his own religious ground :” it
 should be, “ As Socrates and Plato follow Thales and Parme-
 “ nides, and as, in the province of religion, Christ follows
 “ Moses.”

Passing over minor points, we come to the comments on the concluding pages of Strauss contained in pp. 109–111 and 124–128 of the work before us. It appears to us that nothing short of an entire and most remarkable misapprehension of that writer’s meaning has produced the torrent of indignation against his moral blindness which fills the close of this chapter. Though Dr. Mill has translated part of these pages, he has lost the force of the argument they contain ; and we can only wonder that “ the confusion and “ incorrectness of the whole of this argumentative process,” which he feels to be so conspicuous, did not lead him to inquire a little more doubtingly, whether the argumentative process be really *this* at all. We venture to think, that if Dr. Mill will consent once more to peruse this paragraph in a spirit of simple and unprejudiced inquiry as to the author’s meaning, he will find no representation of the reality of sin as being “ a possibility of which the chance is “ infinitesimally small ;” no complaint (p. 110) that “ all practical meditation is at an inglorious stand ;” he will, on the contrary, discover that the possibility which Strauss dismisses as no more worthy to be dreaded than that of our earth’s collision with a comet, is the very “ disquieting possibility” which has been discussed in the preceding pages, that of a new religious reformer arising who may be entitled to take his position by the side of the founder of Christianity ; till she can point to such a person actually existing, busy reflection is bidden to remain at rest, and not to vex herself with shadows and dreams of mere abstract possibility.

We have admitted the difficulty of finding English expressions to represent fairly German philosophical terms ; but we hesitate to subscribe to our author’s expectation of overcoming it by means of the scholastic Latin ; and we cannot regard a translation as happily exemplifying the victory, in

which *neben andern* is rendered by *præ aliis*, and *weil Gott ist by dum Deus est*: *das Subject in seinem abstracten Fürsichsein aufhebt*, by *subjectum ipsum in suam abstractam αὐτοούσιν εὐεχί*: where *suam* is referred to the wrong subject, and the accusative stands in place of the ablative with *in*; not to press the extreme inadequacy of the Latin phrases used for the more peculiarly metaphysical German ones, as *des sich stets zum Subjecte machenden Allgemeinen, das andere seiner* (which is misprinted *seinere*), *Fürsichsein*. (See Dr. Mill, pp. 156-7.)

Our paper is nearly concluded; for the task we proposed to ourselves was not to enter into the immediate purpose of our author's volume, but to examine the justice of certain statements made there upon the character of German philosophy in general, and the title which it shows, to have these statements received as the result of sufficient information and familiarity with the subject. We have expressed our general hearty admiration of the tone and temper with which Dr. Mill conducts his controversy; yet we cannot repress the utterance of a wish that such phrases as "profane, disgusting, outrageous infidelity" had been spared from these pages. In proportion to the earnestness with which the writer embraces the cause of truth, should be the stainless purity of the arms which he wields to do her work. He cannot, if he would,—and we are certain he would not if he could,—fight her battle with the aid of untruth and ignorance; nor do we despair of his perceiving that on some of his weapons there is a tarnish which should be removed. There is no chance that *such* artillery can silence the object at whom it is levelled, or bring over a single person among those who are disposed to think with him. For those who think otherwise, it is at best superfluous and un instructive, and cannot help them to see in a clearer light the magnitude of the errors from which they keep aloof: with the unthinking and unqualified to judge alone can it have any weight. Alas! we are too ready to think and speak harshly even of those whom we admit to be fellow-believers: why select language which widens the barrier between our fellow-thinker and ourselves, if *he* is willing to recognize a tie of common belief which may win him to listen more trustfully and amicably to our arguments; which

may afford the single hope of our hereafter clearing the film from his eyes?

As to Strauss himself, whatever may be the enormity of his errors, his earnest sincerity appears to us to admit of no doubt; and it is well borne out by the tone of fairness and dispassionate reasoning throughout his work. A German theologian, author of one of the most successful answers to the 'Leben Jesu', has borne high testimony to his adversary's candour and honesty, and eloquently expressed a confident hope that he may, by the increasing light of truth, be strengthened into becoming one of her powerful champions*. In a more recent work†, Strauss has reviewed the systems of two theologians materially differing from his own, with a spirit of impartial and friendly justice which would do no discredit to an orthodox polemic. The very words of his preface, quoted by Mr. Milman, Hist. Christ., i. p. 115, whose criticism of the 'Leben Jesu' Dr. Mill refers to, may be the words of a visionary, but they cannot belong to a frivolous unbeliever, consciously seeking to make sacred things profane.

We would yet specify two points in the general argument, where it appears to us that Dr. Mill, from not having paid sufficient attention to the prevailing direction of thought in Germany, has failed to place himself on common ground with his adversary, so that his reasonings must fall short of their mark. He proposes in his 7th section some considerations upon the probability of miracles, in a manner which appears to imply that such considerations had not been long since brought forward, listened to, and seriously weighed in Germany. We think that here a few words might have been profitably bestowed upon placing in a clear light before the reader the state of feeling common among German writers as to the nature and value of miraculous evidence. It appears to us that they have been gradually drawing nearer to the persuasion (which, whether it be right or wrong, *these* arguments of our author will not confute,) that neither of the conflicting theories with regard to miraculous testimony has silenced the other; that the contest between Paley and Hume

* Ullmann, Historisch oder Mythisch, s. vi. 160.

† Charakteristiken und Kritiken, Leipz. 1839. We allude especially to the critique upon Daub and Schleiermacher.

may be indefinitely prolonged without bringing to either party an undisputed victory; and that therefore evidence of a nature altogether different should be sought to test the claims of a religion purporting to contain divine truth; that the reception of its essential, saving truth, must be independent of the views entertained as to certain facts connected with its propagation, which belong to the province of historical inquiry, and with respect to whose nature it is scarcely to be expected that such inquiry will lead to an absolutely certain conclusion. Dante's expression, "Se 'l mondo si rivolse al Cristianesimo senza miracoli, quest' uno è tal che gli altri non sono 'l centesimo" (Parad. xxiv.), may in the eyes of these speculators have other meaning than that of a *reductio ad absurdum*; it may be literally interpreted as a devout tribute of homage to the wonderful dealings of God, whom it supposes, by means of the belief in supernatural events, to have opened a way for the admission of His absolute truth as surely as could have been effected in those ages by the reality of such supernatural events themselves.

Nearly fifty years ago difficulties were raised by some members of the Censorship at Halle, which were ultimately overcome by the approval of a theologian of acknowledged orthodoxy, against the publication of Fichte's *Kritik aller Offenbarung*, on account of the tenet, "that the proof for the divinity of a revelation may never be conducted by appeal to the miracles which occurred in connexion with it, but that the decision must be founded exclusively upon the substance of what it purports to reveal;" "a proposition," adds his biographer, the younger Fichte, writing in 1830, "to which the slightest resistance would scarcely be found to exist any longer." Fichte's *Leben*, i. 187. As confirming this view, we might appeal to many passages of Schleiermacher, especially to a Sermon in his 4th volume upon the subject, 'Christus als Wunderthäter;' and yet more emphatically to the remarks which conclude his 47th section of his 'Glaubenslehre,' vol. i. pp. 264-271, the text of which lays down that "the interest of religion can never require an event to be regarded as having its conditional dependence upon (ihr Bedingstein, its being conditioned by) the orderly course of nature entirely removed by its dependence upon God;" and the termination runs as follows:—

"With reference to miracles, the general interest of science and the interest of religion seem to meet in the same point; that we should give up the conception of the absolutely supernatural, because in no single case can anything be recognized by us as such, and nowhere is such a recognition required of us; that we should accordingly confess generally, on the one hand, that because our knowledge of created nature is yet in a state of development, we have no right whatever to hold anything impossible; and, on the other hand, in particular we should admit, since this is the province in which most of the miracles recorded in the New Testament lie, that we can neither accurately define the limits for the mutual relation of corporeal and intellectual nature, nor even venture to assert that they are in all places and at all times completely the same, without the possibility of experiencing extensions or being exposed to oscillations. In this manner everything, even the most wonderful occurrence that comes or has come to pass, remains a problem for scientific investigation; while, at the same time, in any case, where by means of its (*Abzweckung*) final purpose or otherwise it actively calls forth the religious feeling, this feeling finds itself in nowise impaired by the imagined possibility of a future full comprehension. We, moreover, by this means relieve ourselves fully from the difficult and extremely (*bedenklich*) hazardous task at which dogmatic theology has so long toiled in vain, of discovering sure criterions to distinguish false and devilish miracles from such as are divine and true."

So too Weisse regards the possession of miraculous power by an individual as necessarily confined within certain limits, and regulated by laws the determination of which belongs to science: and while he might freely concede to our author, that "we have no collateral experience respecting the history "of moral and intellectual beings, and the process of God's "dealing with respect to them, which is sufficient to warrant "our asserting, that what we call miracles may not be an ordinary recognized part of the process, however less common "than others; as certain convulsions of nature are a true, "though a less common, element in the order of the physical "world" (Mill, p. 133); he would contend that this empty space left open for mere possibilities is not enough for us; that unless we *can* obtain sufficient experience to conjecture their laws, we are as little justified in deducing from them consequences, as our forefathers were in supposing that a comet's approach must portend some dreadful changes on earth. He too, as fully as Schleiermacher, maintains the necessary priority of moral evidence, and the entire dependence of the validity assigned to physical testimony adduced as accrediting a divine mission, upon the result to which the former had led.

The general scope of these considerations, as applied to the one great miracle of the resurrection, is thus expressed by Strauss in his 'Zwei friedliche Blätter,' p. 70.

"Were the recall of Jesus to life admitted as a miracle in the strictest sense as an immediate act of God, even thus it would never be that on which I would willingly base my faith in Christ; or say, if this had not come to pass, my faith would be without a basis. The ideal of the Son of man, the glory of the only-begotten of the Father, either did or did not manifest itself in the life of Jesus. In the latter case, no pre-eminence imparted to him from without can make up the internal deficiency; the restoration of his bodily life cannot avail to give him the spiritual life that was wanting: in the former, the dignity which was inherent essentially in his being and life could not be withdrawn from him by whatever outward result might have been wanting to him."

It appears to us, that a feeling strongly akin to this, though of course from a very different point of view, was expressed by the greatest Christian philosopher of our age and country:—

"He once told me, with very great earnestness, that if he were that moment convinced—a conviction, the possibility of which, indeed, he could not realize to himself—that the New Testament was a forgery from beginning to end; wide as the desolation in his moral feelings would be, he should not abate one jot of his faith in God's power and mercy through some manifestation of his being towards man, either in time past or future, or in the hidden depths where time and space are not."—*Table Talk of S. T. Coleridge*, vol. ii. pp. 77-8.

Again, we cannot think Dr. Mill justified in the description which he has given in p. 65 of the modern German philosophy as a system, where, in spite of "a high stoical profession" of overcoming naturalness and the like," "the views that determine action are no other than those admitted and regarded by the Epicurean." This appears to us another forcible instance, showing the impossibility of representing fairly the light in which particular subjects are contemplated, without a connected view of the different stages and gradual development of the *whole* philosophy. "The views that determine action," according to these German thinkers, are, that absolute right and duty (which is the voice of God), demand, that the highest, most heavenward-tending and God-like principle of man's nature, prompts such a course of action; any views as to the possibility of an ulterior world are not allowed by them to determine action at all. "Love good for itself, love God because he is absolute good, without a thought how thou mayest be profited thereby," is the

precept of a school, which holds that it must be a disfigured Christianity, a sickly and unsound philosophy, that could offer any external motive to the practice of virtue, and suggest the consideration of reward either in this world or in one more distant. For fifty years there has been no need to struggle in Germany, as Coleridge, Mackintosh and others have had to struggle amongst us, for the recognition of the principle that selfishness does not cease to be selfishness by merely transferring its glance from time finite to time infinite, nor acquire thereby a better right to be the motive of human actions. That this statement should appear to need confirmation, would be in itself a proof of the little community that has existed between the philosophical literature of the two countries. We shall only quote a few words from Schleiermacher's beautiful Discourses upon Religion, which occur, p. 118, in the edition of 1831. The thought is more fully drawn out in the note, which is a product of this great thinker's later years: and the whole chapter is profoundly instructive on many of the topics touched upon in the course of our article:—

"Only too great is the number of those who seek from their God something that is foreign to religion, that he should warrant to them their possession of happiness externally, and allure them to morality. . . . A free being cannot will to operate upon a free being in any other method but by making itself known to the same: likewise it cannot allure us to morality; for every incentive that allures, be it hope or fear, or of what kind soever, is something foreign, which to follow, when morality enters into the question, were unfree, and therefore immoral; but the Supreme Being, the more in so far as it is regarded as itself free, cannot will to make freedom itself unfree, and morality immoral."

A natural consequence of the view here described, is the entire separation of the inquiry as to personal immortality from that of religious and moral law, which practically bears upon the feelings and duties of every day towards God and man*. The philosophical believer can feel sufficient gratitude to God for giving him light to answer the question, "What shall I do?" to abstain from pressing the other question, "What will become of me?" which, as being respective of

* Again, compare Schleiermacher, Christl. Glaub. § 158. 1, a most remarkable and deeply interesting passage, which thus concludes: "Muss daher zugestanden werden, dass es eine Art giebt, die Fortdauer der Persönlichkeit zu verwerfen, wobei man mehr vom Gottesbewusstsein durchdrungen sein kann, als bei einer Art sie aufzunehmen: so kann ein Zusammenhang zwischen diesem Glauben und dem Gottesbewusstsein an sich nicht mehr behauptet werden."

self alone, he distrusts his power even of asking in a mood unbiassed by subjective prepossessions, and reposes resignedly in the faith that, if not himself, yet He who is absolute reason can answer it. We believe that among German thinkers, the deepest speculation on this subject will be found rather to abstain from positive assertion than to deny; but we feel convinced that the spirit of such contemplation may more properly be identified with the spirit of self-sacrifice which Christianity teaches, than with the "greatest possible amount of tranquil enjoyment" system of the Epicureans. We scarcely think that our author could have classed them together had he been acquainted with the passage in the *Friedliche Blätter*, where Strauss asserts his conviction that if Paul believed himself actuated to devoted heroism by the hope of a reward hereafter, he mistook the workings of his own spirit, and esteemed himself lower than he really was, not perceiving as clearly as we now perceive the true glorious greatness of soul that was in him.

When Fichte, whom Carlyle has rightly described as the most Luther-like spirit of modern times, in his 'Anweisung z. seligen Leben,' extols as something higher than mere moral purity, the *love* which raises man's soul to God, are these aspirations rendered inconsistent with piety by the accompanying reluctance to apply the predicate *Person*, which in all its relations known to us is necessarily coextensive with imperfection and limitation, to the infinite and perfect Being whom none can reach, yet to whom all tend, in obedience to the voice that said, "Be ye perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect?" Or is it a tenable position, on the other hand, that Fichte's notions of morality were less severe and sublime than those of our own ethical writers, and that he, like the Indian theosophist, can be regarded as teaching mankind to merge the active impulse in lifeless contemplation? Surely, while we contend that in many, and perhaps in far more persons, a feeling of reverence as deep and pure may coexist with speculative views that take an opposite form, we must admit that only by a tyrannous strain of language can a philosophy capable of combination with such feelings be termed *un-theistic*, or accused of irreligion and self-deifying arrogance.

In fine, we shall consider our remarks not entirely thrown

away, if Dr. Mill's treatise should serve as a prelude to others, which, retaining his merits and avoiding the imperfections we have noticed, may advance towards rendering intelligible, and presenting in a true undistorted light to the independent minds of England, the career which German thought has opened for itself in the last and the present generation. That Voltaire should have carried his fellow-countrymen along with him, when he denounced with dogmatizing levity the barbarism of Shakspeare, is a phenomenon which will not soon be forgotten, in England perhaps later than elsewhere: but its real significance will not have been perceived, if its effect be rather to flatter national pride (though it be the commendable pride in the greatness of her greatest son), than to secure us from premature unfriendly judgments upon our fellow-labourers in any region whatever of intellectual exertion. It is indeed our anticipation that many generations may pass before what is most peculiar to the one mighty branch of the Teutonic tree can unite in perfect harmony with what most prominently characterizes the other; that material points of difference will yet long exist between them, slowly, if ever, to be perfectly smoothed down. That the leading thinkers of the nation which produced Luther will regard any subject whatever as guarded within a sacred pale from the scrutinizing glances of pure thought, or acquiesce in holding a religious creed whose harmonious agreement with the faculty by which man seeks to apprehend absolute truth is not manifested in open light, is a supposition which we despair of seeing realized. "Ask, and it shall be given unto you; knock, and it shall be opened," will still be the command and the promise on which their seekers for truth will steadfastly rely. But we shall not readily abandon the hope, that an inquiry into German speculation, carried on more in the spirit of love than of distrust, pursuing more, than has hitherto been done, the aim of finding, not errors to repel, but rather concurrent truths to attract, even though they may appear in a somewhat different vesture, may draw to light points of contact and community now hidden from the general view, between the religious philosophies of the two countries, and tend to the purifying of faith and the illumination of reason alike in our foreign brethren and ourselves.

ARTICLE VII.

1. *Die Serbische Revolution; aus Serbischen Papieren und Mittheilungen von LEOPOLD RANKE. The Servian Revolution, from Papers and Oral Communications.*

2. *Serbiens Neuzeit von EMANUEL THAL. The Regeneration of Servia.*

A CURSORY glance at the extent and the resources of the two northern races, who from the fifth century of our era have held paramount sway in Europe, would lead to the inference that the Slavonians were called to overturn and possess the Byzantine empire and its dependent provinces, as Rome and the Western Empire were given into the hand of the Germans. On a nearer view, however, we find not only the position of these two races, but likewise the circumstances which attracted them as conquerors to the south, to differ very much on the two sides of the Adriatic.

Germany is but in very few spots a fertile country, and could bear no comparison with the plains of Lombardy and Central Italy, with the banks of the Loire, Provence and great part of Spain. Covered to a vast extent with forests, which heightened the rigours of a naturally rude climate, its inmates were continually allured by the voluptuous delights proffered by those southern districts, which, instead of ministering to the power, had become only hotbeds of degeneration for the Western Empire. Rome itself, no longer the head of the state, had lost the nimbus which once attached to the capital of the world, and her position and means of defence, unsupported by a maritime position, offered no obstacles to hardy warriors, at all proportionate to the body which depended upon her fall.

The position of the Eastern Empire was a very different one. Constantinople, occupying a site remarkably adapted for defence, and which had been strengthened by every invention which timid rulers had been able to call to their aid, was perfectly independent of the mountainous districts at her

back as long as she maintained supremacy at sea. Her supplies were not drawn from the populous districts of Thrace, Thessaly and the Morea, but from the northern shores of the Black Sea. As these productive districts, in the period which elapsed between the emigration of the Goths and the entrance of the Magyars into Hungary, that is to say, between the fourth and the ninth centuries, were continually changing masters, no one of the temporary possessors was able to attain the internal stability of a nation which could prove formidable to its neighbours. When at last Hungary, confined within its natural limits, became a powerful kingdom, the attention of its rulers was rather drawn towards Italy and the west than towards a half-neglected city, however pompous in its titles, and which was moreover protected by so formidable a mountain-barrier as the Hæmus.

The main cause of the security of Constantinople from foreign enemies of irresistible strength continued long to lie in the divided, and consequently powerless, condition of the countries on the northern bank of the Euxine. After the emigration of the Magyars to Hungary, we hear for centuries nothing of these fertile tracts, which were only beginning in the twelfth century to recruit a little, when the invasion of the Tartars under Genghis Khan overwhelmed them with a new subjection. These countries did not come into play in a manner which influenced the course of events in the more southern parts of Europe, until they were incorporated into Poland at the close of the long wars which their free inhabitants carried on with that power for their liberty. The complete subjection of the Zaporagues and Cossacks of the Ukraine by Poland changed the face of eastern Europe, as it placed their immense resources at the disposal of an organized and warlike nation. The Turks fell before the victorious sword of John Sobieski, and with its aid the House of Hapsburg obtained possession of Hungary. Turkey was from that moment annihilated as a first-rate European power. With the loss of Podolia and the Ukraine Poland ceded her pre-eminence in the East to Russia, who now holds it, with no other immediate rival than Austria, the ruler of Hungary.

That this preeminence is really conferred by the sway over these two highly favoured districts is proved by the

evanescent nature of other attempts made to found Slavonic empires in their vicinity. In the ninth century, Swatopluk, a Moravian prince, had united under his sceptre a large portion of Bohemia, together with the eastern parts of Hungary and the Slavonic countries to the southward of the Danube. Ottocar of Bohemia was the most powerful prince of his day. His sway extended from the Elbe to the Alps, and the instinctive feeling of self-preservation induced the Germans to award their crown as the palm of victory to the successful chieftain who should subdue this formidable rival. Yet a few years after the death of both these chiefs, the Moravian and Bohemian kingdoms vanished like unsubstantial phantoms which possessed no natural foundation. A similar fate attended an embryo monarchy which the personal talent of a leader in the fourteenth century promised to found amongst the most southern Slaves—the Servians. Stephen Dushan, the ruler of all the mountainous districts to the southward of the Danube, named his deputies in Ætolia and Macedonia. He assumed the style and title of emperor and king, and placed a double-crested eagle in his banner. In 1356 he raised an army of 80,000 men for the purpose of overturning the Byzantine empire, but this prize was destined to fall into other hands. In the same year the Turks made good their footing for the first time in Europe, and before the close of the year Stephen died, leaving a feeble successor to cope with the dreaded Murad I., “the victorious,” “of godlike deeds.” Three and thirty years afterwards, the power of the Slavonians was annihilated in the battle of Kopowo. Some few attempts were made after that with the energy of despair, and the Servians, ceasing to be a nation, sunk, under the local denominations of Bulgarians, Servians, Bosnians and Montenegrines, into the miserable condition of rayahs.

It is characteristic of the leading Slavonic tribe, that it should not only have preserved its nationality intact under such circumstances, but that it should start up with the example of striking an early and dangerous blow for liberty, the moment the course of events allowed a prospect of success. Professor Ranke, who is known to our readers as a calm and philosophical historian, has shown his sympathy towards this young nation by rescuing the hitherto unwritten annals of

their regeneration from oblivion, and we gladly call the attention of our readers to this most interesting work, as the interests of the Servians are in a great measure the same with those of the other provinces of the Turkish Empire; and their proceedings may afford a clue to the true measures to be adopted in order to reinvigorate our ancient and faithful ally, Turkey.

But we must form a nearer acquaintance with the people of whose short but romantic history we propose to treat.

The most striking trait which offers itself at this early period to the notice of the observer, is a firm religious tendency in the national character, differing widely from the unconditional mental subjection demanded of its votaries by the Church of Rome. The religious feelings of the Slavonian are, like those of the inhabitants of all fine countries, essentially sensuous, if we may be allowed the term, in contradistinction to the doctrinary tendency of the Teutonic race. In the remotest ages, the forest was for them no gloomy retreat to be approached with awe, the abode of an undefined deity. The shade, which was the place of refuge from a sultry sun, and in which the swineherd found a rich supply of fodder for his beasts, was, for the Slavonian, peopled with beauteous creations; and in the Greek mythos of the Hamadryads it is scarcely possible to mistake the Slavonian notion of the lovely female forms, whose existence is associated to that of every tree, and whose blood flows at every stroke of the axe which fells it. The classical scholar has great reason to rejoice at the pains which the Slavonic nations are now taking to collect the remnants of their long-neglected antiquity. This sensuous feeling, which is a desire to seize the object of popular love or veneration under a corporeal form, is, as is well known, commonly allied to great tenacity in religious dogmas and rites. The "spiritual" church has at all times had chiefly to contend with this feeling, carried to extremes, in all its phases, and has perhaps too often been intent only on destroying what might have been turned into a legitimate source of influence, if judiciously and honestly employed. It is certain that history presents us with many instances where the poetry both of religion and of social life have been taken from nations by ignorant and heartless reformers, who were

unprepared with a substitute to indemnify their proselytes for the privation.

When we consider the stationary existence which the Greek church under Turkish, Venetian and Russian sway, has dragged on through centuries, we cannot wonder at the little success which its iconoclastic tendencies have had in contending with this incorporeal imagery, which nature, the true inspirer of all effective poetry, calls up, and which it has been the endeavour of art, not unfrequently, only to destroy. In this state we find the Servians at the present day, who combine with the festivals and symbols of the church symbolical forms of a kind which the strict churchman would doubtless denounce as Pagan, but solely because the heathens, like the untutored Christians, drew their inspirations from nature and her scenery. This is the light in which Ranke sees it.

“The Servians display a religious feeling, in which the desire to unite the two opposite tendencies towards the belief in an all-powerful Providence with a kind of worship of nature (if we may so call it) is evident; both, however, free from the influence of a priesthood. They have retained observances, perhaps, from the most remote antiquity, which point to the mysterious dependence in which the simple cultivator of the land stands upon the natural powers.

“In winter, immediately before the great fast (advent), the festival of the dead is celebrated; each solemnizes the memory of his deceased friends. But when Palm Sunday comes round, they call to mind the renewal of life. On the Saturday eve maidens meet upon the summit of a hill, and sing songs about the resurrection of Lazarus. On the Sunday morning, before sunrise, they meet at the place for drawing water, dance and sing their roundelay, which turns upon water that grows discoloured from the horns of the stag, and is purified by his eye. This allusion forms the commencement. Water freed from ice and melted snow is the first messenger of the young year.

“On St. George’s eve, at the close of April, the women seek young flowers and herbs; they catch the spray thrown off by the mill-wheel, throw into it what they have gathered, and let it stand over-night to bathe in it the next morning. Is it not as if they gave themselves over to the influence of awakening nature? They believe to secure by this the enjoyment of health.

“Whitsuntide follows, the festival of Kralitza. Ten to fifteen maidens then assemble, one as standard-bearer, one as king, but one veiled, representing the queen, Kralitza, who is attended by a maid of honour; they stop dancing and singing before every house. The usual subjects of these songs relate to marriage, choice, a happy union, and pleasure to be derived from children; the burden repeated after every verse being ‘Leljo,’ a word

supposed to be the name of an ancient Slavonic goddess of love. The song, too, which they sing while moving from one spot to the other, of 'Wilen,' nymphs which dance under growing fruit-trees—of Radisha, probably a male daemon, who dries up the dew before the footsteps of the 'Wilen,' and then woos one of the nymphs, to whom he promises that 'she shall spin silk upon a golden spindle, seated by his mother in the cool shade,'—all breathes of the fresh joys of spring, of gracefully veiled and modest emotions of love awakened by the influence of nature in the pride of her bloom.

"As the year progresses, so do they. The feast of St. John the Baptist is thought to be so great, that the sun out of reverence stands still for three successive days. On the previous evening the shepherds bind the bark of birch-trees into torches, and go with them round the folds of the sheep and the pens of their cattle; they then go up the hills, and let their bundles burn out amidst all kinds of games.

"For the coming harvest two things are dreaded, prolonged drought and violent thunder-storms. Here a kind of Pagan observance appears almost unmodified. During a continued drought a girl unclothed is so completely enveloped in grass, flowers and herbs, that even her face is not seen: she is like a moving heap of grass, and goes from house to house: she is named Dodole. The mistress of each house seems to throw a pail of water over her, and the attendant maidens sing a prayer for rain, and look forward with confidence to its accomplishment. One song is prepared for the occasion when rain overtakes the procession and waters the vines and the corn along its path.

"Rain is prayed for; the thunder-storms are under the control of the most powerful of the saints. Elias, whose ascent to heaven is recorded in the Bible, has here become a kind of thunderer: he is even called so. The fiery Maria darts the lightning; St. Panteleimon rules the storm. The days especially devoted to the adoration of these saints fall between the 20th and 28th of July.

"From this time forth the field and the garden afford constant occupation; the fruits of the year have to be gathered in; the approach of winter announces the coming of a new year. Its prosperous issue, however, depends on the powers which are then gathered together. On the eve of St. Barbara's day all descriptions of corn are thrown into a pot and boiled together; the pot stands by the fire all night, and the next morning it is examined in order to see on which side it has boiled up highest. In the direction of that side the plough is driven through the fields which have lain fallow.

"In this way the people show their feeling of dependence upon nature. Oaths by the sun and the earth are still usual. '*Zako mi Suntra!*' '*Zako mi Semlje!*' 'So help me sun!' 'So help me earth!' are common invocations.

"With all this, no one entertains a doubt that all things depend immediately upon God's power; and no piece of work is begun otherwise than 'in the name of God.' It is looked upon as sinful solemnly to promise anything without adding, 'if God wills it.' The language even has been

developed in this style, and shows some very remarkable ellipses in consequence. One does not ask the traveller, 'Whither are you going?' nor even, 'If God wills it, whither are you going?' but simply in an interrogating tone, 'If God wills it,' omitting the actual question altogether. When the diurnal prayers are repeated three times a day, in the morning, at meals, and at night, no stated form is used; at table there is even no reference to the prospering of the food; every one seeks to address his own peculiar petition to the Highest in his own words. The Servian, when drinking, speaks the words, 'To the glory of God!' and no one will venture to preside at the festive board who is unable to pronounce a moving prayer. Still each house is supposed to stand under the protection of a special saint. Invitations are made in the name of this patron in the words, 'Your house is too a house of God; we invite you to sup with us. What the saint has provided we shall not conceal.'"

We may add, from our own experience, that the common greeting to strangers along the roadside is, "God be honoured," or "Jesus Christ be praised;" to which the proper reply is, "For ever and ever. Amen." From these formulæ we see that the earliest religious impulse was a most powerful one, and as such, able to stand the test of a subjection of four centuries to such fearful missionaries of Mahomet as the Turks.

This impulse was given by the Greek and not by the Latin Church: the apostles Cyril and Method were sent from the Greek capital to preach the Gospel to the Slavonians. Their rapid success was in a great measure owing to the pains which they took to render the Bible into the language of their disciples; for which purpose Cyril invented the Alphabet which still bears his name, and which is the foundation of the characters still in use in Russia, Wallachia and Servia. The remote position of Servia towards the East probably prevented that country from undergoing the conflict which Bohemia and Moravia experienced before the Latin Church attained the supremacy in those countries, —a supremacy, which, purchased as it was by the sacrifice of the national element in religion, the use of the vernacular tongue in prayer, probably sowed the seed of that scepticism in matters of discipline, to which we are indebted for the reformation, and which to this day is a characteristic feature of the lands in question*. Servia remained unalienated from

* The late Emperor Francis II. used commonly to call the Bohemians his 'Hussites.'

the Greek church, but she paid a fearful price for her orthodoxy.

Female beauty has as often played a conspicuous part in Slavonic as in Turkish history. The defeat of the Slavonians at the Blackbirdfield (Kopowopole) is attributed to the treachery of Wuk Brankowicz, a Servian. But Stephan's son Lazar had a lovely daughter, Milewa. The Sultan Bajazet raised this fair one to be his favourite sultana, and her brother became the temporary despot, or prince of Servia, the first ruler of the country who was an acknowledged tributary to the Turks. On his death-bed he named George Brankowicz as his successor, who was driven by Murad II. into Hungary. The Hungarians had begun to move in consequence of the growing power of the Turks, and under their great Captain Hunyady offered battle to Murad in the same field which had proved fatal to the Servians. The battle was fought in 1448, and the Hungarians were defeated. Strange to say, the Servian, George Brankowicz, who was so deeply indebted to Hunyady, arrested this chieftain in his retreat or flight at Smederewo on the Danube, but released him in consequence of the magnificent promises made to him by the Hungarian. This treachery George is said to have excused by stating, that before the battle he applied to Hunyady to know whether, in case he was victorious, he would allow the Servians the free exercise of their religion; to which the other replied, it was his intention to reduce Servia under the authority of the Pope. Murad, to whom George then applied, said that he would build in each village a church and a mosque, and that those who chose it might go into either; on which the Servians declared for the Turk against the Catholic. This barefaced treachery, however, deprived the Servians of all friends, and Mahomed II., after devastating the country with fire and sword, reduced it to the condition of a Sandshak of the Ottoman empire.

The historian gives the following description of the state of the country in the sixteenth century, under Sultan Soliman I.

"In the sixteenth century the Servians were in a state of most slavish subjection to their masters, both as regarded their persons and their goods. The tenth sheaf on the field belonged to the spahi; the pasha was sup-

plied at Christmas with wheat, barley and oats from every house ; but before all, the Sultan claimed his 'haratsh,' the poll-tax, from every male. All this, however, did not content the oppressor. The peasants were often dragged from Belgrade and Smederewo, to make hay upon the sultan's meadows near Constantinople, a service which could not be performed in less time than two months. A certain number of the inhabitants of every village were bound to work for the pasha one hundred days in every year, as well as in harvest time, but it was still harder that spahi and janizaries were quartered in the villages, and held immediate and uncontrolled sway over the people. Then came the *tribute of boys*, which every five years deprived the country of the flower of its youth ; while the population that remained was exposed to the depredations of daring robber-outlaws, mostly soldiers who had deserted, and who infested and plundered the oppressed but defenceless country."

This is of course a picture applicable to the other provinces of the Turkish empire at the period, as well as to Servia. The picture, too, has more than one side. What must have been the degeneration of Christian sway under the Greek emperor and his patriarch, when such ruthless tyrants as the Turks found it possible to acquire such a hold upon those fine countries as enabled them to treat whole nations in the manner thus described? What, too, must have been the miserable system of petty intrigue, called policy, amongst the western nations of Europe, which, bent as they were upon curtailing the Ottoman power, deprived them of the powerful engine which lay ready for their use, in this goaded and neglected population? Did the conduct of the Latin princes and of their ministers during the Crusades, and the tender mercies of Venetian sway at a later period, actually leave so deep an impression in the East as to make its Christian population think it small advantage to exchange the Turkish for Christian oppression? Yet the answer seems written on the page of history ; that is to say, upon that page which all may read, although it has not yet been written.

The resources of these countries were, however, not given by Providence into the hands of unprincipled egotists, to deck them with the plumes of chivalrous conquest, and to enable them to liberate that they might but lay more artfully forged fetters upon their fellow men. The ages of oblivion to which these countries have been consigned, have, under the unerring guidance of a greater power than governments and hierarchies, been employed in effecting a revolution, the

more powerful because unseen. The triumph of true Christianity has been shown in the fact, that a Christian and Mahometan population cannot for any length of time coexist in any country, without the supremacy, moral as well as physical, devolving to the former. This is a revolution inevitable under the operation of the most powerful of laws—the law of nature. The Mahometan rule which allows the enfeebled and luxuriant a plurality of wives, of course by depriving the poor and robust of the rights of humanity (for in no country are there two women to one man), entails upon the land which adopts it the curse of physical and moral degeneration—the weakness resulting from a decrease of population. True Christianity, on the contrary, whose brightest rays concentrate in the lovely focus of the family circle as a centre whence they radiate (if not impeded) to the wider circles which embrace our neighbours and our countrymen, forms not only a solid basis for individual happiness, but the only source of wise legislation for a state. It is, in our opinion, a most attractive inquiry, to seek how Christianity operated in these neglected portions of Europe, unguided by learning and unsupported by hierarchies, through centuries of dark oppression.

The description of Servia in the eighteenth century deserves to be contrasted with the preceding extract:—

“In the eighteenth century no Soliman threatened Europe, and the war-like system of the Ottomans showed all the symptoms of undeniable decay. But the rajahs had gained a breathing space, and their condition was beyond all comparison improved. The tribute of boys had ceased, nothing more was heard of the kidnapping of men and women by powerful robbers. The personal service of the rajah was no longer demanded, which was a great addition to his domestic comfort. The forced labour both to the pasha and the sultan ceased. Spahi and janizary were no longer quartered in the villages. In matters of property, too, there was an improvement. The haradsh was still paid to the grand signior, and the ‘teszkere,’ or receipts for it, came regularly from Constantinople, but the pasha received no corn. In place of that tribute he demanded a sum of money twice in the year, the ‘poresa,’ to defray the costs of the administration. As this sum was, by the advice of the ‘knesi,’ distributed over the twelve districts of the land, where it was further subdivided according to the smaller circles of villages and families, all the oppression attending the inquiries of tyrannical pashas into the produce of the harvest was at once got rid of. The spahi had still two claims; the tithe of all produce

of the field, the vineyard and the bee-hive, and a poll-tax, 'glewnitza,' of two piastres from every married couple. He came in person to receive the former into the village, but in many places a portion of it was paid with the glewnitza. In other parts a composition was agreed to, by which each married couple, whether rich or poor, paid ten piastres annually to the spahi, in lieu of all demands. The country was thus by degrees liberated from the arbitrary encroachments of the Turks upon its industry and on the profits of its labouring classes."

Our readers have no need to be told that this liberation took place before the age of protocols, interventions and Russian intrigues, and even before the campaigns of Joseph II., which served far more to betray the weakness than to display the power of Austria. Even the victories of Eugene had no share in this amelioration of the condition of the Servian rajah; for the treaty of Carlowitz, which secured Syrmia and part of the Banat of Temeswar to Austria, was concluded upon the Hungarian soil. This change can therefore be ascribed to no other cause than the influence which we have stated to be the necessary consequence of a reasonable exercise of the rights prescribed to man by the Christian law. These rights were in Servia not controlled by military or clerical institutions imposing celibacy upon a large proportion of the community, and the consequence has been an immense increase of the Christian population and a corresponding decrease of Mahometans, which amounted almost to an actual transfer of the sovereignty of the country to the Christian rajahs.

It may appear strange that the Christian conquests in Hungary, instead of forwarding, should operate as a considerable check upon this process, by exposing the Slavonians of the Turkish provinces to the northward of the Hæmus to a temptation to weaken their power. The fine tracts of country in Syrmia and the Banat, which were in the eighteenth century, at different times, ceded by Turkey to Austria, belong to the most productive regions of Europe. They were depopulated by the Moslem rule, and every encouragement was held out by the Austrian emperors to new settlers. The soil and climate of these fertile tracts were alone a sufficient temptation, and it cannot be matter of wonder that a vast proportion of the Turkish Christian population should immediately emigrate to them. The most recent statistical re-

turns of Hungary estimate the number of 'raitzen,' or Slavonic emigrants from the southern banks of the Danube and the Save, at more than 800,000, being a number equal to the present population of Servia. These settlers are distributed through the military frontier districts, Slavonia and the provinces "on this side the Theiss," and "beyond the Theiss" in Hungary. Without this emigration it is evident that the accumulation of the Servian population would have proved much more dangerous to their Turkish rulers than has hitherto been the case; and thus we see Constantinople once more saved by the operation of a fact, to which, in the commencement of this article, we ascribed the prolonged existence of the Greek capital—the fact, that the strength of the empire lies not in the vicinity of Constantinople, but in provinces and districts, the possession of which gives the command of Constantinople itself.

But although the principle of good had been thus preserved by the interposition of an all-wise Protector, yet the searing hand of oppression had left deadly marks behind it, deeply imprinted upon the national character. In all rude and dark ages, vigour of character is the only quality in public life which makes a man powerful, or which is useful to the oppressed. To them it matters little if the sword which avenges the injuries by which they are goaded be likewise dyed with the blood of crime, or if the shield under which they crouch for protection cover also the ruthless violator of the law. This position, in which far more favoured lands have at times been found, must be ascribed altogether to the tyranny which induces it, and must rather increase our admiration for their efforts to rise out of such degradation, than awaken anything like contempt for a nation so unhappily circumstanced.

The history of Servia, from the days of Stephan Duschan until Professor Ranke reknit the broken clue, is contained in the national poetry.

We would here gladly invite our readers to forsake the tracks imprinted by the ruthless march of modern policy and the distressing annals of the contest between bravery and despotism, to wander with us through the lovely paths of fiction, which the language, and, now, the literature of Servia,

holds out. The few specimens which Dr. Bowring introduced to the English reader's notice, in his Servian popular poetry some years back, suffice to demonstrate the poetical genius of this race of Slavonians in striking colours. The labours of Wuk Stephanowicz, encouraged by the sympathy and rewarded by the encomiums of James Grimm, have since greatly enlarged the collection of poems, taken from the mouths of the singers, whose only school was the tradition of their forefathers, and whose only art was the unsophisticated feeling of the beautiful. The scholar and the critic, who may wish to study the growth and vigour of poetical feeling in a nation, may here, in the almost only remaining living school of the kind, carry his researches further than scholiasts or grammarians would guide him. We recommend to such as may feel curious on the subject, the collections of Wuk Stephanowicz, which have all at least been translated into German, and the more recent collection of Gerhard, printed under the title of 'Wila.' As a critical guide, who would not be delighted to accompany James Grimm, whose keen sensitiveness of the beauties of poetical invention has been refined, and, if possible, rendered more acute, by the widest range of study and observation that ever was opened to human intellect! We would above all point out Grimm's reviews of Wuk's poetical collections in the 'Gelehrte Anzeige' of Göttingen, and his prefatory remarks on the epic poem of 'Maxim Czernowicz's bridal.'

But although our limits prescribe to us so brief a notice of this part of our subject, to which perhaps, too, the most lasting interest attaches, we cannot refrain from alluding to some points in the national character, which are no less strikingly prominent in these poetical fictions than in the public life of the Servians.

The most sacred bond with the Servians is that between brothers, whether by blood or by adoption. The contract of this most intimate friendship is not unfrequently, like marriage, sealed with the blessing of the priest. In one of their songs this trait is most beautifully illustrated by the figure of a falcon, which, having broken its wing in the chase, compares its condition with that of a man who has lost his brother. We hope we shall not be accused of the unpoetical spirit of

systematizing, but our minds involuntarily recur to the *Iliad*, in which some of the most beautiful traits are illustrative of the friendship of which the Greek mind is represented as so eminently susceptible, while the barbarian invariably stands and falls alone. Prince Milosch's warm attachment to his half-brother Milan is well known, as is also the fact that he took his patronymic cognomen, 'Obrenowicz,' from Obren, Milan's father, instead of adopting his own father's name. The inviolability of this bond was probably heightened by the need of mutual aid in a country which for centuries had known no other peace than that which resulted from an incapacity to annoy. The more powerful bond in peaceful times, that between the sexes, seems to have been altogether subordinate to the former; and in one of the songs we find two brothers burying their daggers at the same instant in the body of a lovely Turkish slave, whose charms threatened to loosen the tie of fraternal attachment.

The other trait will not so much surprise, although we find it carried to no common extremes: it is that of an unconquerable hatred to the Turks, whose bondage seems to have been looked upon as equally ignominious and odious. This hatred, which perhaps was the foundation of the holy tie between brothers, naturally tended to weaken all others. We have frequent accounts of women and children being massacred and thrown into the rivers when there seemed no other mode of rescuing them from these ruthless violators of domestic purity. The most striking illustration of the violence of this passion is perhaps, however, furnished by an incident in the life of Kara, or Czerny George, a name with which, as it figures conspicuously in his country's annals, we shall soon grow more familiar. On one occasion George was reduced to flee over to the Austrian territory with his aged father, when the Turks who were in pursuit appeared upon the bank of the Save, where they were to embark, and threatened to cut off their retreat. What was to be done? The old man could not run, and was George to abandon him to the cruelty of the pursuers? Without hesitation he drew a pistol from his belt and shot the aged trembler through the temple. Was this ferocity, or was it mercy? Such, however, were the times, and such was the man who was to master them!

From these specimens of social life in Servia, as recent as the commencement of the present century, the reader will not be astonished to learn, that, as in England, in the days of Robin Hood, the bold and successful outlaw is not unfrequently the hero of the most touching of these songs. The haiduk, which in Servia means a man who, for some daring action committed against the Turkish authorities, is compelled to seek the shelter of the woods and live from the plunder of those who hunted him like a wild beast, while he continued his strife with them heedless of all but the gratification of his revenge, occupies a prominent position in the legends of the country.

The first impulse to warlike organization came from the wars of the Austrians against the Turks, carried on under Joseph II. and Leopold. A corps raised from amongst the settlers in Hungary was strengthened by volunteers from Servia itself; and the campaigns, which brought the Austrians little profit, were an invaluable school of arms for the Servians, in which many of their chieftains received their first lessons. The treaty of Szistowa, in 1791, restored peace to Servia, but gave occasion to the internal elements of discord amongst the Turkish oppressors of the country to show themselves in full vigour.

The janizaries were here, as in other parts of the empire, the leading cause of dissension. Formidable everywhere to the ruling authorities, whether it were the sultan in his capital, or the pasha in his province, their tyranny diminished the revenue of the state, as their mutinous independence threatened its dignity. The spahi, who had sunk into a kind of salaried militia, found their own claims on the peasant's means endangered by their rapacity, and formed a party against them. The pasha of Belgrade, Ebu Bekir, trusting to what appeared to be the prevailing humour at Constantinople, resolved to unite with the enraged spahi the national feeling of the Servians, and to free himself from these obnoxious guards. Thus the Servians were by the Turks themselves taught that Moslem warriors are not invincible; the terrible Deli Achmet, chief of the janizaries in the pashalik, was murdered by a Turkish servant of the pasha, and the remainder of the body were driven out of the land. They found a refuge

in Bulgaria, where Passwan Oglu, pasha of Widin, asserted the Turkish sway with the fierce energy of former times. The proceedings of Ebu Bekir were represented in a suspicious light at Constantinople, and a new firman, ordering the janizaries to be reinstated in their rights in Servia, was issued by the Porte, which but a short time before had, at the desire of Ebu Bekir, unhesitatingly condemned them. Their return soon made itself known in the usual manner.

"In Swilewa, in the district of Shabacz, there lived a respectable man named Ranko, who was chief 'knes.' On one occasion, when the *porosa* was collecting, a janizary from Shabacz, Bego Nowljanin, demanded from him an additional sum of a couple of hundred piastres for his own benefit. The demand alone sufficiently indicates the state of things. Ranko was bold enough to refuse, but the janizary was determined to have his revenge. He did not venture to attack the oberknes in his own village, but the first time he came to Shabacz he followed him with some companions into a tavern and shot him. The pasha resolved to punish the criminal, but he was obliged to detach 600 men to do justice upon one individual. They had to lay regular siege to the fortress of Shabacz, which the janizaries held, and finally the murderer escaped into Bosnia.

"This impunity emboldened the janizaries to attack the pasha himself. Hadschi Mustapha was engaged in defending the boundaries of his pashalik against Passwan Oglu, and had sent his son Derwish Bey with some Turkish and Servian troops against the latter. The janizaries took advantage of the favourable moment, seized upon Belgrade, and shut the pasha up in the citadel. Here he might have held out until his son came to relieve him, if a buljukbasha of krdshali (robbers and outlaws) had not been bribed by the janizaries to admit them through a drain. Hadschi Mustapha was taken prisoner on the day on which his son entered Grozke, near Belgrade. He was first obliged to issue orders for the disbanding of the army; but as soon as the Servians had returned to their homes, and the Turkish troops had reached Nitch, he was murdered in his fortress. The janizaries sent word to Constantinople that Hadschi Mustapha had become an enemy to the Turks and had received his reward. They prayed for a new pasha.

"But this prayer was not made with any intention of submitting to his authority. Four of the janizary chiefs divided between them the supreme command. These were Fotshitsh Mehemet Aga, Agaulia, Mula Jussuf and Kutschuk. They named themselves *Dahi*, probably from the *Dahi* of the Barbaresques. Each had a portion of the country allotted to him, but they remained at Belgrade and exercised a common authority, the father of Mehemet Aga, the old Fotschir, having the skill to appease the quarrels which not unfrequently broke out amongst them. They allowed the new pasha, Aga Hassan, as much authority as they chose him to have, fixed and levied the *porosa*, and established a new kind of government.

"Not satisfied with the janizaries which surrounded them, they assem-

bled a second militia. A number of Bosnians came on the report of their insurrection—half-naked men, who, formerly having been employed to drag ships upon the rivers, now rode clothed in velvet, gold and silver, upon Arabian stallions;—these formed a body terrible to every one but to the lords in whose service they stood.

“The dahi sent the leading men of their companions, under the title of ‘kabadahis,’ into the country towns, where they, in spite of the kadis, assumed the whole authority and quartered themselves (but at first without ejecting the spahi, who drew the tithes of the land), and forced the inhabitants to work for them. Thus was the country parcelled out between these usurpers. That some authority might exist, subashas were named in every village, who held the judicial and administrative authority. They were often chosen from the Bosnian rabble who joined the dahis, and which thus acquired the right of decreeing life and death over the peasant, who lived upon his plunder, and at the first signal from their masters flew to their support.”

What a picture have we here of the misery inflicted by a government which wants the moral support indispensable to the exercise of a salutary authority! Even the spahi, as might be supposed, were finally expelled from their rights and from the country by the usurping satellites of the dahi. The Servian inhabitants, goaded by an oppression which was the more intolerable, that they were not without a feeling of their own strength, addressed a petition to the Sultan. After stating that they were reduced by the robberies of the dahi to clothe themselves with tree-bark, “the usurpers,” said they, “are not content even with this, but attack our souls, “our religion and our honour. No man is master of his “daughter, no brother of his sister. Convents, churches, “monks and popes, all are dishonoured. If thou art still “our czar,” cried they, “come and deliver us from these “spoliators; if thou art determined not to free us, let us “know, that we may resolve to flee into the woods, or to end “our lives in the rivers!”

This moving petition was heard, but the Porte had nothing to send to the relief of the sufferers but empty threats, which led to a fearful crisis. The letters from Constantinople to the dahi contained a remarkable passage, to the effect that if they did not return to their obedience, the government would raise up a power against them which they little dreamt of. “What “power can here be meant?” said they; “Will the divan “call in Austrians or Russians to dismember their own em-

"pire?" "By God!" exclaimed they, "the vizier means the rajahs!"

No sooner were they aware of the meaning of the threat, than the dahi resolved on adopting measures to render it nugatory. It was in February 1804, that they began, each in his own district, to disarm the population, and to exterminate all such as appeared formidable from influence or character. The most conspicuous men in the villages, the kmeli, it did not seem sufficient to destroy, but they sought out all who had any reputation for daring, for skill, or for eloquence, and put them to death. The country was deluged with blood. As the condemnation seemed boundless, the whole of the male population able to bear arms fled to the woods and banded with the robbers. But from this fearful state of things a new life was to dawn for Servia. Thus driven to despair, every man who had retained his arms became a soldier.

"The country as it subsides towards the Danube and the Save divides naturally into three principal districts. The chief of these is the central or forest tract, called Shumadia. The parts separated from this tract by the broad and often overflowing Morawa on the one side, and by the Colabara, which is rapid near its rise, but which forms broad marshes afterwards, on the other, constitute the other two divisions. In each the revolt was conducted by different leaders.

"In Shumadia, the first who met were the three chiefs, George Petrovitz, called by the Turks Kara George, Janko Katitz and Wasso Tcharapicz. The first had escaped just as he was about to be seized. He had purchased swine to be driven into Austria, the most profitable business in the country, and was collecting them, when he saw the Turks who were seeking him. He dispersed his beasts and fled with his hired attendants into the forest. He had previously been a haiduk, and was reckoned one of the most enterprising, as he was one of the richest men in the land. The second, Katitz, had become acquainted with war and with the warlike characters amongst his countrymen, while serving as buljuckbasha under Passwan Oglu. He was prudent and eloquent. The third was desirous to avenge the death of his brother, Wuk Tcharapicz. They agreed not to wait to suffer death in bonds from the hirelings of the dahi, but as free men to brave the danger. Others attached themselves to these; all men who held it a sin to die without selling head for head. The haiduks (outlaws) united cheerfully with them; the most dreaded were Glawash and Weliko."

Weliko had laid aside his profession of haiduk and had become a shepherd; as such he had married a wife. When he now sought his long-neglected arms and appeared before her

in martial attire, the latter covered her face with her hands and exclaimed, "Woe is me, I have married a robber!" He consoled her with the assurance, that now the best in the land had become outlaws and fugitives.

"On the news of this insurrection the country beyond the Kolubara also rose. Jacob Nenadowicz, of whom a song relates that his brother, when dying, charged him to avenge him, was the most conspicuous. Luka Lazarewicz, Ranko's brother, did not care for wearing a beard and being a pope; he took up arms. Among the haiduks of this district, none was so much dreaded as Kjurtschia. As he once hit a mark at the first shot which several Turks had missed, they hated him ever after, and had often laid snares for his life; so that he had been obliged to flee to the mountains. He now came down and bore the standard of Jacob on his first expedition.

"On the other side of the Morawa the inhabitants were not behind-hand. Milenko of Klichewaz, although of a peaceful disposition by nature, was not so indolent as not to be alive to the danger to which his wealth and his influence exposed him. With him rose Peter Theodorowicz Dobrinjaz, then and long afterwards united with him by a common interest."

The insurrection spread like wildfire; all the male population, if not in arms, was at all events engaged in open warfare. Various bodies had measured their strength with the enemy, and at length it was seen that the whole of the open country was in the undisputed possession of the Servians, while the Turks were masters in the cities and walled 'Palanki.' A body of krdshali, that is to say, of outlawed Bulgarian and Bosnian soldiery, who hovered about the frontiers, offered their services as mercenaries and were rejected by the Servians. The dahis took them immediately into their pay.

Thus left to their own resources, the knesi, or heads of Servian districts, deliberated about the best manner of conducting a contest which had already lost much of its originally desperate character. They said it was requisite to elect a chief: every village had its head, the nation ought to have one too. Kara George was proposed, but he declared that he knew not how to govern. The knesi promised to be his advisers. He objected, that his violent temper disqualified him from long and prudent deliberations; that he was on all emergencies too prone to strike without warning. They answered, that nothing was now left but to strike; that the enemy must be destroyed, or their countrymen would be ex-

terminated. The authority of commandant was thus delegated to a man whose hatred of the common oppressor had, as we have seen, been signalized by the fearful crime of parricide. Deserted by their natural protectors and reduced to the alternative of exterminating a powerful body of enemies, in order to save their race from destruction—nay more, called upon to protect themselves by those masters who at a later period again stretched out their greedy hands for tribute—they elected as chief, not one calculated to shine in the arts of diplomatic voluptuaries, and still less a man whose aggrandizement was to be based upon the degradation of his fellow citizens. Kara George was to be neither a president nor a prince, and the only conditions he made were those of a soldier.

The result of the war was such as might be expected when a hardy nation is roused with all the might of moral weight upon its side. The first Turkish bodies that were defeated filled the dahi with surprise and rage; but when the Servians, descending from the Shumadia and uniting with their brethren in the plains, laid siege to Shabaz, Posarewaz, and finally to Belgrade, wonder and indignation were changed into dismay. In Constantinople the news was gladly received; a Servian who lived there as a fugitive was ordered to Belgrade as commissary for purchasing supplies for the Servian army, and the pasha of Bosnia was directed to support them with his troops. The Porte thought, perhaps, that when the Sultan's forces appeared in the field, the rajahs would humbly return to the ploughs and the cattle they had left. It is stated that the Bosnian pasha, on arriving at Belgrade, and seeing the standard of Jacob Nenadowicz borne by the haiduk Kjurtschia flying before the fortress, exclaimed, "My beard has grown white, and I must have lived so long to see the standard of a robber flying in the open field!" He obeyed his orders, however, united his forces with the rajahs, and the dahi leaders thought it time to endeavour to make good their retreat with their treasures. Ali Guschanz, the chief of their mercenaries, krdshali, treacherously opened the gates of the fortress to the allied armies, while the rest escaped in a boat down the Danube to the island of Orsowa. It was characteristic of the men and the period

that the Servians determined to have their heads, and that the pasha of Bosnia did not venture to exasperate them by a refusal. By his order a body of Servians was admitted into the fort of Orsowa by night: they returned with the heads of the four dahi leaders.

The Servians had got rid of the dahi, but the foreign mercenaries, or krdshali, whose leader had admitted them into Belgrade, still maintained the citadel of that city, in the hope of forcing the Porte to nominate him to the pashalik. The pasha of Bosnia, unequal to the contest, or perhaps not unwilling to see an opposition raised to the hated Rajahs, drew off his men. The Servians, finding no help from the Divan, and trembling for their young independence, deliberated upon soliciting foreign help. Austria was proposed as a neighbour and the protector of a large fraction of their race; Russia as professing the same religious creed. In the month of August of the same year (1804), a deputation was sent to the court of the Russian Emperor. In the following year the messengers returned with the counsel, to address their demands to the Sultan in Constantinople, where the Russian minister would be charged to support them. Thus was the foundation laid for Russian influence in Servia.

In the interval, however, neither party had been inactive: the subashas and other dependents of the dahi who held commands in distant districts, were subdued by George and Jacob; and the land being thus cleared by Servian arms, it became a proper demand to be addressed to the Sultan, that it should in future have no Turkish garrisons. The Servians had shown their ability to serve the Sultan better than his own disorganized army. They tendered tribute; but as a set-off against all arrears, furnished an authenticated account of the expense to which the late armament had put the land. These were the claims which the Russian ambassador was to support; the task was rendered difficult by the attempt of a new pasha to force his way to Belgrade at the head of an imposing force, which was driven out of the country by the Servians on the pasha refusing to take the line of march which the Servian leaders prescribed. The Servians gave their little state more unity in the same year by constituting a national synod on the advice of a countryman named Phi-

lippowicz, who had long resided in Russia, and who returned with the embassy.

If the fortresses had been taken from the krdshali, it is probable that the Turks would have compromised matters with the rajahs; but the temptation was too great, as long as these allies remained, to make another effort to regain a supremacy, which experience showed they were not able to maintain. A Servian of importance had been insulted by the Turks at Smederewo for riding armed into the town. The Servians encamped in the neighbourhood, stormed the fortress, and made it their seat of government. The Porte chose to look upon this as an act of overt rebellion, and ordered the pashas of Bosnia and Scutari, at the head of 70,000 men, to disarm the Servians and reduce them to obedience. But the Servians were resolved not to submit without a struggle. Their leaders were numerous and trusty, and Kara George asserted his right to be the foremost where danger threatened.

The Bosnian pasha crossed the Dwina with 30,000 men, and devastated the country around Shabaz. The small body of Servians entrenched upon an eminence offered battle. For two whole days they withstood the attacks of the furious Turks. On the third, previous to which messages passed to and fro worthy of the best days of Grenada and the Crusades, and on which the pasha allowed Servians from Austria to land and go up the trees to witness the destruction of their brethren, George, dreaming of conquest and not defeat, placed an ambuscade of cavalry at some distance from his lines. At a given signal these attacked the Turks in their rear, who, taking them for a reinforcement, abandoned the field in confusion and with great loss. In this battle, Milosh of Pozerje, a man destined to play a conspicuous part in the annals of his country, carried off the sabre of the seraskier Kuhl. The pasha of Bosnia entered on another side with 40,000 men, and laid siege to the unimportant fortress of Deligrad, which, however, resisted all his efforts. This induced him to listen to terms. He drew off his troops upon the condition of Servia's agreeing to pay a yearly tribute of 900,000 piastres (about 60,000*l.* sterling), out of which the Porte was to indemnify the spahi. Belgrade was to be gar-

risoned with only 150 Turks. Thus was the incipient freedom of Servia saved.

The leaders then turned their forces against the krdshali in the fortresses. Before the end of the year Belgrade had fallen. Shabaz capitulated in February 1807; in June of the same year Ushitze and the remainder followed. Unfortunately the popular fury proved too indomitable for the control of the chiefs. The Turkish leaders, who were promised a safe conduct out of the land, were attacked by their escorts. The spirit of massacre got abroad, and a fearful slaughter of the adherents of the krdshali took place in cold blood at Belgrade and Shabaz. The new Turkish pasha was involved in the calamity, and was murdered with his whole garrison. This scene of blood, and the plunder which accompanied it, disgusted many of the leading Servians.

If the defeat of the pashas of Bosnia and Scutari had shown that the Servians were not afraid to draw the sword against their Turkish masters, the plunder of Belgrade, but especially the fact of their bringing up such Turkish children as had been saved, in the Christian religion, was tantamount to casting away the scabbard. The Porte refused to ratify the treaty with the pasha of Scutari, and armies were once more directed against the devoted country. In this contest, which lasted through the year 1809, the Russians sent a body of troops to the aid of their new allies, which was the more necessary, that our historian thinks there is reason to believe that the Turkish force received both cannon and artillery-men from the French.

The obligation was near proving a dear one. A party in the synod wished to make Kara George appear the enemy of Russia. George's strong sense saved him and his country from the rock upon which it was hoped that he would be wrecked. He himself procured from the Russians a promise of aid and a recognition of his authority; and the former was followed up by a corps of troops, which in 1810 contributed mainly to the defeat of two powerful Turkish armies. The result of this campaign was, that the Servian frontier was extended along the Danube from the island of Poretsch to the mouth of the river Timok.

In the synod of 1811, Kara George resolved to bring matters to a crisis between himself and the party which hoped

by Russian aid to depose him. Availing himself of the uncertainty in which the Russian commander was as to which party he ought to support, George procured the banishment of his enemies, and thus obtained an almost unlimited power. Milosh belonged to the opposite party, and wrote to say that he would come with two thousand followers whenever they called upon him; but his letter only reached Belgrade after they had been banished.

The treaty of Bucharest afforded Servia breathing time. In 1812 not only peace but an alliance was agreed upon between Russia and Turkey, and a Russian corps entered the Servian borders with the consent of the Turks. This was withdrawn in 1813, and the Servians were left once more to settle their disputes single-handed with the Porte.

The reaction which in this year confirmed so many tottering thrones, was not without its effect upon Turkey, which suddenly freed from so many threatening dangers, resolved to direct a powerful force upon what the Divan still considered as a revolted province. The Servians as usual prepared for defence; but their leader, Kara George, the hero of a hundred fights, he, whom no odds in the field had daunted, grew timid at the prospect of a struggle differing in character from all former contests. From previous occurrences, he felt that Servia could not be left to stand alone against Turkey by Austria and Russia, unless she had been sacrificed and designedly given up by those powers. This tacit alliance implied the necessity of lending the Porte that countenance which under the circumstances ensured its success. Rather than be the willing instrument of leading his countrymen to butchery, and build himself a glorious tomb upon the destruction of his race, Kara George preferred braving the insinuations of calumny, and ending in obscurity a career which only needed a historian to call it glorious. He crossed over to Austria with a number of adherents, and was immediately consigned to the fortress of Gratz. His retreat had the effect upon which he probably speculated. No resistance was offered to the new Turkish armament. Towns and palanki were occupied without a sign of resistance; the rajahs were disarmed as far as it was possible to effect it. The pasha of Skoplje in Herzegowina, who for several years had been at war with the Servians, was made pasha of Belgrade.

This revolution, and the abdication of Kara George, introduce us to another character.

“When the army of Shabaz dispersed and the Woywodes fled over the Save, one only, Milosh Obrenowicz, remained behind. Jacob Nenadowicz came over once again to persuade him to flee. ‘Of what use will my life be to me in Austria?’ replied Milosh. ‘The enemy will sell my wife and children, and my aged mother, into slavery: let them kill me with the rest.’ He could not be persuaded, and retired to his dwelling at Brusnizza. Here, in the most southerly district, there was as yet no enemy, and he perhaps thought he might be able to hold the country. He occupied Uschitze, and distributed clothing and arms to the Bekjars, who assembled around him after the flight of the other leaders. When the Turks advanced, however, there was no hope of resisting. Every man thought only of defending his own house, with his wife and children, from their fury; no troops could be kept together, and even the garrison of Uschitze dispersed on the news of their approach. Hereupon Milosh resolved to accept the terms offered him by the Turks, which were pardon if he surrendered, but if he assisted them in quieting the minds of the people, the dignity of *knes* and a share of authority. In the village of Takowo he laid down his arms at the feet of Aga Ali Sertchesma, the grand vizir’s *delibasha*. In Belgrade it was an object of contest who should present him to the vizir. Soliman, the pasha, presented him with a beautiful pair of pistols and with an Arabian stallion. ‘Look,’ said the pasha as he presented him to his court, ‘there is my beloved *bashknes* and adopted son; see how calm and modest he seems now, but many a time have I been obliged to take to my heels before him! At Rawanj he at last broke my arm. Look, son, here is the mark of thy bite!’ ‘Pasha,’ answered Milosh, ‘that arm shall be covered with gold!’”

These compliments evince the importance of detaching a leader who enjoyed the popular confidence from the cause of independence. It is even probable that Milosh never would have succeeded to the influence of Kara George if the course of events had not forced him out of this temporizing policy.

But let us become nearer acquainted with the new hero.

“Milosh may be counted amongst the original leaders who were indebted for their influence to their talents alone. He had long been powerful as the associate of his half-brother Milan. His mother Wishnja was first married to Obren, at Brusnizza, to whom she bore Milan. She married as her second husband, Tescho of Dobrinje in the district of Uschitze, by whom, about the year 1780, she had Milosh. But neither of these matches brought her much land, and her sons were obliged to go into service with strangers. Milan was the first who prospered and became independent at Brusnizza. Milosh, who had begun as herdsman by driving the cattle of others to the markets of Dalmatia, then entered his brother’s service. They became so closely united that Milosh even

named himself Obrenowicz, after Milan's father Obren, although his own father bore another name. Their occupations prospered. When the insurrection broke out in 1804, they belonged to the better class of their countrymen, and were amongst the first who rose against the dahi. Milan rose to be the leader at Rudwik, Poschega and Uschitze. He was, however, fond of ease, and Milosh had to make war for him too. We have seen how Milan became entangled in the intrigue against Kara George, and died; Milosh, who desired to tread in his steps, was much straitened in consequence. This perhaps inclined him to remain behind in 1813. The flight of the other leaders not only increased his influence in the districts in which he lived, but in the whole country, especially when he soon after, with the dignity of chief knes, acquired the administration of Poschega and Kragujewaz, in addition to Rudwik. The Turks were obliged to treat him well and to pay more deference to him than they liked. As long as their rule was tolerable he supported them; when it grew intolerable he resolved to rise against it. He had promised his sworn brother, the Musselman Aschin Bey, that he would warn him betimes when there was danger. On the Friday before Palm Sunday, in 1816, he escorted him away in safety. The moment for action had arrived."

The easy conquest of the Turks had emboldened them to renew their ancient tyranny. Oppression and violence filled the land, and, from the calculating character of Milosh, it is evident that he must have seen no alternative before he took up arms. Milosh was at Belgrade when the head of Glawacz, a leader who like himself had accepted service under the Turks, was brought to the pasha. "Knes," said a Turk to him, "hast thou seen that head? it will be thy 'turn next!'" "Wela," replied Milosh, "I consider the 'head I wear as no longer mine.'" Hostilities began in the same week; and the progress and result of the insurrection soon showed that the nation, reduced to depend upon itself, had lost none of its ancient energy.

"The present insurrection was a far more dangerous undertaking than the rising against the dahi. The people might be momentarily roused, but it was morally depressed. The armed force of the Turks was numerous and well-appointed. The pasha's kiaja had assembled in the course of a few days more than 10,000 men; a force like this could not be withstood by the hasty intrenchments of the Servians. He marched towards Maidan in the direction of Rudwik. All who resisted the kiaja put to the sword, but received with favour such as submitted, and in consequence he was joined by numbers. Milosh stood almost alone before this powerful enemy at the head of his armed dependents. The most desperate measures were contemplated: some proposed to kill the women and children, and to flee as haiduks into the woods.

"But to this extremity things did not come. Two events rescued the country from this state bordering on despair. One was the arrival of some armed bodies, 500 men from Gruscha and 200 from Czernagora, the mountains near Rudwik, with a number from Jagodina, all determined warriors; the other was a fault committed by the kiaja. Instead of encamping near Rudwik and doing all he could to retain those who had submitted in obedience, while he used force against such as he could get into his power, he preferred ascending the rude valley of the Morawa and taking up a position near Tchatchak, on the other side of the river. Milosh posted himself with his men opposite to him on the hill Ljubiz, and buried himself in entrenchments. This mountain commands the valley, and with the river and the rugged precipices protects the country which the enemy has overrun against himself as soon as he has passed the stream. While the Albanians therefore scoured the plains in search of booty and captives, the Servians cowered in glens and ravines until the chance was in their favour; often, too, would the monks emerge well-armed from their monasteries and follow the robbers silently, and not unfrequently would the eagerness of the pursuer and the terror of his victim cause both to roll over the crags into the stream, which carried them off sometimes with the women and children which they had taken, to be found by an astonished fisherman, who buried all together upon its banks. While this desultory warfare was going on, time was gained to raise and arm the districts of Kragujewaz, Rudwik and Jagodina. Whoever was found with the pasha's buruntje promising pardon was put to death, whether Turk or Servian; and as the troops which the kiaja held shut up at Tchatchak were sorely missed in the other parts, Milosh was able to attempt bolder things. * * * * *

"Milosh found no great difficulty in clearing Waljewo of the Turks. They fled from an entrenchment which they had raised on the Kolubara as soon as they saw his (two) cannons. He did not allow them to be pursued. 'Would to God,' he said, 'they would all flee in like manner!'

"With fresh energy, and reinforced by courageous followers, more formidable on account of his cannon, Milosh returned to Ljubiz, and drove back the first attack of the enemy victoriously. Not content with the old camp, he threw up a fresh entrenchment close to the river's bank. He irritated the kiaja at length so much, that he resolved to make a grand attack, which proved for both parties decisive. The Servians made a bold stand. The new entrenchment had been confided to a former standard-bearer of Kara George, named Raitsch, who could not be brought to flinch when all gave way around him. He resolved to die upon his cannon, contented if he sold his life for that of a number of Turks. The gun was at length taken, and the second abandoned. The loss of men was also keenly felt at Ljubiz, and on one occasion horses were placed beside posts outside the palisade, over which the cloaks of horsemen were hung to represent cavalry. The brave band, however, fortunately held out until they were reinforced.

"The enemy in the mean time had lost all courage for a renewed attack; we do not know exactly what passed within the camp. His loss

was however great, and the death of the *kiaja* increased the confusion incident to an army composed of so many different races. One evening a slave came as a fugitive from the Turkish camp and gave notice that all was in motion, but whether for flight or for an attack she was not able to say. The Servians prayed to God that it might be a retreat, but prepared to meet an assault. In the morning it was reported that the Turks were ascending the southern hills in full retreat upon *Sjenitz*. They probably considered it to be the last moment when they should be able to secure their plunder; but this the Servians had no mind to leave them. *Milosh* overtook the fugitives near *Erteri* and dispersed the whole body; their guns, their booty, all they had with them fell into the hands of the Servians. *Milosh* took care to treat his captives well. The wounded were transported bandaged on litters, the sound on horseback, the women and children untouched on waggons to *Uschitze*. The women were inexhaustible in their praises; 'they were,' they said, 'treated like mothers and sisters. A religion which enjoins such conduct must indeed be the true one.'

"At this news, the Turks who were entrenched near *Kragujewaz* took to flight. The greater part of the country might be looked upon as delivered; and Turkish troops only occupied two points near *Karanowaz* at the confluence of the *Ibar* with the *Morawa*, and at the point where the *Morawa* falls into the *Danube*. Against the latter, as the stronger encampment, *Milosh* immediately advanced."

After this specimen of determination and skill, it is not surprising that the *delibasha* who held *Poscharewaz*, and who fought with the bitterness of personal hatred to *Milosh*, was obliged to succumb, although his men fought knife to knife, and bored loopholes in the walls of the church, out of which they kept up a fire after the ramparts had been carried by storm. *Churshid*, the former vizir, now pasha of *Bosnia*, was the last formidable adversary. *Milosh* attacked him on his march, dispersed his army, took him prisoner, and then dismissed him with the present of a horse, a fur pelisse and a purse of 500 piastres.

But *Milosh* was wise enough to see that even constant success must eventually ruin his country and her cause. He profited by the favourable opportunity to negotiate. An armistice was agreed to by *Maraschli Ali*, pasha of *Belgrade*, during which messengers were despatched to *Constantinople*. They returned with a favourable answer, chiefly occasioned, it is said, by a question addressed by the Russian ambassador, who asked what the nature of the war carrying on in *Servia* was, which seemed to be in direct contravention of

the stipulations of the treaty of Bucharest. On the return of the messengers, the pasha was allowed to march to Belgrade, whither the Servian leaders came solemnly to protest their obedience to the Porte. In an assembly of fifty bimbashas, agas and beys, the pasha repeated three times the question, "Ye Servians, are ye subjects of the Sultan?" to which Milosh replied as often, "We are the Sultan's subjects!" Pipes and coffee were then handed to the leaders. It required, however, a long course of negotiation, backed by all the energy of the nation and of its chief, to wring from the Porte the confession that the Servians had achieved their liberty, and that it would be prudent to acknowledge those rights which could no longer be withheld. In 1820 things came for a moment to an open rupture, when the Servians instantaneously restored the form of government in the villages which had been introduced by Kara George. Milosh became the actual, although not until 1831 the recognized prince of his country, that is to say, its political and even its religious chief. The tardy aid of Russia came in at length. At Akjermann and Adrianople stipulations in favour of the rights of the Servians were made by the victorious Russians, which nominally conferred an obligation on the former. The consciousness, however, that in their own good swords lay their surest protection, is what has all along guaranteed their independence against friend or foe.

We must not omit to notice the interesting, although not weighty episode, of a rash attempt made by Kara George in 1817, to cause a diversion in favour of the Greek insurrection by landing in Servia. He found the nation, however, too intent upon the work of its own regeneration to join in crude plans for a total expulsion of the Turks. He was murdered after a short stay upon the Servian soil; and his scalp sent to Constantinople was there viewed as a proof of the sincerity of Milosh's party in their protestations of submission to the Porte.

We have here traced the short but pregnant history of the Servian state from the period of its most melancholy subjection through all its phases down to the accomplishment of its liberation. We have seen it neglected and overlooked by the government which claimed its subjection, to an extent

which made it appear laudable in the rajahs to take up arms against the rebellious soldiery, who threatened the existence of the empire itself. We have seen those arms, which were never wielded in vain, twice laid down when that government appeared strong enough to protect its own rights and those of its subjects. We have seen those arms as often resumed when the weakness of the ruling power became woefully apparent to those who looked to it for defence. That Servia had acquired a virtual and acknowledged independence long before the Sultan recognised by treaty the rank of Prince Milosh, is evident from the conduct of all parties during the last Russian war.

The Sultan, it is well known, applied for permission to send troops through Servia to the Danube, and accompanied the demand with the offer of paying a double price for whatever they should consume upon their march. The request was steadily refused. On the other hand, Milosh as steadily refused to comply with the solicitations of a party at home, which desired to make common cause with the Russians against the Porte. The fact of the complete independence of the country was thus proved antecedent to its partial recognition by the firman published in 1831, by which Milosh was declared hereditary *knes* or Prince of Servia. It was not, however, until the close of 1833, that the *hatti scheriff*, by which the Porte ceded the province to its native inhabitants, reserving only the fortress of Belgrade, was issued. This weighty document, which was communicated by the prince to the national assembly on the 2nd of February 1834, we annex at full length, as it shows in the clearest manner the relations in which Servia now stands to the Porte, a point which appears generally to be but little understood, and least of all in England. Although amounting to a full and explicit declaration of the sovereignty of the Servian nation, within its own boundaries, and expressly depriving Turks of the privilege of buying land and building houses out of Belgrade, while it spontaneously imposes the obligation on all Turkish landholders to sell their property within five years from the date thereof, yet it must ever be borne in mind that it grants nothing which had not virtually been won by Servian courage previous to 1828. The people, who in any part of the

Turkish empire could at that time refuse to admit a body of troops sent in the name of the Sultan, had it clearly in their power to dictate by what laws they would be governed, and the tardy recognition with a good grace of the demands which they made (for the Divan will scarcely be suspected of inventing the stipulations acceded to), can in no way affect the real state of things. It is necessary to have a clear notion of this position of affairs, in order to comprehend what has since happened.

The fact of the virtual liberation of the province from the despotic yoke of the Sultan could scarcely be concealed from the men by whose arms it was achieved, and by whose firmness the national liberties were to be maintained. Great as was the share which Prince Milosh had in the delivery of his country, yet the deeds of his associates in arms were somewhat too recent for him to assume in their presence the airs and authority of a prince 'by the grace of God.' From the moment that the Porte acknowledged their independence, the only good to which the Servians had to look forward was the steady advance of their country in moral and national improvement. The only aid a prince could afford them was protection and encouragement to promote this improvement. Now it will excite less surprise than regret, that their chief, although very capable of beating, and even of outwitting, pashas, was scarcely equal to the direction of the legislative measures which were to introduce morality, science and art, into his neglected country; and the more so, that he was neither able to read nor write. To give him despotic control over the government of a free and rising country, when that control could in no way tend to facilitate the march of improvement, was to place him in a cruelly false position: and in this position he was unfortunately placed. His strong sense led him to perceive that the best means of perpetuating his power was to acquire riches; and he made good use of the opportunities afforded him to do so. He is said to have acquired a fortune of several millions of piastres, besides the purchase money of large estates in Wallachia; and he had no other means of making these acquisitions than through the uncontrolled management of the public purse. His attempts to create monopolies, and to sell the common right of

industry, excited at length serious dissatisfaction, and a man, whose name is well known to all conversant with Servian literature, Wuk Stephanowicz Kurtchicz, even found it necessary to address a strong remonstrance to the prince upon the false course he was pursuing, a copy of which is in our possession. For this liberty Wuk was compelled to leave the country, like many other men of merit, whose rights the imperfect forms of justice did not suffice to protect against the arbitrary power and violent temper of the prince.

These evils the Servians would of course soon have set right, if they had been left to themselves; but unfortunately the country had been drawn into the vortex of European diplomacy, that maelstrom fatal to all natural and speedy development of nationality. Foreign influence united to support and encourage Milosh in his tyrannical proceedings, the motives for which on some sides were apparent enough, but very difficult to recognize on others. We are, however, spared the necessity of initiating our readers into the labyrinths of Servian intrigue, respecting which scanty and confused accounts have appeared from time to time in our papers. The nation, with the strong instinctive feeling which characterizes it, has cut the Gordian knot, and solved the problem of clearing its political position of artificial difficulties in the most masterly manner.

What gave strength to the weight of public opinion against an illiterate despot was the number of well-educated Servians, native subjects of Austria, but active volunteers in the cause of a country, which they considered as having a prior claim upon their exertions. Nearly all the places of public trust had to be filled with men who were either born in Hungary, or who had been educated in Austrian institutions. These formed the organs for expressing the wishes of the people, as their information served to point out the true object of national interest. It was therefore natural that the arbitrary proceedings of the prince should first be combated in the senate. The demand for a constitution, or, in other words, a declaration of the responsibility of the members of the government to the nation, became general, but was deferred until 1839, when a document of the kind was formally published.

Under this authorization the reorganized senate demanded an account of the finances, and at length required several millions of piastres, which the prince had disposed of like private property. Accustomed for years to servile expressions of content, and misled by the countenance lent him by the representatives of foreign states, Milosh set the senate at defiance, and went over to Semlin on the Austrian territory. Here the nation showed the correct tact which a people, if not greatly misused, will often display. The proceedings of the senate were found by the nation to be too hasty. It was desirable to control the arbitrary power of the prince, but not to punish him for the loose organization of a government, which without him would never have existed. Besides, the more violent of his opponents were men who did not enjoy much confidence, and who afterwards showed that there was no extreme to which they would not resort in order to gratify their personal animosity to Milosh. Public opinion triumphed, and a deputation was sent to invite the prince back to Belgrade. He returned, but only to lay his eldest son, who died shortly after, upon his death-bed.

The crisis was hurried by an inclination manifested by Milosh to depend upon the support of the soldiery—a resolution, in which, too, he was unfortunately strengthened by his foreign counsellors, but which could lead to nothing in a country where every man bore arms, and had long been accustomed to their use. An attempt to inflame the military by the representation of danger threatening the prince, totally failed; and in some cases the common soldiers took advantage of the occasion to punish such officers as were most obnoxious to them. The leader of the prince's band alone, a German, succeeded in raising a mutinous body of about 800 men, with which he marched on Belgrade. The party in the senate opposed to Milosh received of course an immense accession of strength by this proceeding. Milosh was obliged to declare his fiercest enemy, Wucsicz Perecsicz, generalissimo, with full powers to quell the revolt. The rebels laid down their arms, the privates were dismissed, and their leaders retained for punishment. Prince Jovan, Milosh's brother, who had taken part in the affair, was seized and led in triumph by Wucsicz to Belgrade. From

this moment Milosh seems only to have been intent on saving himself and his treasures: he was led to believe, that if he did not act promptly, a judicial inquiry, for which the senate pretended to have authority, might lead to more unpleasant results, and he resolved to resign in favour of his son. With deep sorrow he took leave of his wife and son, and embarked on the Danube to end his days in Wallachia as an exile,—he who had pronounced sentence of banishment on many a worthy man, but whose departure could not be viewed without deep regret by the great mass of his countrymen. This feeling was scarcely diminished by the knowledge that he had long been preparing for such an event, and had laid out large sums of the public money in purchasing a retreat for his old age.

His eldest son, Prince Milan, although in a dying state, was immediately recognized by the country as prince, so well were they aware of the advantages of regular succession. The interval which elapsed until his death was employed by the senate in making useful reforms. His brother, Prince Michail, or Michael, was however soon called by his decease to the vacant throne, and a regency, composed of his uncle Ephraim Obrenowicz, Wucsicz Perecsicz, and Abraham Petronowicz, was appointed during his minority. The principal ministers, however, who had all combined against Milosh, were very unpopular, and their endeavours to curtail the influence of the prince and to confirm their own authority were every day viewed with more jealousy by the nation. The sensible portion of the Servians was disgusted at finding that the only object to which the men who aspired to govern attended, was the extension of their power and the accumulation of wealth. This they felt was quite compatible with a different system of government, which would have developed the agricultural and commercial resources of the country, and under such circumstances would have called forth no complaint. But when they saw the influence of foreign diplomacy resorted to in order to procure for unworthy subjects an authority which could only keep the country in the unsettled and backward condition from which it was easy to extricate it, they lost all patience.

In spite of the active intervention of the Russian and Au-

strians consuls, and even of Colonel Hodges, who lent his support to the former, the mass of the people resolved to put an end to those chicanes, in which they felt that their dearest interests were sacrificed. In July last year, large bodies of armed Servians marched upon Belgrade, and demanded of the young prince to declare, whether, like his father's son, he would throw off the yoke which oppressed them all; or, if he did not like to take on him so great a responsibility, to recall his father, as one tyrant was better than six. The steps demanded of him were, the banishment of the odious Wucsicz and Petronowicz with their dependents, and the removal of the seat of government from foreign and Turkish influence at Belgrade, to the purer air and healthier and more national sojourn of Kragujewaz. After some deliberation, caused by the remonstrances of the foreign residents, and an appeal on the part of the regents to the armed force, which, as in Milosh's case, proved ineffectual, the young prince threw himself into the arms of the nation, and soon after removed with the chiefs of the popular party to Kragujewaz. The regents and their adherents placed themselves under the protection of the Turkish pasha at Belgrade, and both parties appealed to Constantinople.

Fortunately the Porte was this time well advised. The proceedings of the popular party were approved; the banishment of the obnoxious counsellors was confirmed; and Prince Michael was recognized as independent of all guardianship. Wucsicz and Petronowicz withdrew into other provinces of the empire with their adherents. The wisdom of this step at the moment is the more apparent, as it is clear that, under other circumstances, the emissaries which have of late been sent in numbers to excite the rajahs in all parts of Turkey to revolt, would in Servia have found combustible elements, which might have kindled a flame from the Bocchi di Cattaro to Varna, and which would have proved a melancholy set-off to the glories of Syria. We rejoice that the Porte was so wisely counselled, and we trust that the continuation of this policy will show that regenerated Turkey looks for her strength in the union of flourishing, free and happy provinces.

The mountainous character of the country, which affords

the means of defending its liberties, lends Servia political weight; and its position upon the great rivers which form at once the boundary of the Ottoman empire upon the north and the main channel of communication between the Euxine and Adriatic seas, render it a country of great commercial importance. These are increased by the natural influence which the leading Slavonic tribe must exercise over the other Turkish Slavonic provinces; viz. Bulgaria, Bosnia, Herzegovina and Montenegro. Divided as these provinces are at present by various religious and political institutions, they are all animated by one instinctive feeling of common origin, and a desire to rise out of the degraded position in which they have long been held. We believe that no one will venture to dispute that the true policy of the Porte would be to lead them to civilization and prosperity, and by a mild rule to attach them in time to her interests. The foundation of this line of policy has been laid in the hattî-scheriff of Gulhané.

With Servia it is at all events clear, that any attempt to restore antiquated despotism must lead to a struggle which could only endanger the rule of the Sultan himself. Tradition now associates the notion of victory with every hill and ravine in the country, and what youth would not risk his life to live in the songs of his countrymen, like the heroes who delivered them from bondage! On the other hand, the unmeasured forests, the rich veins of metal, and the fertility of a great portion of the soil of Servia, offer inestimable materials for foreign trade, which would not only greatly enrich the nation, but mankind at large, if made available. We do not see, why that portion of Europe, which, under the Roman sway, was proverbial for culture and wealth, should not again see tranquillity bring riches and civilization in her train. The granting this boon to her subjects would surely not tend to enfeeble the Porte, and there can consequently be no objection to its being seriously recommended by such of her allies as sincerely desire to see her reinvigorated.

No sooner had the Servians obtained the rule at home, when they signalized its possession by laying a foundation for a more intimate intercourse with Western Europe. The first institution established was the quarantine; and so an-

xious were they to have it effectual and recognized, that its management was once offered to Austria. The offer was not accepted, but in the hands of the nation it became an efficient instrument of protection, and for a long series of years the plague has been a disease unknown in Servia. After the proofs which this young and interesting nation has given of its stability, and of the salutary moral effect which its regeneration has produced, there is surely ground enough for any country, whose interest it may happen to be to cultivate its alliance, to build upon. In this case we deem Great Britain peculiarly to stand. The productions of Hungary and the northern provinces of the Turkish empire are all those which we draw from Russia. Timber, iron, copper, tallow, hemp, flax, corn and wool, to say nothing of wine, dried fruits and silk, all of which, with due cultivation, may be had almost to any extent, are surely articles of sufficient importance to make it desirable to extend the markets at which we purchase them; especially as, from the nature of these lands, the mode of payment must for a long period take place in articles of British manufacture.

We are not amongst those who lay much weight upon the probability of a Gallo-Russian alliance; but even supposing the opposite case, an Anglo-Gallic alliance against Russia in the cause of humanity might at no distant day be not a little straitened in its means for want of the source to which we have here and elsewhere so often pointed; reason we think imperative enough both to cultivate that source, and to do what no other nation perhaps can do—keep it for ourselves.

ANNEX.

Hatti-sheriff promulgated in 1834.

“Being desirous to reward the Servians, my subjects, for the fidelity which they have ever manifested towards my high Porte, as well as to give them a splendid monument of my royal grace and favour, I published in the year 1246 a firman bearing my signature, and which granted them various privileges and rights; such as, ‘the complete management of the internal affairs of their nation, the reannexation of several districts which had been separated from Servia, the payment of their tribute in one sum, and

' the cession of those lands which belonged to Turks who were (with the exception of the garrisons) to evacuate the country within the space of a year from that time.' It was necessary to defer giving the full effect to these different ordinances, until the inquiries necessary to establish the welfare both of my Servian and Turkish subjects should have been made.

" All doubts and difficulties having at length been fully overcome, and due consideration having been bestowed upon all representations and applications, it is my sovereign will that this matter, concerning which the necessary conferences between the Russian ambassador and my officers have taken place, be terminated; wherefore I am pleased to decree as follows:—

" The districts which were separated from the nation and reclaimed, shall in future be subject, prince, unto thee, to the extent to which they have been surveyed by the commissaries appointed for the purpose, and which is marked in the topographical chart annexed to this firman; these districts are Krajna with Kliucs, Csernarjeka with Gurgusovaz, Banja and Swerlik, Alexinaz with Rashan, and Parakje Krasseraz or Alatsha Hissar, a part of Novi Bazar, entitled Bervenik; further, the Drina district, consisting of Jadar and Radahewina.

" In pursuance of this decree, and to the effect that the above-named districts may be ceded to the Servian authorities, special firmans have been issued to the vizirs, Hussein Pasha at Widin, and Wetschi Pasha at Belgrade, desiring that commissaries, to be named by Hussein Pasha, shall proceed, with those whom thou shalt appoint, prince, to the spot to put this decree into execution. The authorities of the adjoining districts are likewise commanded to give all the aid in their power; and that the before-named districts may be clearly defined, a copy of the chart will be given to the commissary appointed by Hussein Pasha.

" My former firman alluded to above, decrees that the Turks which inhabit the suburbs of all fortresses, excepting Belgrade, shall be allowed to sell their possessions within the space of one year; it has however been found that this term is not sufficient, wherefore it is deemed advisable to alter it, in so far that the Turks are authorized to remain in Servia for five years from the date of this firman. During this period of five years they will be under the jurisdiction of their respective vizirs, and of the authorities appointed by them.

" The Servians are bound to furnish for payment in ready money, and without any reserve, the supplies of provisions required by those Turks which remain during the five years, as well as for the garrisons whose stay is permanent in the country. The Turkish authorities are prohibited from all interference in the affairs of Servia, and are charged to live on the most friendly footing with the inhabitants.

" It is expected that such Turks as are desirous of leaving the country before the expiration of the five years, will meet with every assistance in the disposal of their property, and in their emigration with their families.

" After the expiration of this term of five years, the Turks who inhabit the towns must leave the land, and those who live in the suburbs of the fortresses (excepting Belgrade) must remove into the fortresses, or emi-

grate likewise, so that from the expiration of that period no Turk can settle in Servia.

“ On the other hand, the Servians must pay the Turks previous to their removal a fair value for their lands. Those Turks who inhabit the suburbs (town) of Belgrade are not exclusively the garrison, but are also entitled, like the Servians, to carry on trade and other occupations. In order, however, to ensure to those Turks who are privileged to inhabit the suburbs (town) of Belgrade the enjoyment of their rights, they shall remain under the jurisdiction of my vizir, Mehmet Wetschi Pasha.

“ It is decreed for the public weal, as well as to prevent all interruption of the peace, that the Servians shall inhabit the suburbs (town) of Belgrade as they have hitherto done, thou, prince, and thy officers to have free ingress to and egress from these suburbs without let or hindrance, and no one dare to impede you. The Turks, like the Servians, who pay the toll of one-thirtieth, which henceforth is to be raised by the Servian government, enjoy the right of free trade in Belgrade.

“ With the exception of the troops of the pasha, the garrison and the Servian authorities or police, no one is allowed to carry arms in the suburbs of Belgrade. Outside these suburbs no Turk is allowed to build a house or other edifice; they must, further, be subject to all ordinances which the commandant of Belgrade shall issue in concert with thee, prince!

“ Neither thou, prince, nor the people of Servia dare venture under any pretext to violate the obedience due by you as subjects to the Porte.

“ The commandant before named will agree with thee upon the decrees necessary to issue in order to preserve order and cleanliness in the suburbs.

“ The privilege granted to the subjects of foreign states, of residing in Belgrade and its suburbs, is likewise a point respecting which thou must agree with the commandant, in order that those strangers may receive that protection and aid which is accorded to them by the treaties concluded between the high Porte and foreign powers. All who desire to sell their property at Belgrade, whether to Turks or Servians, are to be allowed to do so without hindrance; strangers are however not allowed to acquire real property at Belgrade or elsewhere.

“ No hindrance must be laid in the way of sales of property between Turks and Servians.

“ As by virtue of the above-quoted firman the country will be governed by its own chiefs, by which the expense of the domestic administration will be much increased, the tribute in future is fixed at 2,300,000 piastres in lieu of the sum before decreed, the revenues named Thimar, Siamet and Mukata, the receipt of which devolves to the Servians, as well as the Haratsh, and all other taxes which it has been customary to pay in money.

“ This tribute is payable in two rates annually at Belgrade, beginning with the Demeter-day of this year, and to be continued at the end of every subsequent six months.

“ The Servians will administer themselves all the revenues of the country, and will enjoy the benefits arising from their own industry.

“ With the exception of such imperial fortresses as have from time im-

memorial existed in Servia, all new fortresses, *e. g.* Kjupria, Palanka, and any fortifications of more recent date, must be razed.

"The points here specified are to be considered as completing the firman before cited, and as all the measures hereby appointed to be taken are already decreed by the said firman, the ministers of the Porte and the Russian ambassador have determined upon its being put in force. As it is moreover my high pleasure that the points modified and ordered as above shall take effect, I have accordingly affixed my imperial signature, and have addressed a firman to the pasha of Belgrade, who is charged to confer with thee, prince, respecting the execution of these decrees: in the same manner I have addressed another firman to the pasha of Widin, with further instructions respecting other points contained in this firman, but especially respecting the fixing and determining the before-mentioned frontier lines.

"This firman, bearing my hattî-sheriff, is issued that this matter may be known unto you.

"Thus informed respecting my sovereign will, thou wilt be careful to have the points indicated fixed and carried into execution in concurrence with the two pashas.

"In acknowledgement of the benefits which I thus confer on the Servian nation, mayst thou exert all thy strength and constantly act so as to please my high Porte; at the same time thou wilt resist every oppression offered to my subjects entrusted to thy charge, and be careful to earn the blessings of the people as well for myself as for thee.

"I trust thou wilt henceforth endeavour to serve my high Porte as far as is in thy power, and I expect thy conduct to be such as it beseems a dutiful subject to observe. Mayst thou never act contrary to this."

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END OF THE TWELFTH VOLUME.

PRINTED BY RICHARD AND JOHN E. TAYLOR,
 RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET.

JAN 16 1929

